

THE JOURNAL

OF THE

British

Archaeological Association,

ESTABLISHED 1843,

FOR THE

ENCOURAGEMENT AND PROSECUTION OF RESEARCHES
INTO THE ARTS AND MONUMENTS OF THE
EARLY AND MIDDLE AGES.



VOL. XXX.

London:

PRINTED FOR THE ASSOCIATION

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T. RICHARDS, 37, GREAT QUEEN STREET, W.C.



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British Archaeological Association.

THE BRITISH ARCHEOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION was founded in 1843, to investigate, preserve, and illustrate, all ancient monuments of the history, manners, customs, and arts of our forefathers, in furtherance of the principles on which the Society of Antiquaries of London was established; and to aid the objects of that institution by rendering available resources which had not been drawn upon, and which, indeed, did not come within the scope of any antiquarian or literary society.

The means by which the Association proposed to effect this object are :

1. By holding communication with Correspondents throughout the kingdom, and with provincial Antiquarian Societies; as well as by intercourse with similar Associations in foreign countries.

2. By holding frequent and regular Meetings for the consideration and discussion of communications made by the Associates, or received from Correspondents.

3. By promoting careful observation and preservation of antiquities discovered in the progress of public works, such as railways, sewers, foundations of buildings, etc.

4. By encouraging individuals or associations in making researches and excavations, and affording them suggestions and co-operation.

5. By opposing and preventing, as far as may be practicable, all injuries with which Ancient National Monuments of every description may from time to time be threatened.

6. By using every endeavour to spread abroad a correct taste for Archaeology, and a just appreciation of Monuments of Ancient Art, so as ultimately to secure a general interest in their preservation.

7. By collecting accurate drawings, plans, and descriptions of Ancient National Monuments, and by means of Correspondents, preserving authentic memorials of all antiquities which may from time to time be brought to light.

8. By establishing a *Journal* devoted exclusively to the objects of the Association, as a means of spreading antiquarian information and maintaining a constant communication with all persons interested in such pursuits.

9. By holding Annual Congresses in different parts of the country, to examine into their special antiquities, to promote an interest in them, and thereby conduce to their preservation.

Thirteen public Meetings are held, on the second and fourth Wednesdays in the month, during the season, at eight o'clock in the evening, for the reading and discussion of papers, and for the inspection of all objects of antiquity forwarded to the Council. To these Meetings Members have the privilege of introducing their friends.

Persons desirous of becoming Members, or of promoting in any way the objects of the Association, are requested to apply either personally or by letter to the Secretaries; or to the Treasurer, GORDON M. HILLS, Esq., 17, Redcliffe Gardens, Brompton, to whom subscriptions, by Post Office Order or otherwise, should be transmitted.

The payment of ONE GUINEA annually is required of the Associates, or TEN GUINEAS as a Life Subscription, by which the Subscribers are entitled to a copy of the quarterly *Journal* as published, and permitted to receive the Parts of the *Collectanea Archaeologica* at a reduced price.

Associates are required to pay an entrance fee of ONE GUINEA. The annual payments are due in advance.

THE CONGRESSES AND PRESIDENTS HITHERTO HAVE BEEN

1844	CANTERBURY	-	-	} LORD ALB. D. CONYNGHAM, K.C.H., F.R.S., F.S.A. (afterwards LORD LONDESBOROUGH)
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1848	WORCESTER	-	-	
1849	CHESTER	-	-	} J. HEYWOOD, Esq., M.P., F.R.S., F.S.A.
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1851	DERBY	-	-	
1852	NEWARK	-	-	
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1862	LEICESTER	-	-	
1863	LEEDS	-	-	
1864	IPSWICH	-	-	} MARQUIS OF AILESBURY
1865	DURHAM	-	-	
1866	HASTINGS	-	-	
1867	LUDLOW	-	-	
1868	CIRENCESTER	-	-	
1869	ST. ALBAN'S	-	-	} EARL OF CARNARVON
1870	HEREFORD	-	-	
1871	WEYMOUTH	-	-	
1872	WOLVERHAMPTON	-	-	
1873	SHEFFIELD	-	-	

Essays relating to the History and Antiquities of these several places will be found in the volumes of the *Journal*. The *Journals* already published are sold at the following prices, and may be had of the Treasurer and other Officers of the Association :

Vol. I, £2 to the Members.

Vols. II to X, 5s. each vol. ; vols. XI, etc., £1 : 1 to Members ; all £1 : 11 : 6 to the Public.

The special volumes of TRANSACTIONS of the CONGRESSES held at WINCHESTER and at GLOUCESTER are charged to the Public, £1 : 11 : 6 ; to the Members, 5s.

In addition to the *Journal*, published regularly every quarter, it has been found necessary to publish occasionally another work entitled *Collectanea Archaeologica*. It embraces papers whose length is too great for a periodical journal, and such as require more extensive illustration than can be given in an octavo form. It is, therefore, put forth in quarto, uniform with the *Archæologia* of the Society of Antiquaries. Sold to the public at 15s. each Part, but may be had by the Associates at 10s. The third Part of Vol. II, with title-page and index, contains the following subjects :

Cromlechs and other Remains in Pembrokeshire. Six Plates. By Sir J. Gardner Wilkinson, D.C.L., F.R.S.

Camps, Roman Roads, and Pavements, in Suffolk. By George Vere Irving. Fountains Abbey. Twelve Plates. By Gordon M. Hills.

Roman Villa at Nennig, Prussia. One Plate. By J. W. Grover.

Itinerary of King Edward the First. Part II, 1291 to the death of the Monarch. By Rev. Charles Henry Hartshorne, M.A.

An Index for the thirty volumes of the *Journal* will be prepared for publication in the course of the year 1874.

(The volumes in stock, announced for sale above, at 5s. each, have been, it is believed, destroyed in the fire at the Pantechnicon, with some others. Until the loss is fully ascertained, the announcement must be regarded as suspended.—G. M. H.)

RULES OF THE ASSOCIATION.¹

THE BRITISH ARCHEOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION shall consist of patrons, associates, correspondents, and honorary foreign members.

1. The Patrons,²—a class confined to the peers of the United Kingdom, and nobility.
2. The Associates,—such as shall be approved of and elected by the Council ; and who, upon the payment of one guinea as an entrance fee, and a sum of not less than one guinea annually, or ten guineas as a life subscription, shall become entitled to receive a copy of the quarterly *Journal* published

¹ The rules, as settled in March 1846, are here reprinted by order of the Council. The variations made since that date are introduced and indicated by notes.

² Patrons were omitted in 1850 from the list of Members, and have since been nominated locally for the Congresses only.

by the Association, to attend all meetings, vote in the election of Officers and Committee, and admit one visitor to each of the public meetings.

3. The Correspondents,—a class embracing all interested in the investigation and preservation of antiquities; to be qualified only for election on the recommendation of the President or Patron, or of two members of the Council, or of four Associates.
4. The Honorary Foreign Members shall be confined to illustrious and learned foreigners who may have distinguished themselves in antiquarian pursuits.

ADMINISTRATION.

To conduct the affairs of the Association there shall be annually elected a President, ten¹ Vice-Presidents, a Treasurer, two Secretaries, and a Secretary for Foreign Correspondence; who, with seventeen other Associates, shall constitute the Council. The past Presidents shall be *ex officio* Vice-Presidents for Life, with the same *status* and privileges as the elected Vice-Presidents, and take precedence in the order of service.

ELECTION OF OFFICERS AND COUNCIL.

1. The election of Officers and Council shall be on the second Wednesday² in May in each year, and be conducted by ballot, which shall continue open during one hour. Every Associate balloting shall deliver his name to the President or presiding officer; and afterwards put his list, filled up, into the balloting box. The presiding officer shall nominate two scrutators, who, with one or more of the Secretaries, shall examine the lists, and report thereon to the General Meeting.

OF THE PRESIDENTS AND VICE-PRESIDENTS.

1. The President shall take the chair at all meetings of the Society. He shall regulate the discussions, and enforce the laws of the Society.
2. In the absence of the President, the chair will be taken by one of the Vice-Presidents, or some officer or member of Council.
3. The President shall, in addition to his own vote, have a casting vote when the suffrages are equal.

OF THE TREASURER.

The Treasurer shall hold the finances of the Society, discharge all debts previously presented to, and approved of by, the Council; and having had his accounts audited by two members elected at the Annual General Meeting, shall lay them before the Annual Meeting.

OF THE SECRETARIES.

1. The Secretaries shall attend all meetings of the Association, transmit notices to the members, and read the letters and papers communicated to the Association.
2. The Secretary for Foreign Correspondence shall conduct all business or correspondence connected with the foreign societies, or members residing abroad.

¹ Till 1848 six Vice-Presidents, then the number enlarged to eight, and in 1864 to the present number. In 1868 past Presidents made permanent Vice-Presidents.

² In the earlier years the elections were in March. After 1852, till 1862, the Annual General Meetings were held in April. Subsequently they have been held in May.

OF THE COUNCIL.

1. The Council shall superintend and regulate the proceedings of the Association, and elect the members, whose names are to be read over at the public meetings.
2. The Council shall meet on the days¹ on which the ordinary meetings of the Association are held, or as often as the business of the Association shall require; and five shall be deemed a sufficient number to transact business.
3. An extraordinary meeting of the Council may be held at any time by order of the President, or by a requisition signed by five of its members, stating the purpose thereof, addressed to the Secretaries, who shall issue notices of such meeting to every member.
4. The Council shall fill up any vacancy that may occur in any of the offices, or among its own members.
5. The Chairman, or his representative, of local committees established in different parts of the country, and in connection with the Association, shall, upon election by the Council, be entitled to attend the meetings of the Council and the public meetings.
6. The Council shall submit a report of its proceedings to the Annual Meeting.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE ASSOCIATION.

1. The Association shall meet on the fourth Wednesday in November, the second Wednesday in December, the second and fourth Wednesdays in the months from January to May, and the second Wednesday in June, at 8 o'clock in the evening precisely,² for the purpose of inspecting and conversing upon the various objects of antiquity transmitted to the Association, and such other business as the Council may appoint.
2. An extraordinary general meeting of the Association may at any time be convened by order of the President, or by a requisition signed by twenty Members, stating the object of the proposed meeting, addressed to the Secretaries, who shall issue notices accordingly.
3. A general public meeting, or Congress, shall be held annually in such town or place in the United Kingdom as shall be considered most advisable by the Council; to which Associates, Correspondents, and others, shall be admitted by ticket, upon the payment of one guinea, which shall entitle the bearer, and also a lady, to be present at all meetings, either for the reading of papers, the exhibition of antiquities, the holding of *conversazioni*, or the making of excursions to examine any objects of antiquarian interest.

¹ In the earlier years the Council meetings and ordinary meetings were not held in connection.

² At first the meetings were more numerous, as many as eighteen meetings being held in the year; and the rule as it originally stood, appointed twenty-four meetings. Up to 1867 the evening meetings were held at half-past eight.



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CONINGSBURGH CASTLE.

BY EDWARD ROBERTS, ESQ., F.S.A., HON. SEC.

CONINGSBURGH, seated as it is nearly on the highest ground (and the keep absolutely so) in its neighbourhood in the valley of the Don, or Dun, which it completely commands in both directions, is one of those sites, remarkably well chosen, which marks the skill of the military ages when it was necessary to hold the land and honours, not merely against external foes, but against rival lords and internal enemies. Even with modern appliances following on the use of explosive materials there is no spot of ground near at hand more suited to its purpose than that on which this Castle stands.

We are ill informed on the subject of ancient roads other than those of the Romans, and I know from personal observation, as many others do, how much even those splendid achievements became obliterated, and even the memory of them lost, most likely within a very few centuries after the departure of those universal civilizers.

It is probable that few roads remained at the time of the Norman invasion.¹ Doubtless, however, whatever the road, this fortified spot commanded both that and the river. The present road from Doncaster (the name of which indicates its antiquity, the castle on the river Don) to Rotherham

¹ Mr. M. Browne, writing in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1801 (vol. 71, pp. 201-3), says "a Roman way was discernible through Mr. Savile's orchard and Mr. Shergold's gardens, but not in the direction of the Castle."

and Sheffield, both of which had castles in the same valley and on the same river, is in all probability as ancient as those places.

It has been observed, and with some truth so far as the keeps are concerned, that there is a similarity between this castle and that of Orford in Suffolk. The latter I know intimately, and although there are some peculiarities akin in both, they are in other respects wholly dissimilar, except in so far as all castles of about that period are somewhat alike. Orford has an oven on the summit of the keep, and so has this ; but in few respects, except in the notched lintel-stones of the doorway, is there any precise correspondence. For instance Orford is triangular, this is circular ; Orford has three buttresses, this has six. The keep in this case is attached to the wall of the ballium, while that at Orford, although no longer having a ballium-wall, appears to have been within it on the more ancient plan. This is slightly later than Orford, the period of which is about 1167 to 1170 ; this bordering on and immediately preceding the early pointed period, which may be taken as 1187. The bases of the chimney columns, and the carvings and other details, show a decided turning towards the characteristics of that era. I will now give a few particulars resulting from my own inspection, commencing at the summit.

The height was of course greater than it is, but it is impossible to do more than conjecture that it was a few feet higher than the loftiest existing stone, screened by a breast-work ; a nearly flat roof ; with turrets on each buttress towering above the battlement, and perhaps one of them loftier than the others, for a beacon. The buttresses are, and the turrets probably were, half of an irregular or elongated hexagon in their plan. The two chimneys were behind one of these, leaving a passage between.

Just below that parapet was a covered way, that is, a gangway all round with a parapet both inwards and outwards. This covered way communicated with the beacon tower and a second tower next it, both with winding stairs leading to the uppermost walk. The oven was, as must be evident, to prepare food for the garrison when driven to this, the last resort, in case the other parts were captured. It is remarkable, however, that no such ovens are known but this and the one at Orford. As regards their use, it is

possible to admit a suggestion that they might have been for heating missiles; but if that were the case, I think we ought to find them more general; and the former conclusion is far more probable, especially when we reflect on the small accommodation which so diminutive a stronghold afforded, and the difficulty of placing it anywhere else. Of the other turrets two have chambers, and unquestionably for the shelter and rest of part of the garrison, and storage. The sixth and last has a much larger recess, and loftier, with thirteen small apertures, five at the end, and four on each side communicating with the outside. These could not possibly have been for purposes of defence or offence, for although they slope outwards liquids could not availably be poured through on assailants' heads, although it is so nearly over the entrance as to admit of the notion; yet it seems more likely, viewing the other appliances, that it was appertaining to feeding purposes, and I venture to opine that it was a *columbarium*. We know that pigeons and their eggs were favourite articles of food, and what so likely as that they should be encouraged here? Some of these apertures open inwards to the gallery. There are signs of other pigeon-holes in the flank wall to the left.

It will be observed that all the stairs are within the thickness of the walls, and exactly following their outline; those here are 3 ft. 1 in. wide, the inside wall 3 ft. 11 in., the outside 5 ft. 5 in., making 12 ft. 5 in. of thickness in all. That this staircase and gallery communicated with a central chamber is clear, for immediately on the right hand on ascending is the jamb of a doorway, the corbels around showing the floor-line.

On descending the stairs we arrive at what we may call the second story, where there was a door. Immediately on the right is a small recess in the thickness of the walls where the hinges also partly remain, terminating in a latrine [it was provided with a wooden movable cover as in the south of Europe to this day; the groove still remains in the stone back]; a loop-hole without glass, gave light and air to the place.

I will here, as in other places where vaulting occurs, call attention to the plastering on it, for although in several places it is plastered in addition, it is mainly the method of construction; the wooden centering was erected,

and boarding placed roughly on the framing, and the whole was then coarsely but evenly plastered over. When the masonry was dry, the boards were removed, leaving their marks in the plaster, which always appears to have favoured the stone rather than the wood.

The chamber was for residence, but of a mixed character, for although there is a very beautiful fireplace,¹ which modern architects might imitate with advantage, almost purely early English, and good enough for any lady's drawing-room, there is a stone sink very near it. This has been called a holy-water stoup.

An exquisite little chapel adjoins, the plan tapers both east and west from what may be called the chancel arch. The orientation is not exact, it lies south-east by east, or three points of error. There are two piscinæ and two quatrefoil lights, and an eastern loop. There is more of the Norman character about this chapel than in the other parts of the castle, except in the bases of its shafts which show a later feeling. Adjoining and leading out of it is a sacristy, not for sleeping as has been suggested, except perhaps in emergencies, for it is too small and had no door. The only light to the chamber on this floor was one window, approached by three steps, where was found the usual luxury of window-seats.

On the descent, whatever the door, there was a bar fastening on the outside, as if those above had to be treated as prisoners. The walls and stairs here are 4 ft. 6 in., 3 ft. 6 in., and 5 ft. 7 in., equal to 13 ft. 7 in.

On the first floor is a magnificent fire-place, if anything of a slightly earlier period than that above, as if the works had been stopped for a year or two, although the masonry is exactly similar. There is also a sink, with a less ornamental arch (this being square and the other trefoiled); another latrine, and another "ladies' bower," or window approached by four steps. Shutters once closed these windows, and a strong bar passed across, but they were guiltless of glass. On the centre mullion is a cushion or roll pierced both ways for the shutter-bolts. All the steps and seats are curved to follow the outline.²

¹ Figured in Parker's *Glossary*, vol. ii, Plate 87.

² Plans, views, and details of the Castle are given in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. 71, and in King's *Munimenta Antiqua*, iii, p. 43 et seq.; also in *Archæologia*, vi, p. 96. None, however, of these are altogether reliable. The general

We must remember that these windows, raised a few steps above the floor, served a double purpose. The keep was at all times essentially the lord's private apartment and that of his lady and chief guests. This high window was so made that in time of war it could be closed by lift shutters (*i. e.* handed up, and *not* hinged) bolted and barred, and if an arrow found entrance from below, it fell harmlessly on the other side, as a bullet now would if discharged through a window into the ceiling. In time of peace it was the ladies' drawing-room seat, a gossiping place with a delightful look-out from an open window. With mats or rushes on the floor, cushions on wooden ledges laid on the stone seats, we might even now envy the charms which simplicity gave to the lives of those who looked on chivalry and chivalric deeds as the only gentlemanly exponents of breeding.

The ground-story was only lighted by the doorway; below was the cellarage and the well which has recently been cleared. It is idle to call this the dungeon, as is usual; it was the place for stores of provisions. The bar-holes remain at the outer door; the outer steps, though perhaps all modern, are probably in the same place as the originals, unless they were, as they are at Orford, over the prisoners' cell. Externally we find what has been called a sally-port and postern-gate,¹ but may have been really a dungeon. An undoubted cell is under the steps at Orford not very dissimilar to this, and both are supplied with a latrine.

The gateway, passing between walls for a considerable distance, is facing the village. The walls of the ballium are occasionally dotted with circular bastions, indicating, as well as the masonry, a later period than the keep. Outside there is the vallum, and again a ballium, nearly all of which is destroyed.

Frowning over the small village of serfs and appearing to protect the little church, who can wonder at the power those men of arms acquired. With little to do but war against each other and seek plunder we can well imagine the mailed retainers swaggering down the little street, scornfully regarding the tiller of the soil and the herdsman as inferior

plans are repeated from the *Gent. Mag.* in the *Archæological Journal*, v, p. 40 (accompanying a paper by A. Milward, Esq.), and the several plans of the keep and so called postern from King's *Munimenta*, at pp. 46-49.

¹ King, iii, p. 66.



beings. The church, too, really a partaker in the price of blood and rapine, needed the protection of its powerful neighbour, and singularly enough exercised the only power over them to which they seemed willing to be amenable, condoning their sins by sharing in the results.

I do not know if there can be any doubt about the age of these buildings, but in case any one here is still impressed with the splendid imagery of the great wizard, Sir Walter Scott, who has peopled these walls with Saxons who probably never enjoyed that privilege, I may say that inasmuch as he gives many centuries of existence to them prior to Richard I, he is in error, and perhaps knowingly so, for neither the castle nor its keep were erected many years, perhaps scarcely begun at the time of which he treats in *Ivanhoe*. I place its date as nearly as possible at from 1180 to 1189 or 1190, giving ten years for its erection.

The name suggests many thoughts—it is purely Saxon, and there are many such, showing how retentive is local nomenclature. British, Roman, Saxon, all remain, perhaps corrupted, but still remaining to tell their tale of change and conquest. It is only necessary for me to say that the history of its owners is fairly given in *Hunter's Yorkshire*, and at present I have nothing to add to that statement.

The castle *certainly* was built by Isabel, sole daughter and heiress of William de Warren, the third lord of that name holding the manor. She married firstly William de Blois, a son of Stephen, but he dying childless in 1160, she wedded, secondly, Hameline, Earl of Surrey, a natural son of Geoffrey, Earl of Anjou, and half brother to Henry III. She died in 1199 and he in 1202, and as Isabel's father died in 1147, we have no difficulty whatever on the subject of the founders of the castle.

THE TRADERS' TOKENS OF SHEFFIELD.

BY LLEWELLYNN JEWITT, ESQ., F.S.A.

THE general subject of 'Traders' Tokens of the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries, has been so often and so ably treated, that on the present occasion I shall content myself with simply giving such a brief outline of their history, as may seem necessary by way of introduction to that branch of the subject most interesting to a Society like ours,—the traders' tokens of the important locality in which we are holding our Annual Congress.

Coins—the currency of nations—are hoarded up and studied, and constantly referred to in illustration of historical facts, or as corroborations in cases of doubtful points, and their value, admitted on all hands, cannot be too highly estimated. *They* tell, however, but of princes and nationalities, not of the *people*. The coins of Greece and Rome tell of events, of changes, and of wars, and become, when properly studied, a complete epitome of the history of the great nations to which they belong. Those of our own country, however, have not that recommendation, they become simply a matter of regal chronology. From the Norman conquest to the present time, from the time of the inscription WILLELM: REX to that of VICTORIA REGINA, not one event does an English coin record, not one national trait does it exhibit, and not one thing connected with the people does it illustrate.

Not so with traders' tokens. Issued by the people they tell of the people, and become imperishable records of that most important estate of the realm. They do not, as do their regal brethren of the royal Mint, tell of proud titles and of royal and national greatness and splendour, but they tell how states and empires would be poor without the *industry* of the people. They indicate to us their occupations and their skill; their customs and modes of life; their local governments; their guilds and trade companies; their habits and sentiments; their trades, their costume, their towns, their families, and their homes.

Pity it is that these lasting and reliable records are confined to two periods alone of our national history, but of

those periods, especially the earlier one, they are among the more interesting and important of illustrations.

In Anglo-Saxon and mediæval times the want of small coins was much felt, and this gave rise to the occasional issue of spurious, or rather base coins to supply the deficiency, as it was found the smaller pieces of halfpence and farthings when made of silver, and the pennies when broken up by the gross, were unfit for general use among the rough handed population. In the reigns of Edward VI and Mary, the issue of a base metal currency gave rise not only to much dissatisfaction but fraud, and under Elizabeth, who issued three halfpence and three-farthing pieces in pure silver, these were declared to be no longer current. These three halfpenny and three farthing pieces, as well as the sixpences and threepences were distinguished by a full blown rose behind the queen's head, and this is alluded to by Shakespere as a satire on the then, as now, fashion of wearing a rose in the hair :—

“ My face so thin
That in mine ear I durst not stick a rose
Lest men should say, Look, where three farthings goes !”

The refining of silver for the coinage was, however, considered a very unhealthy occupation, and those employed in it were subject to what was called the “refiners’ sickness.” I mention this, *en passant*, that I may give you the words of that fine old Derbyshire antiquary, Agard, regarding it. He says, “The esterlinges, who being Germans, brought up in the mines there of silver and copper, were, by Her Majesty’s order for the refining of our base coins, brought hither by Alderman Lodge, with whom I was familiarly acquainted. This he told me, that most of them in melting fell sick to death with the savour, so as they were advised to drink from a dead man’s skull for their recovery. Whereupon he, with others, who had the oversight of this work, procured a warrant from the council to take off the heads upon London Bridge and make cups thereof, out of which they drank, and found some relief, although most of them died ;” and no wonder !

Despite the concession of issuing three-halfpenny and three-farthing pieces, the want of halfpennies and farthings was still so much felt that all housekeepers, chandlers, grocers, mercers, vintners, and other traders were impelled to

the issue of private tokens of lead, pewter, latten, tin, and even leather for purposes of trade. These tokens were issued by the traders, and commodities could only be had of their issuers in exchange, so that they were useless as a circulating medium, and were the source of frequent loss to their holders.

In 1574, a proposition was made to the queen to coin halfpence and farthings in silver, but was rejected. Proposals were then made to issue copper pledges, and a proclamation forbidding the issue of private tokens was prepared. The project was not, however, carried out, and these private tokens still continued in use.

In 1601 and 1602, the requirements of the army in Ireland caused for a time the issue of copper pence, halfpennies, and farthings, and this appears to have revived the idea of copper pledges for England; and pattern pieces were made. At this time copper tokens were issued by the cities of Oxford, Bristol, and Worcester.

On the accession of James I silver pennies and halfpennies were issued for this country, in which his Scottish bawbees, bodles, and placks were entirely useless. A pattern farthing was also prepared but not issued.

A scheme was soon afterwards set on foot, and immediately acted upon, for the enriching of the crafty king by the issue of royal farthing tokens weighing only six grains each. The licence to mint these infamous coins, which for the purpose of getting them into circulation were sold wholesale by the Crown to all comers at twenty-one shillings' worth for a pound, was granted to Lord Harrington, the king stipulating to receive one half of the profit every quarter of a year. Soon afterwards, his majesty, thinking he had made too liberal a bargain with his lordship, repented, and allowed Lord Harrington £25,000 on 100,000 pounds of farthings, and pocketed the other £45,000 himself. The principal distributor of these tokens was Gerard Malyns, who says they were intended to abolish the leaden tokens made by every tapster, chandler, and vintner, and that "they have been found very commodious and necessary for petty commutations," and also that they would be a great advantage to the poor, inasmuch as they would promote charity by inducing persons to give a farthing who would not give a halfpenny. Had Malyns studied human

nature a little more closely, he might as well have said it would be an injustice to the poor, as holding out a temptation and a facility to give a farthing where otherwise they would have given a halfpenny.

One mode of distributing these tokens to get them into circulation, was to send bags of them, containing £20 worth, to the mayors of different towns ; the mayors being allowed a profit of two shillings on each pound, while those who bought them of him had one shilling in the pound allowed. As Sheffield in those days had no mayor, it must, unless its master cutler was honoured by the offer, have been left out of this wonderful chance of making money at the rate of five or ten per cent. out of farthings.

Despite all that was done, and the issuing of proclamation after proclamation to enforce the royal swindle, private tokens were still issued by traders as much as ever.

The office for the issue of the royal tokens was in Lothbury, London, and the place is still known by the name of "Tokenhouse Yard." During the fearful visitation of the plague, when it was customary to paint a red cross over the doors of houses infected by it, by way of "token" of the presence of the foul disease, some wicked wag one night painted a huge red cross of this token on a house and wrote beneath it, "Lord have mercy upon us, for this house is full of tokens."

After the annulling of this office, copper farthing tokens were issued of a more honest value, but the traders still struck their own, and they became more general throughout the country. In 1649 an attempt was made to establish a national farthing, and pattern pieces were prepared. Nothing, however, was done till 1671, when traders' tokens having increased to a prodigious extent and being issued in almost every town and village in the kingdom, the Government announced the intended issue of halfpence and farthings of copper to supersede them, and in 1672 a proclamation prohibiting the making or use of any such private tokens was issued, and stringent measures taken for their suppression. From this time their use rapidly declined and they were soon utterly suppressed.

From this time, 1672, until 1787, no traders' tokens were issued in this kingdom. In the latter year (1787) the Government having for a long time neglected to issue a suffi-

cient quantity of copper coins for the purposes of trade, and the copper coinage having been forged to so great an extent, that not one quarter of what was in circulation was of royal mint coinage, the Anglesey Copper Mines Company issued tokens of their own, and to such an extent, that they put into circulation three hundred tons of copper halfpennies and pennies. This example was followed by other companies, corporations, and private traders, and tokens soon became very general. This very extensive issue of tokens attracted the attention of Government, and orders were given for the preparations of a new national copper coinage.

To this end, in June 1797, George III issued his warrant empowering Matthew Boulton of the Soho works, Birmingham, to execute a considerable quantity of penny and twopenny pieces. The extent to which this contract was carried may be gathered from the fact that between June 1797 and 1805, Mr. Boulton "coined under contract for the British Government upwards of 4,000 tons weight of copper coin, amounting at its nominal value to nearly £800,000." These coins were purely *honest*, as were those of the Anglesey and other works. The Soho twopenny pieces weighed two ounces each and eight of them measured one foot; the pennies weighed one ounce, and seventeen of them measured two feet; and the halfpenny weighed a quarter of an ounce, and twelve measured a foot. The effect of this issue was the stoppage of private tokens, only one or two examples being known of so late a date as 1802, when they finally ceased.

In 1811, consequent on the increased value of copper caused by the costly wars in which this country was engaged, the twopenny and penny pieces (which were of the intrinsic value of the metal) were melted down, and thus the copper currency had again gradually become deficient. In that year the copper companies and others again issued batches of tokens, and these continued to increase and to be issued until 1817, when by Act of Parliament passed on the 27th July, their manufacture was prohibited and their issuers were ordered, under penalties for disobedience, to take up all they had issued before the 1st of January, 1818, exception being made, as I shall show, in the Act of Parliament, in favour of those issued by the Sheffield workhouse, and that of Birmingham. Thus ended the issue of traders' tokens in this kingdom.

And now let me call your attention to the traders' tokens issued in Sheffield during these periods, simply premising that as this enterprising town was one of the *first* (for a token is extant bearing the date 1655) to issue these tokens, so it was one of the *last* to give up the useful practice, for within its bounds they were issued till 1817, the very time when they were prohibited by Act of Parliament.

Of seventeenth century traders' tokens, about a score distinct varieties struck in Sheffield are known. These are as follows :—

1. *Obv.*, JOHN RAMSKER OF; in the inner circle the cutlers' arms, two swords crossed. *Rev.*, SHEAFFIELD, 1655; initials, I. R.

The issuer of this token, Mr. John Ramsker, of Ramscar, was a well-to-do cutler, who besides having his manufactory in Sheffield, had a shop in the Minories in London, where he vended his goods, and where he was succeeded by his former apprentice, Thomas Hollis, the founder of Hollis's Hospital and Schools in Sheffield.

2. *Obv.*, ROBERT BOUGHTON; within the inner circle the initials $\frac{R}{M}$, for Robert and Mary Boughton. *Rev.*, IN SHEFFIELD, 1663; the king's head crowned.

3. *Obv.*, ROBERT BOUGHTON; within the inner circle, HIS PENNY. R. M. B. *Rev.*, IN SHEFFIELD, 1668; the king's head, crowned, within the inner circle.

This would probably be an innkeeper's token, the sign being the King's Head.

4. *Obv.*, SAMVELL BARLOW; within the inner circle the grocers' arms. *Rev.*, IN SHEFFIELD, 1664; the initials S. B.

5. *Obv.*, ROBERT BRIGHT; within the inner circle the mercers' arms. *Rev.*, JOSEPH NAYLOR, 1666; SHEFFIELD $\frac{1}{2}$.

6. *Obv.*, STEPHEN BRIGHT; within the inner circle, HIS HALFE PENNY. *Rev.*, OF SHEFFIELD, 1667; the initials S. B.

These two issuers, Robert and Stephen Bright, I believe to have been brothers, and to have been the second and third sons of Robert Bright of Banner-cross. Robert was born April 18, 1641, and was buried at Sheffield, January 3, 1671, having married Bridgett Scargell. Stephen was born in October, 1644.

7. *Obv.*, MICHAELL BAKER; within inner circle, HIS HALFE PENNY. *Rev.*, OF SHEFFIELD, 1667; the initials S. B.

8. *Obv.*, ABELL ROLLINSON; within the inner circle the ironmongers'

arms. *Rev.*, IN SHEFFIELD, 1667; within the inner circle, HIS HALF PENY.

Abel Rollinson was probably a son of Robert Rollinson, who, dying in 1631, gave by will 20s. a year to the church, 40s. to the Cutlers' Company, £10 to the workhouse, and £10 to the Free School, and was, besides, a great benefactor to the town in many ways.

9. *Obv.*, GEORGE BROADBENT; within the inner circle a greyhound. *Rev.*, IN SHEFFIELD, 1670; within the inner circle, HIS HALF PENY.

The Broadbents, a Quaker family from the beginning of Quakerism, were a well-to-do family connected with the staple trade of the town. Their descendants became merchants and bankers.

10. *Obv.*, "Iosepe . Butler . Draper", in three lines across the coin, in writing letters. *Rev.*, "In Scfeild . his . halfe . Peny . 1668", in four lines across the coin, in writing letters.

This is a heart-shaped token, the only one known of this shape belonging to Sheffield.

11. *Obv.*, WILLIAM COOKE; the drapers' arms. *Rev.*, BRITLAND IN SHEFFIELD; the grocers' arms.

12. *Obv.*, ROBERT DOWNES, 1670; a bunch of grapes. *Rev.*, IN SHEFFIELD; HIS HALF PENY.

In 1690, Joseph Downes was master cutler, and in 1697, Robert Downes, and in 1708 John Downes, held the same office.

13. *Obv.*, GILBERT HOLDSWORTH; the apothecaries' arms. *Rev.*, IN SHEFFIELD, 1670; HIS HALF PENY.

14. *Obv.*, RICH. IBOTSON AND ABELL; the ironmongers' arms. *Rev.*, ROLLINSON OF SHEFFIELD; THEIR HALF PENY.

Abel Rollinson is the same as the issuer of the token No. 8. In that year, 1667, he seems to have been in business by himself as an ironmonger, but in 1670, was in partnership in the same trade with Richard Ibotson, a well-known manufacturing name in Sheffield of later years.

15. *Obv.*, ROBERT MADEN, 1670; the ironmongers' arms. *Rev.*, IN SHEFFIELD; HIS HALF PENY.

16. *Obv.*, JAMES TAYLOR IN SHEFFIELD; 1668. *Rev.*, HIS HALF PENY; within the inner circle an elephant and the initials ^TIS.

17. *Obv.*, BOAZ WARREN; HIS HALFE PENY. *Rev.*, IN SHEFFIELD; the grocers' arms.

18. *Obv.*, ZACHARY WILSON. *Rev.*, LIONEL REVEL.

19. *Obv.*, ABIEEL YEATS IN; within the inner circle a merchant's mark. *Rev.*, SHEFFIELD. 1668; HIS HALFE PENY.

At Attercliffe one token was issued at this same period, and at Rotherham five. They are as follows :—

20. *Obv.*, STEPHEN . CARRE . HAPENY ; within the inner circle the cutlers' arms. *Rev.*, IN ATTARCLIFF . 1664 ; S. M. C.

Stephen Carr was master cutler of Sheffield in 1660, and Robert Carr (I presume his father) held the same office in 1630.

21. *Obv.*, WILLIAM MANDEVILE ; the merchant tailors' arms. *Rev.*, IN ROTHERHAM, 1664 ; W. . M.

22. *Obv.*, TIMOTHY LINLEY OF 1669 ; the mercers' arms. *Rev.*, ROTHERAM ; HIS HALF PENY ; ^LTE.

23. *Obv.*, OF . ROTHERHAM ; T. L. *Rev.*, IN YORKSHIRE ; T. L.
This is a token of Timothy Linley's.

24. *Obv.*, OF ROTHERHAM ; W. S. *Rev.*, IN YORKSHIRE ; T. L.

The initials on the reverse appear to be those of Timothy Linley.

25. JOSEPH SORESBIE ; the mercers' arms. *Rev.*, IN . ROTHERHAM . 1669. HIS HALF PENY.

The Sheffield traders' tokens of the eighteenth century, so far as I know, are as follows :—

1. *Obv.*, SHEFFIELD CONSTITUTIONAL SOCIETY ; a cap of Liberty on a pole between branches of oak ; on a label across the pole, PRO PATRIA. *Rev.*, TO PRESERVE IS TO CONQUER, 1792 ; UNITE AND BE FREE. The British shield, oval, between the colours of America, Holland, France, and Poland. On the ends of the flagstaves of France and America are caps of Liberty, while those of Holland and Poland are broken, and hanging down. *Ex.*, "On demand in London, Liverpool, or Anglesey"; or "Payable at Macclesfield, Liverpool, or Congleton." There are three varieties of this token. One bears the reverse of HACKNEY CHURCH.

2. *Obv.*, YORKSHIRE HALFPENNY, 1793 ; bust, in hat and wig, to the right. *Rev.*, PAYABLE IN SHEFFIELD ; the arms and crest of the Cutlers' Company. Issued by John Hand.

3. *Obv.*, PEACE THROUGHOUT THE GLOBE ; the arms of Sheffield (a sheaf of arrows) on a shield between branches of oak. *Rev.*, SUCCESS TO TRADE, 1794 ; three men working at an anvil. Issued by John Hand.

4. *Obv.*, HALFPENNY PAYABLE AT JOHN HAND'S, SHEFFIELD ; the arms of Sheffield, eight arrows, saltirewise, tied with a central band. *Rev.*, LOVE, PEACE, AND UNION, 1794 ; four hands clasped together. Another variety of this token has on the obverse a small cinquefoil above the Sheffield arms ; another has a pheon on each side the Sheffield arms ; another is countermarked with a pheon between the arrows ; and another has on the reverse a pheon between the wrists of the four conjoined hands.

5. *Obv.*, ENGLAND EXPECTS EVERY MAN TO DO HIS DUTY ; profile of bust of Admiral Lord Nelson, to the left, in naval uniform and bob-wig ; on a small medal below the shirt-frill, W, for Thomas Wyon, by whom this token was engraved. *Rev.*, HALFPENNY TOKEN, 1811, PAYABLE AT NO. 18,

NORFOLK ROW, SHEFFIELD; a small gamecock. The inscription occupies the entire field in one encircling and five horizontal lines. Another variety bears the same *obv.*, but on *rev.* has a ship in full sail, and "British Naval Halfpenny."

6. *Obv.*, FOR PUBLIC ACCOMMODATION, SHEFFIELD; laureated profile bust of King George III, to the right, draped; on the shoulder the letter H, for Halliday, by whom this token was engraved. *Rev.*, ONE PENNY TOKEN, 1812; figure of Britannia seated, holding in the extended right hand an olive branch; in the left, which is down by her side, a trident; at her side an oval shield, with Union Jack; and in the extreme distance, in front, a ship in full sail. Very similar in design to the reverse of George III's pennies.

7. *Obv.*, ONE PENNY TOKEN, 1812, in sunk letters on a raised rim, in same style as the old Soho pennies of 1797; in the field a seated figure of Britannia with olive-branch, trident, shield, ship, etc., as usual; below the shield, H, for Halliday, by whom this token was engraved. *Rev.*, PAYABLE AT S. HOBSON & SON'S, BUTTON MANUFACTURERS, in sunk letters on a raised rim; in the field, SHEFFIELD, and a sheaf of eight arrows saltirewise, bound together with a ribbon; on either side is a pheon, and at the top a winged cherubim.

8. *Obv.*, the same as No. 7, but from a different die; date, 1813. *Rev.*, same as No. 7.

9. *Obv.*, PHENIX IRON WORKS, SHEFFIELD; view of the Phoenix Iron Foundry; below this are two cannon and a pile of shot. *Rev.*, ONE PENNY TOKEN, 1813; a figure of Justice standing between a bale of goods, and a cask which is labelled S. J. & CO.; a small letter H for Halliday, by whom the dies were engraved.

10. *Obv.*, SHEFFIELD PENNY TOKEN; draped figure of Justice standing; in her right hand, which is down by her side, an olive-branch; in her left, which is raised across her breast, a pair of scales. *Rev.*, OVERSEERS OF THE POOR, 1812; in the field a front view of Sheffield Workhouse.

11. *Obv.*, same as No. 10. *Rev.*, ditto, with date 1813.

12. *Obv.*, same as No. 10. *Rev.*, ditto, with date 1814.

13. *Obv.*, same as No. 10; on the base, v d. *Rev.*, ditto, with date 1815. There are various dies of these tokens.

The Act of Parliament of July 27, 1817 (to which I have alluded), suppressing the issue or circulation of traders' tokens, contains a very interesting allusion, and proviso, relating to this special token. It is as follows:—"And whereas such tokens bearing the superscription SHEFFIELD PENNY TOKEN had been issued from time to time, during the years 1812, 1813, 1814, and 1815, by the overseers of the poor of the township of Sheffield, in the county of York, the immediate suppression of which would be attended with great loss to the said township, and to the holders of such tokens, being for the most part labourers and mechanics, as well as with great inconvenience to the inhabitants of the said township and the neighbourhood thereof; it was, therefore, further enacted that in case any such Sheffield

tokens as had been issued by the overseers of the poor of the township previous to the passing of the Act should, after the 25th March, 1823, and previous to the 25th September in the same year be presented to the said overseers for the time being or their agent, at the workhouse of the said township, the said overseers should receive such tokens, paying to the holder thereof one penny of the current coin of the realm for each of them. In case of their refusal to do so, one justice to have power, upon complaint, to summon the overseers, and (should he see just cause) to order them to receive such tokens and to pay one penny for the same, with all costs and charges. Provided always that it should and might be lawful for the said overseers to pay such penny, but not the cost and charges, out of any money received by them for the relief and maintenance of the poor of the said township." The overseers were also given power to call in any amount they should deem advisable of these tokens previous to March 25th, 1823, paying one penny each for them.

14. *Obv.*, ROSCOE PLACE, SHEFFIELD ; a general perspective view of the Roscoe Place Works, extending to the full diameter of the coin ; on the foreground, to the right, H for Halliday, by whom the die was engraved. *Rev.*, ONE PENNY TOKEN, 1812 ; a female draped figure, presumably typical of commerce, justice, peace, and plenty, seated upon a bale of goods ; her right hand extended holds a pair of scales ; her left arm, which is by her side, supports a cornucopia filled with fruit and grain ; on the ball are the letters Y and D (for Younge and Deakin) ; on the foreground lies a sword ; in the extreme distance, in front of the figure, is a ship in full sail.

15. *Obv.*, same as No. 14. *Rev.*, ditto, with date 1813.

Two or three different sets of dies were used for these tokens, but the variations are very slight.

16. *Obv.*, ROSCOE PLACE, SHEFFIELD ; view of the manufactory ; beneath it Y & D, for Younge and Deakin. *Rev.*, HALFPENNY TOKEN, 1812 ; seated figure, same as on No. 14 ; on the ball the letters I S & CO.

17. *Obv.*, laureated, draped profile bust of George III to the right, surrounded with a wreath of oak-leaves ; beneath is 1813. *Rev.*, same as No. 14, but without date or sword.

18. *Obv.*, BIRMINGHAM AND SHEFFIELD ; within the inner circle ONE PENNY. *Rev.*, COPPER COMPANY ; within the inner circle, TOKEN, 1812 ; at the bottom a rose.

The gold and silver tokens issued at Sheffield, for both were issued in the early part of the present century, are as follows ; Messrs. Younge and Deakin being the largest minters and issuers in the northern half of England :

19. *Obv.*, YOUNGE, WILSONS, & YOUNGE, SHEFFIELD; in the field a phoenix, head to the right, wings expanded, rising from flames. *Rev.*, YORKSHIRE TOKEN, 1812; in the field, STANDARD GOLD, 10s. 6d.

This is the only gold token.

20. *Obv.*, YOUNGE & DEAKIN, SHEFFIELD; in the field a shield bearing the arms of Sheffield, a sheaf of eight arrows saltirewise, bound with a ribbon, between two pheons. Crest, on a wreath, a winged cherub; between a palm and an oak-branch. *Rev.*, TWO SHILLINGS & SIXPENCE SILVER TOKEN, 1812; seated female figure, same as on the reverse of the Roscoe Place penny, No. 14.

21. *Obv.*, YOUNGE & DEAKIN, SHEFFIELD; the arms of Sheffield (not in a shield), a sheaf of eight arrows saltirewise, banded with a ribbon, between two pheons. Crest, a winged cherub; between an oak and a palm-branch. *Rev.*, ONE SHILLING SILVER TOKEN, 1811.

22. *Obv.*, same as No. 21. *Rev.*, SIXPENCE SILVER TOKEN, 1811.

23. *Obv.*, S & C YOUNGE & CO. SHEFFIELD. The arms of Sheffield, not in a shield, within a wreath. *Rev.*, ONE SHILLING SILVER TOKEN, 1812. Justice seated on a bale, a sword by her side.

24. *Obv.*, SHEFFIELD 1811. The arms of Sheffield, not in a shield. *Rev.*, OVERSEERS OF THE POOR. In the field ONE SHILLING TOKEN.

There is another description of modern tokens which my account would not be complete without enumerating. I allude to tradesmen's shop tickets, and those issued by public institutions, etc., not as medals, but really as an "advertising," if not a "circulating medium." In these, Sheffield is tolerably rich, some twenty or more varieties being known. For most of these I am indebted to Mr. Batty, who has paid particular attention to this branch, and whose catalogue of copper coinage is in course of publication. They are as follows:—

24.* *Obv.*, BRITANNIA PRINTING OFFICE, JOHN BLURTON, CASTLE STREET, SHEFFIELD. THE CHEAPEST PRINTING OFFICE IN THE WORLD. In the field a well executed seated figure of Britannia to the right, holding in her left hand a trident; her right, which is down by her side, resting on a shield of the royal arms; behind her, a lion couchant; in front, in the distance, a ship in full sail. *Rev.*, JOHN BLURTON, PRINTER, CASTLE STREET, SHEFFIELD. In the field a Columbian printing press. No date.

25. *Obv.*, ROBERT KING, MAKER, SHEFFIELD. In a plain oval within a circle of dots. *Rev.*, 8TH PATRIOTIC BUILDING SOCIETY, ESTAB'D MAY 1860.

26. *Obv.*, "T Youdan, Promenade, Sheffield." *Rev.*, View of a building.

27. *Obv.*, "Royal Parisian Concert Hall, Sheffield." *Rev.*, "Cheque 3d." between laurel branches.

28. *Obv.*, "J. Bright, Market Place, Sheffield." *Rev.*, Hebrew characters, radiated, over a crown, "Fear God, honour the king."

29. *Obv.*, "Page Hall, Aug. 7." *Rev.*, incuse.

30. *Obv.*, "Sheffield & Rotherham Railway, opened October 31, 1838." *Rev.*, "Omnibus check No. 3."

31. *Obv.*, "William Jackson, Sheffield, 1766." *Rev.*, plain.

32. *Obv.*, "Rodger's Warranted Cutlery." Two demi-sea horses. *Rev.*, three demi-sea horses.

33. *Obv.*, "Royal Pavilion Music Hall, Sheffield 3d." *Rev.*, "Thomas Jackson, proprietor," between laurel branches.

34. *Obv.*, "Royal Alhambra, 2d." *Rev.*, "Concert Hall." Arms of Sheffield.

35. *Obv.*, "To Broom Hall Threepence." "From the New Market, Peter Collis's Omnibus." *Rev.*, "From Broom Hall to the New Market 3d." "Cabs and party carriages on the shortest notice."

36. *Obv.*, "The Athenæum, Sheffield." *Rev.*, plain.

37. *Obv.*, "Presbyterian Church, Sheffield." *Rev.*, "Do this in remembrance of me."

38. *Obv.*, "Glossop Road Baths." *Rev.*, plain.

39. *Obv.*, "A. H. Holland, grocer and tea dealer, 119, West Street, Sheffield."

40. "W. Crowther, tea and coffee merchant, Fargate, Sheffield."

41. "W. Harvey, provision merchant, Castle Street and Sheffield Moor."

42. "J. V. Bellamy, provision merchant, Sheffield."

43. "Tea, Coffee, and Grocery Warehouse. C. Eyre, 27, Broad St., Sheffield."

44. *Obv.*, "Botanical Gardens, Sheffield." In the field the arms of Sheffield. *Rev.*, plain.

45. *Obv.*, "Sheffield Mechanics' Exhibition." In the field the arms of Sheffield. *Rev.*, plain.

46. *Obv.*, "Sheffield Mechanics' Exhibition." In the field the Cutlers' arms. *Rev.*, plain.

These latter, or "advertisement tokens," from No. 24 to 46, are poor, worthless, insignificant matters to us at the present day, but who knows but that some day one or other will tell a tale that may be of use, and supply a link in topography or genealogy that may be of value and importance? Hence it is that I have included them in this paper.

Evelyn, who wrote two hundred years ago, when tokens were the order of the day, and were "plenty as blackberries" all over the land, says, "The tokens which every tavern and tippling house, in the days of anarchy amongst us, presumed to stamp and utter for immediate exchange, as they were passable through the neighbourhood, which, though seldom reaching further than the next street or two, may happily, in after times, come to exercise and busie the learned critic what they should signifie, and fill whole volumes with their conjectures." Evelyn's prophecy has been amply fulfilled in our own day, and who knows but in two hundred years more the miserable little pieces now issued by the

“Butchers and bakers
And candlestick makers”

of Sheffield and other places may “exercise and busy the learned critics” who may then have succeeded us?

I have discoursed, I fear, very dryly and imperfectly about the traders' tokens of days long since past and gone. Let me conclude by accepting the present meeting, and the many others which will be held during our Congress, as a *token*, an unmistakable and genuine, not a *counterfeit* one—not a “Brummagen” article, but a real Sheffield token, true as your own steel—of the interest which this intelligent, this wealthy, and this important locality takes in the science and in the study of antiquities.

ON THE WHIRLIGIG, OR TOP.

BY H. SYER CUMING, ESQ., F.S.A. SCOT., V.P.

So few ancient toys have escaped destruction, and so little attention hitherto paid to juvenile games, that we are much in the dark respecting the age and origin of some of our most common playthings, among which must be mentioned the *top* or *whirligig*, described by Johnson as “an inverted conoid which children set to turn on the point, continuing its motion with a whip.”

The top has not as yet been recognised among the childish sports of the Egyptians, but it was certainly well known to the classic nations. The Greeks had three names for the top, or three varieties of the little whirligig, distinguished by the titles of *bembix*, *rombos*, and *strombos*. The Romans called the toy *turbo*, and a curious allusion is made to it in a simile by Virgil in the *Æneid* (vii, 378-381), when after speaking of Alecto being infected with Gorgonian poison, he says:—“She rages frantic with unexampled fury through the ample bounds of the city, as at times a whip-top whirling under the twisted lash, which boys intent on their sport drive in a large circuit round some empty court; the engine driven about by the scourge is hurried round and round in circling courses; the unpractised throng and beardless band are lost in admiration of the voluble

box-wood ; they lend their souls to the stroke. With no less impetuous career is the queen driven through the midst of cities, and among crowds all in fierce commotion." Dryden renders the passage thus :—

"As young striplings whip the top for sport,
On the smooth pavement of an empty court ;
The wooden engine whirls and flies about,
Admir'd with clamours of the beardless rout,
They lash about, each other they provoke,
And lend their little souls at ev'ry stroke."

We learn from the above that the Roman *turbo* was made of box-wood, a fact which is further shown in Persius's third *Satire*—

"Neu quis callidior *buxum* torquere flagello."

which Dryden translates—

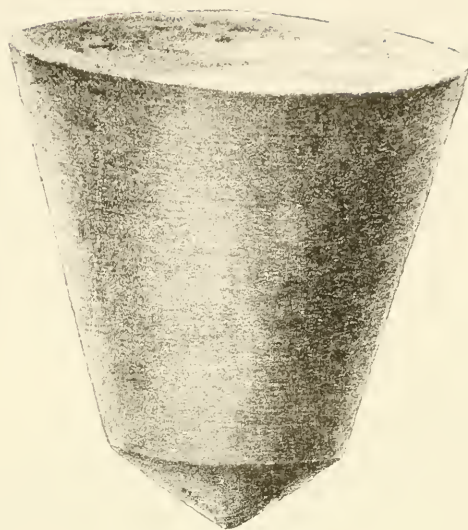
"The whirling top they whip,
And drive her giddy till she fall asleep."

Other woods beside the *buxus*, and other substances beside wood, were in all probability employed by the Roman toy makers for tops, and we have tangible evidence that in one instance at least the *turbo* was wrought of terra-cotta. The example referred to was exhumed in 1869, in a field in the parish of River, near Dover, and is now in the collection of our associate the Rev. S. M. Mayhew. It measures $2\frac{5}{8}$ in. in height, $2\frac{1}{2}$ across its flat apex, from which the body decreases in diameter for about $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. down, where it is $1\frac{1}{4}$ in. across, thence suddenly slopes off to the point. It will be perceived at once, that this Roman *turbo* differs in contour from the whipping tops of the present day, inasmuch as it consists of two conic portions, whereas our modern toys have a cylindrical body and conic base. This rare, if not unique relic of youthful sport, is carefully fabricated of compact paste of a buff hue ; well fired, and in general aspect resembles the material of vessels found in London. (See Pl. 1, fig. 1.)

Without affirming that the Britannie urchins amused themselves with the top, it is still highly probable that they did so, as we find a name for the toy in the Kymraeg language, *chwyrnell*.

That tops were common in England at least as early as the 14th century is apparent from the illustrations of MSS. of that era. In olden times the toy was called a *gig*, *nun*

Fig. 1



Roman Turbo
of Terra-Cotta

Fig. 2



Old English Grog
of Horn.



(or as the Dutch had it *nonne*), and *horney*, the latter title being confined to the top made of the pointed end of bovine horn, and to which kind, allusion is made by Shakspeare in *Love's Labour's Lost* (v. 1), where Holofernes says to Moth—"Thou disputest like an infant; go, whip thy *gig*." To which Moth replies, "Lend me your horn to make one, and I will whip about your infamy *circum circa*, a *gig* of a cuckold's horn!"

I have a sketch of a gig about 2 in. in height, wrought of ox-horn; the upper part encircled by two incised lines, and the sides much more conical than those of our wooden tops, it is in fact almost of the Roman type. The original (which I regret to say is now lost) is known to have been in existence in the time of George I, and in all probability it was even then far from being a "new toy." (See Pl. 1, fig. 2.)

Strange as it may seem, there appears to have been a time when tops had a certain connection with religion, for it is reported that at the "Burial of Alleluia," as the ceremony was called, it was the custom in a Parisian church for a chorister to whip a top from one end of the choir to the other, on which was written in golden letters the word "Alleluia."¹

"He sleeps like a town top", or "a parish top", is an old proverbial expression far oftener heard than understood. In *Poor Robin's Almanack* for 1677, we are told in *The Fanatick's Chronology*, that it was then "1804 years since the first invention of town-tops." And mention of such things is made by writers of an earlier period. In Shakspeare's *Twelfth Night* (i, 3) Sir Toby Belch says—"He's a coward, and a coystil, that will not drink to my niece till his brains turn o' the toe like a parish top." And Fletcher in his comedy of *The Night Walker*, or *The Little Thief*, has—"And dances like a town top, and reels and hobbles." This town or parish top was a great thing of wood provided for the amusement of the lower orders in cold weather, the exertion of whipping it tending to keep them warm. Randal Holme gives a long and curious catalogue of popular sports, among which are—

"Shoot cock, Gregory, stool-ball, and what not;
Pick-point, *top* and *scourge*, to make him hot."

The presence of the whipping top is not confined to the

¹ See Hone's *Every Day Book*, i, p. 199.

old world, for it is one of the aboriginal amusements of the South Sea Islanders. The examples of New Zealand tops which I have seen are more ovate in contour than those of Europe, and higher in proportion to their width; some have their upper surfaces embellished with fantastic carving, and inlaid with mother of pearl. The wood employed for the Maori tops is of a hard texture, and rich brown colour. A specimen, 8 in. in height, is described in this *Journal*, x. 108.

Two other members of the whirligig family, viz. the peg-top and humming top, must now be briefly mentioned, but the history and origin of both are most obscure. The peg-top, or *pearie*, as it is called in Scotland, from its resemblance in form to a pear, is in all likelihood of much earlier date than some suspect. Strutt, who gathered the materials for his *Sports and Pastimes* at the close of last century, expresses his belief that the peg-top "must be ranked among the modern inventions;" but Fosbroke (*Encyclopædia of Antiquities*, ii, 697) shrewdly suggests that the *turbo cuspidatus*, with the peg of which a son of Pepin, in a passion, struck a playfellow in the temples, was the toy in question.

According to Florio (*Vocabolario Italiano ed Inglese*, ed. 1688) the word *pirlo* meant alike a whirligig and a peg or pin, which suggests the idea that the peg-top was known in Italy in the seventeenth century, if not before.

Strutt describes a game under the title of *The Devil among the Tailors*, in which a peg-top is made to revolve amid and knock down a certain number of pins stood like skittles on a circular board with a raised rim, but he mentions not the time of its invention.

In *The Mother's Remarks on a Set of Cuts for Children*, London, 1802, p. 22, it is said—"Boys have different kinds of tops, some which are kept up by whipping, some made to spin by winding string round them; these last give opportunity for an experiment, namely, to paint a stripe of each colour, and when the top whisks briskly round, the union appears to be white, which is formed of all the colours blended. It is curious, too, to observe the humming top, the sound occasioned by the wind rushing into the hole, which there always is on one side of these tops, has surprised many a child." The passage here cited is a clear proof that the humming top was a familiar toy when these *Remarks* were written, and yet some persons say it came into vogue during the pre-

sent generation. This species of top has certainly been in use for a century and a half, and in all probability for a much longer period. In Scotland it is called the *French pearie*, which indicates it to be an importation from our Gallic neighbours. The hollow drum of the humming top varied a good deal in size and form, sometimes being nearly globular, at others barrel-shaped, and pyriformed; and gaily painted in bands of bright colours, "roses red, and violets blue," and other pleasing devices. At the present day the *toupie à ressort*, of lackered metal, is trying hard to thrust aside the old wooden humming top, but depend upon it the latter will outlast its little rival for many a long year.

The Serson top, the flying top, and the magic or chameleon top, are philosophical toys of too recent invention to be dwelt on here, but all of which are closely allied to the humming top in their mode of spinning.

The tetotum or spilcock demands a passing notice, for it may be regarded as a sort of table top spun with the fingers instead of with a cord.

There is in the *Museum Britannicum* (tab. xvii, fig. 4) what Boyle describes as "a tetotum of green jasper." It is an exoctaedron or truncated cube, each face graven with a Roman numeral, the highest number being xiv, and it is perforated as if for the admission of a peg or axis by which it might be spun in the manner of our tetotums; but we lack further evidence before we are assured that the Roman children played with such things.

In Boyer's *French and English Dictionary*, 1699, occurs the word "*pirouette (sorte de petit jouet)* a whirligig," which I take to be what we call a tetotum.

Joseph Strutt, who was born in 1749, and died in 1802, says, "When I was a boy the tetotum had only four sides, each of them marked with a letter, a T for take all, an H for half, that is of the stake; an N for nothing; and a P for put down, that is, a stake equal to that you put down at first." He adds, "Toys of this kind are now made with many sides and letters." The quadrangular tetotum, like other old toys, has now become extremely rare, but I possess one which was in use during the reign of George II. It is of bone, stained red, the white letters being produced by scraping off the dye so as to expose the original surface of the substance.

Tetotums have not only been made of bone, ivory, and boxwood, but of brass and silver, with the letters blackened in the manner of *niello*.

We grow almost giddy with the contemplation of these various whirligigs, reeling out of the hazy depths of antiquity like so many vertiginous toppers whose antecedences are shrouded in mystery, and who are too oblivious to give any account of themselves. Trivial as the top may be, it has played its part in man's career on earth, and we ought not therefore to neglect its history, although to express an interest in it would appear to some as ridiculous as it would (to use the language of Biron in *Love's Labour's Lost*, iv, 3)

“To see great Hercules whipping a gig,
And profound Solomon tuning a jig,
And Nestor play at push-pin with the boys,
And critic Timon laugh at idle toys.”

THE REMAINS OF SHEFFIELD MANOR.

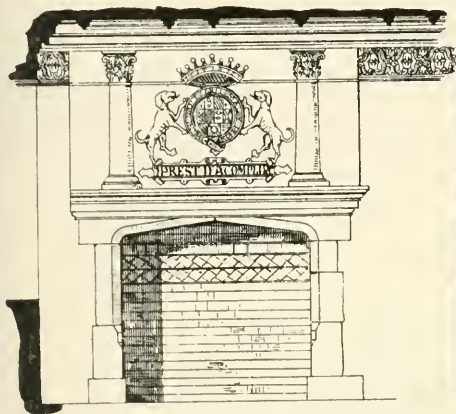
BY JOHN DANIEL LEADER, ESQ.

SHEFFIELD Manor, or Sheffield Lodge, the scanty remains of which we inspected on Monday, can boast no high antiquity, nor lay claim, in an archæological sense, to any long career. Built by the fourth Earl of Shrewsbury, about the year 1525, it has passed through a century of noontide splendour, a century of cold neglect, and nearly two centuries of decay.

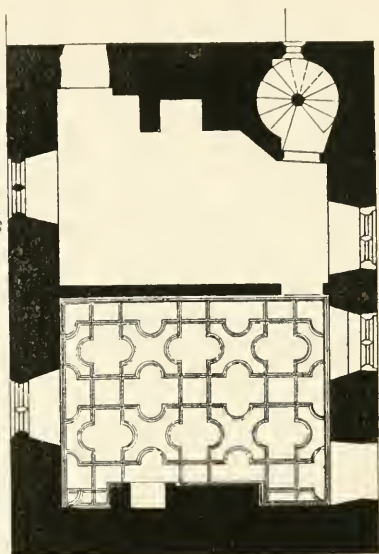
Until the death of Earl Gilbert in 1616, Sheffield Lodge was the favourite, if not the most magnificent seat of the Earls of Shrewsbury. From 1616 to 1706 it was habitable and occasionally inhabited, and from 1706 to the present day it has been steadily crumbling away. What it is now we have seen. Anything more squalid, more wretched, or more dangerous than the dwellings that have been formed out of its remains it would be difficult to conceive. Its smells excel those of Cologne in strength and variety, while the association of ancient luxury with modern filth is quite Egyptian in its character and thoroughly Irish in its details.

In the reign of Henry VIII England found herself enjoying peace at home after the long turmoil of the wars of the roses; and when, in the person of the King, the white

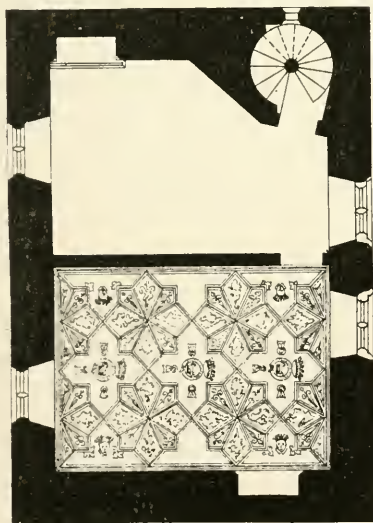
The Lodge, Sheffield Manor.



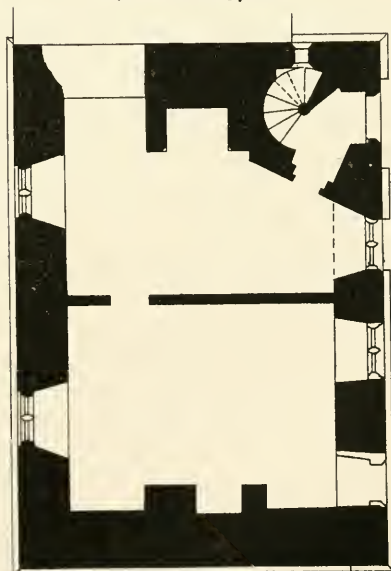
Fireplace on Upper Floor.



First Floor Plan.



Second Floor Plan.



Ground Plan.

Scale of 10 0 10 20 Feet



rose and the red were mingled, the nobility thought the time had arrived when they might safely indulge in some of the luxuries of domestic architecture, and exchange their Norman castles for Tudor mansions. The Lords of Hallamshire had had a strong castle at Sheffield, standing at the confluence of the Sheaf and Don, at least since the reign of Henry I; but George, the fourth Earl of Shrewsbury, who succeeded his father when only five years old, found himself in the early years of the sixteenth century with a fine estate, money in hand, and a taste for building. Selecting the most elevated spot in his park of 2,461 acres, Shrewsbury proceeded to change the hunting lodge of his forefathers into a mansion, covering with its courts and gardens more than four acres. The records are not precise as to the date of this work, but Sir William Dugdale in his notes on the armorial bearings seen by him in the great gallery, has left us a tolerably clear indication of the period of its erection. Among other shields of no special significance were three well worthy of attention. One displayed the six great quarterings of Talbot impaling Hastings; another gave Talbot, as before, impaling Walden; and a third displayed France and England impaling Spain. The Earl of Shrewsbury's first wife was Ann, daughter of William, Lord Hastings; and his second, Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Richard Walden of Erith, in Kent. The gallery was built, therefore, after the second marriage, which took place about 1521 or 1522. The royal arms of England impaling those of Spain, would not have been displayed by a courtier after Henry VIII's conscience had become uneasy about his marriage with Catherine of Aragon, an event that was made public in the year 1527. Between 1522 and 1527, therefore, the hall was built, and we cannot be far wrong in assigning to it the date of 1525.

The manor house was a stone, timber, and brick erection, with "an inward court and an outward court, two gardens and three yards." The chief entrance was on the west side, between two lofty octagonal towers of stone and brick, from which a flight of steps led to the great hall, and thence northwards to the long gallery, which occupied the whole west front northward of the entrance gates, and terminated at the north-west angle of the building in a "goodlie" tower chamber, probably the best lodging in the house. On the

south front were the chief-rooms of the mansion, the apartments being numerous but small ; and from the east end of this front the buildings returned for a short distance towards the north. In the enclosure between the tower chamber on the north, the long gallery on the west, and the range of buildings on the south, lay the garden, the original wall of which, forming its eastern boundary, is still standing. Away to the east lay the stable yard, access to which was obtained by a gateway, which may still be seen nearly opposite the main entrance ; and among the buildings still standing are interesting remains of a strongly timbered barn. Outside the south front lay a terrace garden, and between the main entrance and the present manor farm stretched a pleasant level lawn. Of the Manor Farm and its associations I shall have occasion to speak in a short time. Of the internal arrangement of the Lodge we have little information. Probably an inventory of the furniture there and at the castle, made in 1582, and preserved among the Talbot papers at the College of Arms, gives the most complete account that has come down to us, both of the apartments and their contents, and that is all too scanty to satisfy the curious enquirer after the relics of Sheffield's feudal age. From this we learn that there was the great gallery on the west, in which the fallen Wolsey paced with his kindly host ; the tower chamber containing two fair corded bedsteads of inlaid work, in which my Lord Cardinal slept ; the great chamber, with its cistern of alabaster ; the queen's gallery with its ashen table ; the queen's chamber and her "utter" chamber ; the nursery containing "a fair square chest inlaid with white bone made by my Lord Francis with the Talbot and F. S.," almost spoiled through evil using ; the porter's lodge, the chamber over the stable ; the kitchens and larders ; a wash-house and a low wash-house, a pantry, brew-house, and bakehouse, besides the workmen's chamber, the saddler's chamber, and several others. A mere enumeration of rooms, even if we add the information that the walls were hung with tapestry representing the story of Hercules, the story of the Passion, and other religious and classic histories ; that there were Turkey carpets, embroidered bed hangings, crimson and velvet cushions, and chairs covered with purple velvet and embroidered with cloth of gold, with crimson silk and silver, and some with cloth of tissue, does

not possess absorbing interest, nor single out this manor house from among other houses for our special attention.

But it was the fortune of Sheffield Lodge during its hundred years of splendour, to be associated with the adversity of two famous historical personages, Cardinal Wolsey and Mary Queen of Scots.

When Wolsey had been arrested at Cawood by order of the king in November 1530, he was conveyed to Sheffield, where the Earl of Shrewsbury received him with much courtesy, and treated him more like a guest than a prisoner. And the Cardinal, forgetting the hauteur of his days of prosperity, was not to be outdone in condescension, but kissed Lady Shrewsbury "with his cap in his hand, bare-headed", as she stood before the gates at the Lodge, and "all the other gentlewomen, and took the earl's servants by the hand, as well gentlemen as yeomen." Wolsey was conducted by Shrewsbury to the great gallery, across which "a travers of sarcenett" had been drawn, reserving one half to the Cardinal and the other half to the Earl, while his lodging was in a "goodlie tower" at the end of the gallery. "Once every day my Lord of Shrewsbury would repair unto him and commune with him, sitting on a bench in a great window in the gallery," striving to comfort and reassure the fallen minister. But Wolsey remained in the utmost dejection for the space of a fortnight, steadfastly refusing every suggestion for his amusement, "either in hunting or otherwise," until one day at dinner, Cavendish, his faithful gentleman usher, perceived his countenance change, and "judged him not to be in good health." The Cardinal admitted that he was ill, saying, "I am taken suddenly with a thing about my stomach that lieth there along as cold as a whetstone." An apothecary was called in and administered "a white confection in a fair paper," which seemed for the time to give relief. But the pain at the stomach changed into what in modern phraseology would be called a violent attack of diarrhoea, and "one Doctor Nicholas, a doctor of physie," on seeing his state "determined how he should not live four or five days." The Cardinal, however, was determined to continue his journey towards London as soon as Sir William Kingston, Lieutenant of the Tower, came with a guard of twenty-four men to remove him from the gentle custody of Shrewsbury. In great pain and weakness he



rode three days' journey, and arriving at Leicester Abbey there died, as all the world doth know. He was at Sheffield altogether about eighteen days, augmenting the historic interest attaching to Shrewsbury's house, and making the capital of Hallamshire, famous as the place where the angel of death served his summons on the great minister of Henry VIII.

Forty years after Wolsey's departure, namely on the 28th November, 1570, Sheffield received her second celebrated prisoner of state, Mary Queen of Scots, who was committed to the care of George, the sixth Earl of Shrewsbury. On this occasion the interests at stake were too momentous, and the prisoner too full of plots and stratagems, to make it safe to place her in the open mansion at the Lodge. The Queen of Scots was accordingly confined in the Castle by the town, and it was not until 1573, that she was allowed to visit the Manor. Shrewsbury had had it in his mind to grant her this indulgence during the summer of 1572, but, as he says in a letter to Burghley, dated August 26th, "finding the place where she is, safer than I looked for, and considering if any practices should be used betwixt this and Hallowtide is the fittest time to put it in use; I therefore mind not to remove her at all, unless it be for five or six days to cleanse her chamber, being kept very uncleanly." A few days after the date of this letter, the news of the massacre of St. Bartholomew threw the whole country into a panic. The Queen of Scots, as the representative in England of the Roman Catholic cause, was more closely confined than ever; her guard was augmented, and the country around Sheffield carefully watched. But in the spring of 1573, Mary was for the first time removed to the Lodge, having "gone thither of force till the castle could be elenged." So strictly was she guarded, however, that "unless she could transform herself into a flea or a mouse it was impossible she should scape." So at least said Gilbert Talbot, the Earl of Shrewsbury's second son, and he further added "that good numbers of men, continually armed, watched her day and night, and both under her windows, over her chamber, and of every side of her." Mary's stay at the Lodge was on this occasion, however, brief; but she returned thither on the 29th April, 1574, when she wrote to M. Duvergier, her chancellor, sending him instructions about the management of

her dowry, complaining of the conduct of her uncle the Cardinal of Lorraine in disposing of places in her gift, charging M. Puyquillein with forgery, and generally finding fault with all the people concerned in the management of her dowry in France. On the 22nd September in the same year, the Queen of Scots dated at the Manor an instruction relative to her long law suit with M. Secondat, about some property that formed part of her dower, and after this visit, an interval of a year and a half occurs before we find her there again ; but on the 12th March, 1576, she wrote from Sheffield Manor to M. de Mauvissiere, complaining of the bad state of her health, and urging the need she felt for a visit to the waters of Buxton.

The year 1577 seems to have been marked by some amelioration in the lot of the Queen of Scots, and she was permitted to dwell from January to July at the Manor. In February she drew up the draft of a will dated "*au Manoir de Sheffield en Angleterre*", and in July she wrote to the Archbishop of Glasgow, her ambassador at Paris, speaking of a visit Leicester had just before paid to Buxton "expressly to ascertain," as the Queen of Scots says, "the inclinations of the nobility in reference to the marriage which he designs to solemnise with this queen." Mary had herself been sounded by an agent of Leicester's as to her feelings towards such a match, and secretary Nau appears to have visited Buxton while Leicester was there. "I do not know," adds Mary, "that I ought to pay attention to all this conversation, but it seems to me that they wish to gain my good will . . . to facilitate their marriage." From the Manor, Mary was taken in July to Chatsworth, and on the 3rd August she was again at Sheffield Castle.

On the 20th June, 1578, we find the Queen of Scots writing from Sheffield Manor, and a few days afterwards she went again to Chatsworth, where she remained until the 5th October, when she once more returned to Sheffield Manor and remained there, at all events until after the 21st of November. In the earlier months of 1579, she was at Sheffield Castle, but June found her for a short time at the Manor, and after a visit to Chatsworth and Buxton she was at the Manor again in September and October. On the 12th of the latter month Mary acknowledged the receipt of 500 crowns from the Archbishop of Glasgow, and of 1,000

crowns advanced to her by the Earl of Shrewsbury, which latter sum she desires the Archbishop to repay to Shrewsbury's man forthwith.

In May of the following year, 1580, the Queen of Scots wrote a long letter from the Manor to the Archbishop of Glasgow, and it was about that time that Francis Talbot, Shrewsbury's eldest son, being questioned by Queen Elizabeth, replied, "For your lordship, I told her I attended of you at Sheffield, to know your pleasure, and your lordship came to a house which you were a building, and there I took my leave of your lordship, and you returned to your charge, but as for the Queen of Scots I had not seen [her for] many years." On the 12th June, Mary, in an autograph postscript to one of her letters, gives an intimation to M. de Glasgow that the family of her keeper were anxious to conciliate her favour, for she had been secretly invited to stand as godmother to a child of Gilbert Talbot's. She therefore asked him to send her at once a suitable present worth four or five hundred crowns. On the 14th July, Mary wrote to the same prelate with her own hand explaining that her secretary was ill in bed, and giving various directions about the negotiations at that time in hand. On the 26th she started for Buxton, and in mounting her horse in the court yard at the Castle was thrown heavily to the ground and hurt her back, through the animal starting aside. Mary remained about three weeks at Buxton, and on the 3rd September was again at the Manor, sending a rare and beautiful gelding as a present to her cousin the Duke of Guise.

The powers given by Mary to Guise to treat in her name for the association of her son with herself in the crown of Scotland, are dated at the Manor of Sheffield 5th January, 1581. In February of the same year she wrote to M. de Mauvissiere "my illness increased much during the last five or six days, and though I have been, I may say, at extremity, I could not obtain what was requisite and necessary for my health. At present I am a little better, though very weak and reduced." On the 1st May she wrote to Mauvissiere, begging him to obtain for her permission to have a coach or litter in which to take the air, and says that she was become so weak and debilitated that she could not take one hundred steps on foot, and since Easter had been compelled to be carried in an arm chair.

On the 2nd September, 1582, Mary writes to Mauvissiere from the Manor complaining that eight days before she had fallen very ill, and did not see, unless her situation was ameliorated, how she could survive the coming winter. The occasion of the Queen of Scots' visit to the Manor at this time was a melancholy one in the Talbot family, for the day after she wrote as above, the earl's eldest son, Francis, was interred in the family vault at Sheffield, and the Castle during the bustle and confusion of a funeral was no place for so important a captive. From this date until the final departure of the Queen of Scots from Sheffield in September 1584, I find no certain trace of her presence at the Manor. Her letters are most of them dated "from Sheffield", without specifying Manor or Castle, so that she may have been at either mansion when writing; but it is certain from other evidences that at all events the greater part of her time was spent at the castle.

We have seen enough to convince us that the Queen of Scots did pass some portion of her time at Sheffield Manor, and a curious question has lately arisen, whether we do not still possess the identical building in which she was there confined. The idea was first thrown out by the Rev. J. Stacey, and further reflection and examination tend to encourage the belief that in the little three-storied building now undergoing restoration, we see a prison house specially erected by the sixth Earl of Shrewsbury for the reception of the Queen of Scots. Mr. Hunter, in his *History of Hal-lamshire*, speaks of that building as a porter's lodge of the time of Earl Gilbert, but judging from its decorations it must have been a much more important erection. The narrow turret staircase, the strong crooks on which the doors formerly hung, suggest the idea of security, while the richly ornamented ceiling of the two chambers, and particularly of the upper one, point to the conclusion that the building was intended for the use of no inconsiderable person.

If the members of this Association had visited Sheffield Manor a few months ago, and had enquired for the Queen of Scots' room, they would have been shown by the farmer's wife the two chambers on the upper floor; the outer one occupied by a few old boxes and quite dark, the inner one lighted by a modern sash window on the east side, but

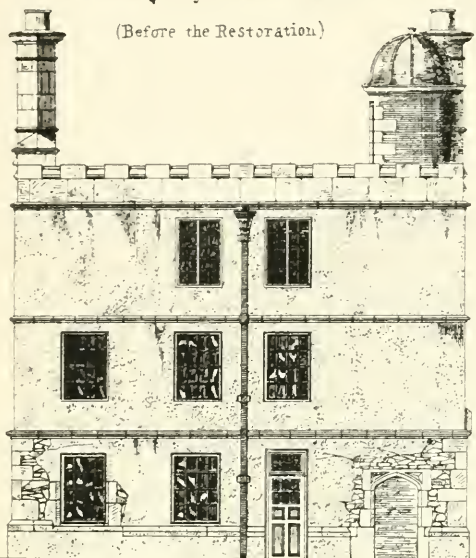
adorned with a rich heraldic ceiling, and over the walled-up fireplace was an almost illegible plaster cast of the arms of Talbot. The old plaster floor was still entire, if a little uneven. In some places the rain was finding its way through the roof, and the room had a melancholy appearance of decay, strangely contrasting with its ancient luxury. A few years more and this portion of Sheffield Manor would have been as ruinous as the rest. Fortunately our noble President, ever alive to the obligations, as well as to the rights of property, visited the place in company with Mr. Hadfield, his architect, and after spending a considerable time in examining the details, gave orders for its careful restoration. The result we have just seen. The modern disfigurements of the old house have been removed. The barns that hid the south side have been taken down, and the cottage that abuts upon the north, will follow as soon as the works are a little more advanced. The modern windows, doors, and fireplaces have been taken out, and the old lights opened both on the east and west fronts. The door at the foot of the turret stair, which has been hidden for two centuries under a coating of stucco, has been restored. The door near the south end of the east front was until now disguised as a window. Reverently and carefully the old work has been preserved, and only where absolutely necessary has new material been introduced, and when all is completed this interesting historical fragment will have taken a new lease of life.

This description brings us round again to the point from which we started, and we are compelled to ask ourselves in what respect this building bears out the theory that it was used as a prison for the Queen of Scots. The masonry, as you will have noticed, is of a rude character, such as country workmen might be expected to execute, and the style of the windows, doors, and fireplaces is such as was common in the early years of Elizabeth's reign. The coat of arms over the fireplace on the upper story corresponds very nearly in the arrangement of its quarterings with the arms of the sixth earl, as displayed on his monument in the parish church; and the situation of the place is such as to make the words of Gilbert Talbot literally true when he said that while at the Manor "good numbers of men continually armed watched her day and night, both under her windows, over

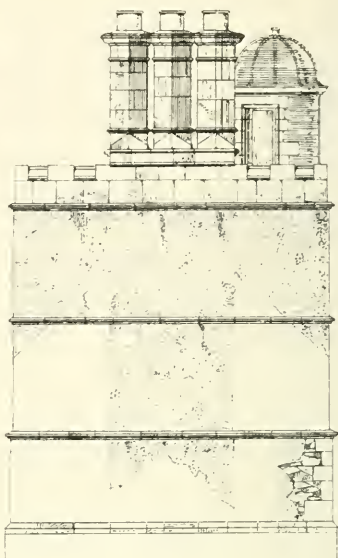


The Lodge, Sheffield Manor.

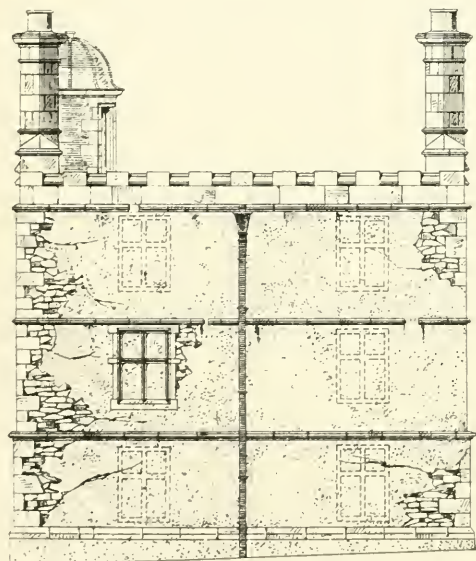
(Before the Restoration)



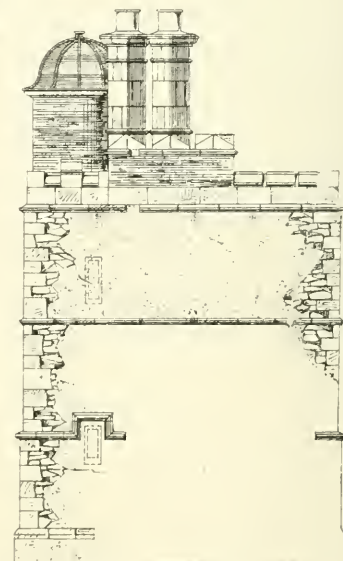
EAST SIDE.



SOUTH END.



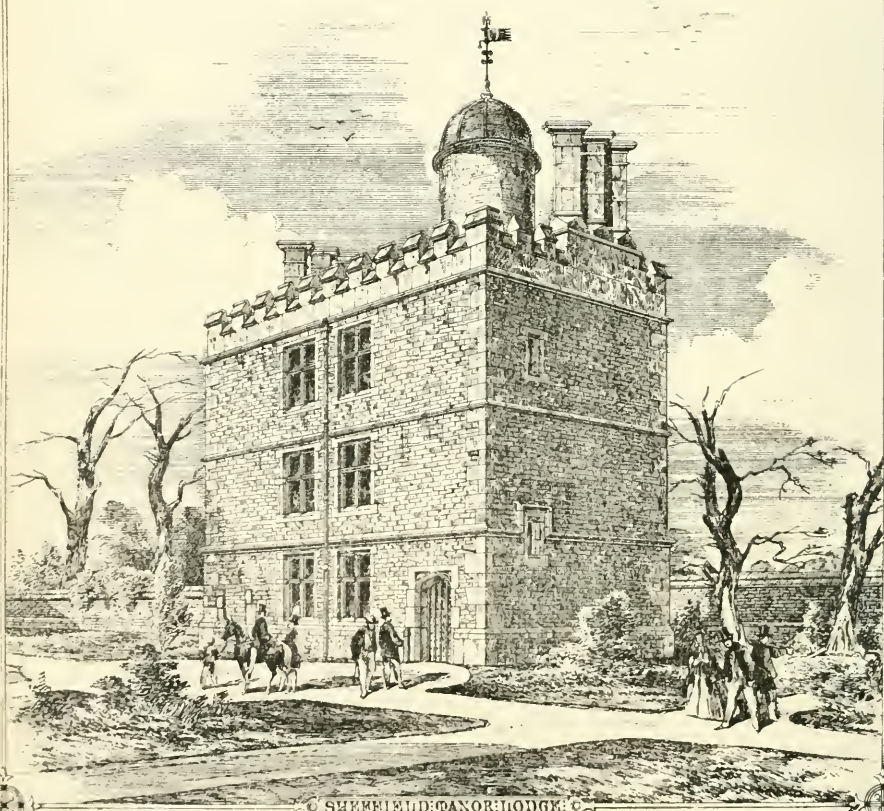
WEST SIDE



NORTH END

Scale of 2" = 5' 0" 10' 20' Feet





SHEFFIELD MANOR LODGE
AS RESTORED

Photo-Lith by J. Jordans

her chamber, and on every side of her, so that unless she could transform herself into a flea or a mouse she could not escape." Are local antiquaries then too presumptuous in cherishing the idea that in this little building we do indeed possess a veritable relic of the Queen of Scots, and that while all other parts of Sheffield Manor have perished beyond restoration, this little dwelling which has escaped destruction possesses an interest far transcending all the rest? Under correction and with all submission to the views of our learned and most welcome guests, we do hold that opinion, and upon it respectfully invite your criticism. I would remind you, moreover, that if this building be proved to have been the prison house of Mary Stuart, it is the only one that has come down entire to modern times.

Bolton, Wingfield, and Tutbury are ruins. Chatsworth has disappeared to give place to the Palace of the Peak. Chartley and Worksop perished by fire in the last century, and Fotheringhay was rased to the ground by order of James I. Sheffield then, long forgotten in connection with Mary Stuart, although the place of her longest sojourn, may have possessed, without knowing it, one of the most interesting relics of the wicked and unfortunate Scottish Queen.

The following is the blazon of the achievement over the mantel-piece in Queen Mary's Room, Sheffield Lodge, for which I am indebted to the kindness of S. I. Tucker, Esq., Rouge Croix: Quarterly of 11,—4, 4, and 3,—composed as follows, 1. Montgomery (De Belesme), *azure*, a lion rampant within a bordure *or*. 2. Talbot (Rhys ap Griffith), *gules*, a lion rampant within a bordure engrailed *or*. 3. Talbot, bendy of 10, *argent* and *gules*. 4. Comryn, *gules*, three garbs *or*. 5. Valence, barry of 10, *argent* and *azure*, an orle of ten martlets *gules*. 6. Butler (of Ormond), *or*, a chief indented *azure*. 7. Strange of Blackmere, *argent*, two lions passant in pale *gules*. 8. Neville, *gules*, on a saltire *argent* a martlet of the field. 9. Furnival, *argent*, a bend between six martlets *gules*. 10. Verdon, *or*, a fret *gules*. 11. Lovetot, *argent*, a lion rampant *gules*.

This achievement agrees exactly with the garter-plate of the sixth Earl of Shrewsbury, and thus affords strong evidence that the building I have described was erected by the custodian of the Queen of Scots.

ON THE PILGRIMAGE TO BROMHOLM IN NORFOLK.

BY THE REV. W. SPARROW SIMPSON, D.D., F.S.A., V.P.

"Help, holy cross of Bromëholm ! she said."

CHAUCER, *The Reeve's Tale*.

IN the last volume of the *Journal* of the Association, a remarkable object was described as having been found in Coleman Street, in the City of London.¹ It was a stone mould, incised with a cross, and the legend SIGNVM SANCTE CRVCIS DE WALTHAM appears to indicate that it was intended for the casting of badges, to be worn by persons who went on pilgrimage to the once famous Abbey of St. Cross at Waltham, in Essex. Every one knows that "a cross, with the figure of our Saviour upon it, which had been found at Montacute, and had been transferred here, gave a name and sanctity to the place, and was believed to perform miracles ; one of which was performed upon Harold, the son of Earl Godwin, who, having been attacked by a stroke of palsy, was relieved entirely from it upon a visit to this cross. He in consequence rebuilt the church."² Unfortunately I was not present at the meeting at which the stone mould was exhibited, so that I know it only from the woodcut in the pages of the *Journal* ; it strikes one, however, as a little strange that, whereas Dugdale, in the passage just cited, tells us that the cross found at Montacute had a figure of our Saviour upon it, was in fact a crucifix, the pilgrim's sign should exhibit only a cross.³

I do not propose, however, in the present paper, to write upon the subject of Waltham Holy Cross. The woodcut reminded me that a year or two ago, whilst turning over the leaves of a MS. in the library at Lambeth, I discovered a somewhat curious relic relating to another and less known English

¹ *Brit. Archæol. Assoc. Journal*, 1873, p. 421.

² Dugdale, *Monasticon*, vi, 56.

³ The arms of Waltham Abbey, as given in Burke's *Encyclopædia of Heraldry*, obviously refer to the cross, which was the chief treasure of the house. There are two coats : 1, *argent*, on a cross engrailed *sable*, five crosses crosslet fitchée *or* ; 2, *azure*, two angels volant *or*, supporting a cross Calvary on three griecees *argent*.

place of pilgrimage. Taking, as I do, a great interest in the history of pilgrimage, a subject on which a very instructive volume might be written, I cannot but think that it may be worth while to give some little account of this discovery. I am familiar, of course, with Dean Stanley's charming essays on the Pilgrimage to the shrine of Thomas à Becket.¹ Who does not admire the graphic power with which the scenes, both of the martyrdom and of the devotion to the shrine, are laid before the reader? His sketches are, indeed, word-photographs. In Mr. Lawlor's *Pilgrimages in the Pyrenees and Landes*,² a great quantity of curious information is gathered together, extending often beyond the limits of the area of which it speaks. Dr. Spencer Northcote's *Celebrated Sanctuaries of the Madonna*, and Dr. Husenbeth's *Life of the Blessed Virgin Mary*, add greatly to our information on the subject of modern pilgrimages. The three last mentioned works are the production of Roman Catholic writers. All owe a debt of gratitude to that judicious antiquary, the late Mr. John Gough Nichols for his excellent *Pilgrimages to St. Mary of Walsingham and St. Thomas of Canterbury*.³ But, notwithstanding these works, and others like them, the history of Christian pilgrimages has yet to be written; and when it is written, will supply not the least remarkable chapter in ecclesiastical history.

The pilgrimage with which I am more immediately concerned in the present paper is that, well nigh forgotten now, to a once famous shrine in one of the eastern counties of England, Bromholm, or Bromeholme, formerly a market town, though now but a hamlet of the parish of Bacton in the county of Norfolk, five miles from North Walsham. We find a brief account of the place in Lewis's *Topographical Dictionary*.

"A priory for Cluniac monks dedicated to St. Andrew was founded in 1113, by William de Glanvill, and for some time subsisted as a cell to the monastery of Castle Acre. Henry III, accompanied by a retinue of the nobility, was here in the eighteenth year of his reign, five years previously to which he had granted the monks licence to hold a market on Monday, and a fair annually on the festival of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross. The income of the monks was greatly augmented by numerous rich offerings which were presented to a cross, stated to

¹ Dean Stanley, *Historical Memorials of Canterbury*. Essays II and IV.

² Published by Longmans in 1870. 8vo. Pp. 634.

³ 8vo. Westminster, 1849. Pp. xxiii, 248.

have been made out of the wood composing the cross on which our Saviour was crucified, brought hither by an English priest who officiated at the emperor's chapel at Constantinople; the revenue at the dissolution amounted to £144 : 19 : 1."¹

Roger of Wendover in his *Flowers of History*, under the year 1223, gives the following curious legend, which for the benefit of English readers I transcribe from Dr. Giles's English version of Roger's *History* :²—

"In the same year divine miracles became of frequent occurrence at Bromholm, to the glory and honour of the life giving cross, on which the Saviour of the world suffered for the redemption of the human race; and since Britain, a place in the middle of the ocean, was thought worthy by the divine bounty to be blessed with such a treasure, it is proper, nay most proper, to impress on the minds of our descendants by what series of events that cross was brought from distant regions into Britain. Baldwin, Count of Flanders, was from a count made emperor of Constantinople, at which place he reigned with vigour many years; it happened at one time that he was dreadfully harassed by the infidel kings, against whom he marched without deliberation, and on this occasion neglected to take with him the cross of our Lord and other relics, which always used to be carried before him by the patriarch and bishops whenever he was about to engage in battle against the enemies of the cross, and this carelessness he found out on that day by dreadful experience; for when he rashly rushed on the enemy with his small army, paying no regard to the multitude of his enemies, who exceeded his own army tenfold, in a very short time he and all his men were surrounded by the enemies of Christ, and were all slain or made prisoners, and the few who escaped out of the whole number knew nothing of what had happened to the emperor, or whither he had gone. There was at that time a certain chaplain of English extraction, who with his clerks performed divine service in the emperor's chapel, and he was one of those who had the charge of the emperor's relics, rings, and other effects. He therefore, when he heard of the death (for all told him he was killed) of his lord the emperor, left the city of Constantinople privately with the aforesaid relics, rings, and many other things, and came to England; on his arrival there he went to St. Alban's, and sold to a certain monk there a cross set with silver and gold, besides two fingers of St. Margaret, and some gold rings and jewels, all which things are now held in great veneration at the monastery of St. Alban's; the said chaplain then drew from his mantle a wooden cross and showed it to some of the monks, and declared on his oath that it was undoubtedly a piece of the cross on which the Saviour of the world was suspended for the redemption of the human race; but as his assertions were disbelieved at that place, he departed, taking with him this priceless treasure, although it was not known. This said chaplain had two young children about whose support and for the preservation of whom he was most anxious, for which purpose he offered

¹ Lewis, *Topographical Dictionary of England*, second edit.

² Roger of Wendover, *Flowers of History*, translated by Dr. Giles. 8vo. London, 1849. Bohn's *Antiquarian Library*, vol. ii, pp. 446-8.

the aforesaid cross to several monasteries on condition that he and his children should be received amongst the brethren of the monastery; and having endured repulse from the rich in many places, he at length came to a chapel in the county of Norfolk, called Bromholm, very poor and altogether destitute of buildings; there he sent for the prior and some of the brethren, and showed them the above-mentioned cross, which was constructed with two pieces of wood placed across one another, and almost as wide as the hand of a man; he then humbly implored them to receive him into their order with this cross and the other relics which he had with him, as well as his two children. The prior and his brethren then were overjoyed to possess such a treasure, and by the intervention of the Lord, who always protects honourable poverty, put faith in the words of the monk; they then with due reverence received the cross of our Lord and carried it into their oratory, and with all devotion preserved it in the most honourable place there. In this year then, as has been before stated, divine miracles began to be wrought in that monastery to the praise and glory of the life-giving cross; for there the dead were restored to life, the blind recovered their sight, and the lame their power of walking, the skin of the lepers was made clean, and those possessed by devils were released from them, and any sick person who approached the aforesaid cross with faith went away safe and sound. This said cross is frequently worshipped, not only by the English people, but also by those from distant countries and those who have heard of the divine miracles connected with it."

I do not apologise for the length of this extract, because I think that the pilgrimage to Bromholm is not a subject very familiar now-a-days, and because the passage itself is sufficiently curious to be worth reading. Nor do I make any excuse for presenting it in English. It will be sufficient if I preserve the original Latin of one paragraph only. Where we read in the translation these words "the above mentioned cross, which was constructed with two pieces of wood placed across one another," the original has "*Crucem ...quæ duplici ligno ex transverso fuerat fabricata.*" The reason why I transcribe the original Latin in this place will be apparent by and by.

Several notices of the pilgrimage to Bromholm may be found scattered up and down the pages of ancient monastic historians. I gather together a few of these.

Bartholomæus de Cotton, a monk of Norwich, in his *Historia Anglicana* (A.D. 449-1298, edited by the Rev. H. R. Luard for the Master of the Rolls)¹ says, A.D. 1223. "*Eo tempore Peregrinatio de Bromholm inceptit.*" Dugdale quotes the same passage in his *Monasticon*,¹ citing it from MS. Cotton. Nero, c. v.

¹ *Historia Anglicana*, p. 112.

² Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, vol. v, p. 61, note.

In the *Annales de Dunstaplia*¹ we read, under the year 1225, "Eodem anno multiplicata sunt miracula apud veram crucem de Bromholm, quæ fuerat Baldwini, imperatoris Constantinopolitani, et quam ab eo accepit quidam Capellanus suus Anglicus, et eam in Angliam attulit, et loco conlulit memorato."

Again, in the *Annales de Theokesberia* (Tewkesbury) is an early record of a pilgrimage to this shrine. "1233. Interim dominus Rex Sanctum Edmundum adiit, et Comitissa Cantiae cum eo pacificatur, et filia ejus postea Bromholme adiit, causa orationis." The "Comitissa Cantiae" was Margaret, sister of Alexander of Scotland, wife of Hubert de Burgh.

And in the edition of Florence of Worcester put forth by the English Historical Society we read, "Circa tale tempus cœpit peregrinatio apud Bromholm." A.D. 1223. (John de Taxster, continuation of Florence of Worcester).³

Dugdale¹ adds so much information in so few words that I transcribe his *ipsissima verba*.

"The greatest profit, however, arising to the Monastery of Bromholm, was derived from a celebrated cross made from the fragments of the real cross. It was brought to England in 1223. The story of it is related in Matthew Paris.⁵ The substance is that an English priest who officiated in the Greek emperor's chapel in Constantinople, having in his keeping a cross made of the wood of our Saviour's, on the death of the emperor brought it into England, and would not part with it to any monastery unless the convent would take him and his two sons into it as monks. The monastery of Bromholm complying, and setting up this cross in their chapel, there was so great a concourse of persons from all parts to reverence it that the monastery became abundantly rich by the gifts and offerings made to it. Piers Plowman alludes to these pilgrimages to it in his vision :

'But wenden to Walsingham, and my wife Alis,
And byð the roode of Bromholme bring me out of dette.'

Miracles also are stated to have been worked upon numbers of those who visited it. Capgrave says that no fewer than thirty-nine persons were raised by it from the dead, and nineteen blind persons restored to sight."

The seal of the prior exhibits a figure of St. Andrew,

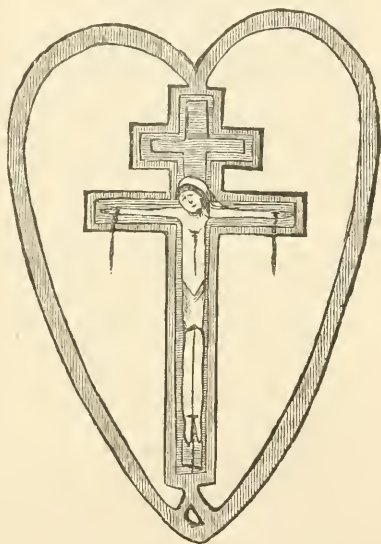
¹ *Annales Monastici*, Master of the Rolls series; edit. Rev. H. R. Luard, vol. iii, p. 97. ² *Annales Monastici*, vol. i, p. 92.

³ Florence of Worcester, edit. B. Thorpe, 1849, vol. ii, p. 173, Engl. Hist. Soc.; and see also Roger de Wendover, *Flores Historiarum*, Engl. Hist. Soc. edit., vol. iv, pp. 89-91. ⁴ *Monasticon*, vol. v, pp. 60, 61.

⁵ Matthew Paris, *Hist. Angl.*, edit. 1684, p. 268.

holding a cross supposed to represent the cross or rood of the priory. According to Blomefield the arms of the priory were, "*argent, a cross gules upon a pedestal of three steps with a greater and less transverse at top.*" The arms are varied by Tanner, Edmondson, and Le Neve.¹

And here at length we arrive at the Lambeth MS., No. 545, which is thus described in Dr. Todd's *Catalogue*: "*Codex membranaceus, in quarto min., sec. xv, Horæ B. Mariæ Virginis, cum Calendario, pulchre descriptæ et depictæ.*" I was looking through this interesting volume some little time ago, when I observed that to one of the pages, one side of which had been originally left blank, an illuminated leaf had been attached. Upon this leaf was painted, in work contemporary with the rest of the manuscript, the illustration which forms the subject of the present paper, and of which a woodcut is here subjoined.



THE CROSS OF BROMHOLM.

A heart is depicted, containing within it a crucifix having two transverse beams. Above the heart is written—

"Jesus Nazarenus Rex Jvdæorum."

and on either side of the heart one of the lines forming the following couplet :

¹ *Monasticon*, vol. v, p. 62.

² The recto of fo. 185, Lambeth MSS., No. 545.

"This cros yat here peyntyd is
Signe of ye cros of bromholm is."

Beneath the heart, but in a somewhat later hand :

"Thys ys the holy cros that yt so sped
Be me ... in my need."¹

Within the heart itself and around the cross is written, in very small and very much contracted characters, the following hymn. These lines are omitted in the woodcut, as it would have been extremely difficult to reproduce them in facsimile; indeed they would have been excessively hard to decipher in the original had not the hymn itself been written *in extenso* on the adjacent pages of the MS.

ORACIO DEVOTA DE CRUCE.

"O crux salve preciosa,
O crux salve gloriosa,
Me per verba curiosa
Te laudare, crux formosa,
Fac presenti carmine.

Sient tu de carne Christi
Sancta sacrata fuisti,
Ejus Corpus suscepisti,
Et sudore maduisti,
Lota sacro sanguine.

Corpus, sensus, mentem meam,
Necnon vitam salves ream,
Ut commissa mea fleam,
Ne signare per te queam
Contra fraudes hostium.

Me defendas de peccato,
Et de facto desperato,
Hoste truso machinato
Reconsignas Dei nato
Tuum presiduum. [*Sic in orig.*]

V. Adoramus Te Xpc.

Quia per crucem, etc.

Oratio. Adesto nobis, Domine Deus noster, et quos sancte crucis letari facis honore ejus quoque perpetuis defende subsidiis. Per Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen.

Dominus dedit, Dominus abstulit, sicut Domino placuit ita factum est. Sit nomen Domini benedictum.

The fate of the Cross of Bromholm is, in effect, recorded by Foxe, for he tells us that "Sir Hugh Pic, chaplain of

¹ The second line of this couplet is partially erased.

Ludney, in the diocese of Norwich, was accused and brought before the Bishop of Norwich [Edmund Lacey] on the 5th of July, 1424, for holding these opinions following :

“That the people ought not to go on pilgrimage.

“Item, that the people ought not to give alms, but only to such as beg at their doors.

“Item, that the image of the cross and other images are not to be worshipped; and that the said Hugh had cast the cross of Bromehold into the fire to be burned, which he took from one John Welgate of Ludney.¹

Which articles as is aforesaid being objected against him, he utterly denied, whereupon he had a day appointed to purge himself by the witness of three laymen and three priests. That so done, he was sworn as the other before, and so dismissed.” Whether Sir Hugh Pie did himself destroy the cross or not, I think we may fairly assume that it was at that time destroyed, or Foxe would most probably have told us that, in reply to so grave a charge, the cross itself was actually produced in court.

The reader will have observed that I retained that portion of the original Latin of Roger de Wendover’s account, in which the Bromholm Cross is described as “duplici ligno ex transverso fabricata.” The Lambeth MS. exhibits the form of the Bromholm Cross, and shows it to have been of the usual eastern type, having two transverse beams.

There can be little doubt, I think, that the leaf inserted in the Lambeth MS. served a double purpose. It was probably a memorial of a pilgrimage to Bromholm, and also, I suspect, was a kind of charm to be worn about the person.

I hope at some future time to return to this manuscript, and to make some remarks upon another very remarkable charm inserted amongst its pages.

Note.—The volume (No. 545, *Codd. Lambeth.*) from which the above illustration is taken belonged formerly to some member of the Lewknor family; the following memoranda of births and deaths of persons belonging to that family, recorded on the blank pages at the beginning and end of the MS. may have an interest for the genealogist. I have extended the contractions, but retained the ancient spelling of the entries.

¹ Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, Seeley’s edition, 1870, vol. iii, p. 586.
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At the commencement of the volume :

Obitus domine marie lewkenore quondam uxoris Rogeri lewkenore de Tratton Militis in festo sancte Cristine virginis et martiris viz. xxiiij^o die Julii anno domini m^{mo} cccc^{mo} lxxij^o et anno regni regis Edwardi iiij^{ti} xij^o.

Obitus Rogeri lewkenore militis domini de Tratton xxij^o die Julii viz. in festo Sancti Appollinaris martiris anno domini m^o cccc^{mo} lxxvij^o et anno regni Regis Edwardi iiij^{ti} xvij^o.

Obitus Reginaldi lewkenore filii dicti Rogeri lewkenore militis anno domini m^o cccc^{mo} lxxxxij^o et anno regni regis henrici vijⁱ vij^o viz. vltimo die mensis Augusti et sepultus est in ecclesia de Estlovent.

Obitus Anne lewkenore nuper vxoris Rogeri lewkenore de Tangmere¹ xxvij^o die novembris anno domini millesimo quingentesimo secundo et anno regni regis henrici septimi xvij^o litera dominicali B. Et sepulta est in monasterio de boxgrane.

Obitus venerabilis patris in Christo Edwardi Story nuper episcopi Cicestrensis et doctoris sacre theologie xvj^{mo} die marcii anno domini millesimo ccccc^{mo} tercio et anno regni regis henrici septimi xvij^{mo}. Cujus anime propicietur Deus. Amen.

At the end of the volume are these entries :

Elizabethhe lewknor filia Edmundi lewknor armigeri nata fuit apud Tangmer secundo die Marcii anno domini m^o ccccc xxx vij^o.

Thomas lewknor filius et heres predicti Edmundi lewknor natus fuit apud Tangmer xxvij^o die Januarii anno domini m^o xxxix^o [*sic*].

Anna lewknor filia predicti Edmundi nata fuit apud Tangmere xij^o die Maii anno domini m^o d^o xlv^o.

Richardus lewknor filius predicti Edmundi natus fuit apud Tangmere xiiij^o die Marcii anno domini m^o ccccc^o xlj^o.

Georgius lewknor filius dicti Edmundi natus fuit apud Tangmere primo die Novembris anno domini m^o ccccc^o xlij^o.

Edmundus lewknor filius minor predicti Edmundi natus fuit apud Tangmere xvij^o die decembris anno domini m^o ccccc^o xliij^o.

Johanna lewkenore filia Rogeri lewkenore Armigeri nata fuit apud Burton die Dominico ante festum Sancti Michaelis Archangeli, viz. : die Sancti firmini Episcopi anno domini m^o cccc^o iiij^{xx} et anno regni regis henrici vijⁱ vj^{to}.

Anna lewkenore nata fuit apud Tangmere die Sancti Botolfi anno domini m^o cccc^o iiij^{xx} xij et anno regni regis henrici vij^{ti} vij^o & obiit xxx^o die Augusti eodem anno et sepulta est in Ecclesia de Estlabent.

Clemens lewkenore fuit oriunda apud Tangmere x^o die Octobris anno domini m^o cccc^o iiij^{xx} xiiij et anno regni regis henrici vij^{mi} x^{mo}.

Rogerus lewkenore natus fuit apud Tangmere xxij^o die Octobris anno domini m^o cccc^o iiij^{xx} xv et anno regni regis henrici vij^o xj^{mo}.

¹ Tangmere, about three miles from Chichester.

Edmundus lewkenor natus fuit apud Tangmere in festo Sancti Edmundi Archiepiscopi anno domini m^o cccc iiij^{xx} xvij^o et anno regni regis henrici septimi xij^o.

Dorothea lewkenor nata fuit apud Tangmere die sancte dorothee. virginis anno domini m^o cccc iiij^{xx} xvij^o et anno regni regis henrici vijⁱ xij^o.

Thome lewkenore natus fuit apud Tangmere xx^o die Aprilis anno domini m^o cccc^o iiij^{xx} xix et anno regni regis henrici vijⁱ xiiij^o et obiit tercio die Novembris anno domini m^o vc et sepultus est in ecclesia de Tangmere.

Elizabeth lewkenore nata fuit apud Tangmere secundo die Septembris anno domini m^o v^o primo et anno regni regis henrici vijⁱ xvij^{mo}.

Thomas lewkenor filius et heres Edmundi lewkenor armigeri natus fuit apud Tangmer [Entry not completed.]

Pro Rogero Lewkenor filio meo.

ON SOME PREHISTORIC REMAINS NEAR SHEFFIELD,

BEYOND THE DERBYSHIRE BORDER.

BY ALFRED WALLIS, F.R.H.S., LOCAL SECRETARY FOR DERBYSHIRE.

THE moors adjoining the border-line of Derbyshire and Yorkshire are as a vast open book, the language of which is imperfectly understood, to the antiquary. Here, amongst the rugged crags and passes of the Peak, its lovely dales and valleys, the quaint villages which nestle amongst its hills, and hang upon its mountain slopes, may be found numbers of those ancient national monuments which point in silence to races which have long passed away, and epochs concerning which history is silent. Here and there, amidst the undergrowth of heather, brushwood, and fern, peer forth the mysterious stone circles, miniature likenesses of the great temples of Abury and Stonehenge. Huge monoliths and marvellous combinations of rocks rear their heads amongst the pine woods which, as on Stanton Moor, have in our day replaced the barren waste. Holy wells and springs of divination alternate with rocking stones and altars,—traces of a distinct *cultus*, the rites of which are not entirely obliterated in the land, as the annual well-dressings at Tissington may testify. The rude craftsmen who spared no pains to render their religion respectable, and who with pious care threw up vast barrows, and piled cairns above

their honoured dead, could, like Cromwell's "Ironsides", fight as well as pray. Their fortifications are still here—evidences of patient skill and ingenuity; dismantled, it is true, but far more perfect than many more imposing military structures of recent periods, of some of which a name and a memory are all that remain to us. Blending, as it were, into one another, the various stages of civilisation are mapped out in this interesting line of research; but our present business is only with the prehistoric remains, many of which frown down upon the wayfarer, as great a mystery to him as they were to the Roman searcher after mineral wealth, against whose incursions the "Carl's Work" was put together with amazing skill.

Whether the singularly-formed stones upon the Derwent Hills, near Hathersage, looking over the high road to Sheffield, are Druidical or no (popular nomenclature only gives such names as "The Cakes of Bread" and "The Salt-Cellar") is hardly worth inquiry. Sir Gardner Wilkinson, who carefully examined these presumed rock-idols, considered that they are simply the result of natural, irregular disintegration. Still, their proximity to rocks evidently thrown together by human agency renders it very probable that these grotesque stones formed part of the system of *cultus* to which I have referred, in which rocking stones and other combinations of nature and art served such important and prominent parts. The well-known pile of rocks known far and near as "Roo Tor" is so strikingly like the view of "An ancient *Nymphæum*", or Cabiric grotto, prefixed to the Rev. G. S. Faber's learned *Dissertation on the Mysteries of the Cabiri*, that it is impossible to avoid the conclusion that this part of England was once the stronghold of those strange rites, the nature of which has hitherto baffled all archæological research. Hereabouts, amongst the stony fastnesses of Derbyshire, probably lingered the last remnants of the savage religion of our ancestors, whose ceremonies, there is too much reason to fear, included human sacrifices, and even cannibalism, at their "grave-feasts" and other solemn rites.

Close to Hathersage, within a summer-day walk from Sheffield, lies upon the end of a hill, overlooking the plain beneath, that important prehistoric fortification, "The Carl's Work." It is on the right hand of the road from Hathersage to Sheffield, and about a mile from Callow, extending

nearly across the gorge of the hill, and being in marked strategical connection with another "camp" of disputed origin behind Hathersage Church. The mists of antiquity surround this structure as densely as they obscure the round towers of Ireland; for we may at once dismiss the idea that the encampment was formed by the British emperor Carausius, a notion which occurred to the Yorkshire antiquary, Mr. Wilson. A particular account of "The Carl's Work" was written by Sir G. Wilkinson in *The Reliquary*; but this accomplished archæologist had occasion to regret that he was not permitted to make a plan of the remains, the interests of the "sacred grouse" forbidding interference. From personal observation I am of opinion that this structure was rather an advanced post than a regularly formed and fortified garrison. Sir Gardner Wilkinson notices, that in the approach by the ascending road the assailants would be brought up with their right or unshielded arm exposed to the missiles of the besieged, long before they reached the gateway, which is 7 ft. 2 in. in breadth, and formed of two curvilinear faces of massive stone. The vallum or breastwork is faced with stones of at least a ton in weight, strongly put together, thus entirely closing the approach from the west. As measured by the late Mr. Bateman the whole wall is about 9 ft. 4 in. high and 3 ft. thick, and is supported within by a slanting bank of earth 25 ft. in length. The origin of the name is most likely in the word *caer* (a fortification); but some writers prefer the old English word "carl," used in the sense which miners in this county and in Cornwall employ to signify prehistoric antiquity—the works of "the old man." Thus, the Peakrill, when "prospecting" in search of lead, and whilst cutting his "drifts" or "adits," frequently strikes into the "workings" of long ages since. He is never surprised, neither does he trouble himself to assign a Phœnician, a Scandinavian, or a Roman origin to the "signs" before him, he has "crossed" or "met, th' oud mon"—the ancient engineer—with whose work, both above and below ground, he is familiar enough, and whose mouldering bones lie entombed in many a barrow and "low" around his habitation.

The circular encampment near Hathersage Church has an area of about fifty yards diameter, and was formerly a high mound of earth enclosed by a deep ditch. The chief



characteristics are becoming rapidly obliterated by the crumbling of the mound into the area below, which when measured by Bray, who gives a plan of it (*Tour into Yorkshire and Derbyshire*, 2nd ed., 1783, p. 208) was 144 ft. in diameter. Common tradition assigns this work to the Danes, but Sir Gardner Wilkinson has pointed out that its position and *entourage* argue in favour of its being British, and connected in a strategical point of view with "the Carl's Work." For the one would be ineffectual without the other, and the earthwork was necessary to watch the southern approach on that side, at the same time that it guarded the western valley, and communicated with the heights of Eyam Moor, all of which were masked from "the Carl's Work."

Amongst the prehistoric remains of this district the ortholithic circles cannot be passed without notice. Of these important and interesting relics there are several which Mr. Jewitt (*Grave Mounds and their Contents*, 1870) ingeniously contends are the skeletons or framework of sepulchral tumuli, left by the falling away or intentional removal of the superincumbent soil and smaller stones. In some instances this may have been the case, but unless Mr. Jewitt (for whose accurate deductions from personal observation I entertain high respect) is prepared to include Stonehenge and Abury in the category of circles so constructed, he must, I think, make exception to several of the Derbyshire circles, "Arbor Low" in particular. My very firm impression is that the rites and ceremonies which, for want of a better term, are generally styled "Druidical," were extensively practised in this locality, where nature had left comparatively little to be effected by the hand of man in framing scenery for the terrific forms of initiation into the greater Mysteries. Into those ceremonies the circle, the cavern, the subterranean river, the pierced rock, and the frowning precipice, all largely entered, and these are all to be found in close proximity in the Peak district. In the great cavern at Castleton the Mysteries were undoubtedly celebrated; it was once impossible to pass into its awful recesses (before the winding paths were widened and the Stygian stream bridged for the delight of railway excursionists) without being reminded of Virgil's masterly description of the descent of Æneas into the infernal regions.

Its vulgar name I imagine to have been a corruption of "Arx Diaboli," an appropriate name for a place which represents the central cavity of the vast abyss, or the great receptacle of diluvian waters—in other words, Hades. Here may be found every characteristic which attended the process of initiation. The subterranean river across which the candidate was ferried; the narrow passages winding into the bowels of the mountain, the water of purification, the place of darkness, the illuminated *sacellum*. Faber, who gives a graphic description of the impressions produced on him during his passage says, "At length you arrive at a beautiful arched grotto of very large dimensions, in the centre of which rises a natural rock, which you are surprised to find illuminated ready for your reception. The rock itself is occupied by a number of persons, who had previously entered for that purpose, and your ears are forthwith saluted by a variety of wild songs. . . . I have little doubt but that this is done *pursuant to an immemorial custom*, all traditions respecting the origin and import of which have however long been obliterated from the minds of the guides." (*Cabir. Mys.*, vol. ii, p. 443).

I have no doubt that the whole programme (which I recollect many years ago to have been carried out when visitors were passed through "The Devil's Cavern") was framed in accordance with "immemorial custom," and it may be added that the chaunts, with which the unseen choir stationed in the *sacellum* welcomed the pilgrims, were different in character to any local music I ever heard, and were never adapted to any other festive or religious purpose. It was also customary to quench the torches and leave the party bewildered in pitchy darkness before taking the irregular turn which led to the "place of light."

Upon these lofty hills and table-grounds, then, we find in majestic array, the mystic circles (emblems of the sun) and massy temples, dedicated to the Druidical *Baal*. The local names of Bolsover, Ballidon (*Baal Don*, the hill of Baal), &c., strikingly confirm this view of the case, which although by no means a new one, is in danger of being lost sight of amidst modern speculations. That great isolated stone, in high vicinity to the circle on Stanton Moor, is called to this day "The Gorse Stone" (*Maen Gorsedd*, Stone of Assembly), and although some writers have referred the

epithet to the herb of the same name, I am glad, in taking a more scientific view of the case, to be supported by the learned research of our associate, T. Morgan, Esq., whose valuable paper on "Odinism in Scandinavia, Denmark, and Britain", in the last volume of our *Journal* (pp. 138-172) is replete with suggestive information. Departing somewhat from the strict line of present inquiry, let me observe that Bardic names are to be found still farther south in the county of Derby,—witness a farm, for many years in the occupation of my ancestors, called "The Rowdich," always pronounced by the common people *Roodyché* (qy. *Rhol*, a circle, and *Drwyg*, Druid). A lane in the vicinity of Derby is known by the strange name of "Penny-long Lane," which has a curious Bardic sound. It is actually part of a Roman way.

In conclusion, I have not attempted to do more than call attention to the vast field of investigation which this part of Derbyshire adjoining Yorkshire presents to the archæologist. The subject is far too comprehensive to be dealt with otherwise than generally within the limits of the present paper.

ON PICTURE-BOARD DUMMIES.

BY H. SYER CUMING, ESQ., F.S.A. SCOT., V.P.

THE seventeenth century seems to have been an era peculiarly fertile in quaint fancies, many of which continued to flourish, with more or less vigour, far into the eighteenth century, and tangible traces of some of them may occasionally be found in our own day. Among other old whimses, which sprung up during the period indicated, was that of depicting different devices on flat boards, shaped according to the contour of the subject represented, and placed in such situations as would most readily lead the beholders to believe that they were gazing on realities instead of mere artistic deceptions. Holland appears to have been the natal land of this tricky conceit, which found a ready reception in England and manifested itself in a variety of forms and ways. Full-sized animate and inanimate objects were produced by brush and saw, and pleasure grounds were embel-

lished, and dwelling-houses decked with mimic life, and mimic furniture, some of which seem to have been the work of skilful hands, and of men of real genius and art-loving feeling. I have seen a fictitious punch-bowl painted so true to nature, and the shading so judiciously disposed, that when placed on a bracket above a door it might well pass with nine out of ten persons, for the genuine seventeenth century porcelain ware of China or Japan. And I have heard that the bookcase of the late John Hatchett (the well known entomologist) was surmounted by a like imitation bowl of masterly execution.

But the most striking and startling productions among these picture-board dummies were the representations of cats, dogs, macaws, and human beings. I well remember a tabby *sejant*, which looked like life itself when placed in the corner of a room, and which Stubbs and Catton might have been proud to have painted.

The dogs were sometimes frightfully real, appearing ready to fly at the intruder when intended to occupy a place in the hall or near a gate, but when the deceit was designed for the parlour, the dog wore a friendly aspect, or seemed asleep with its head resting on its paws.

The macaws and "pretty Polls" exhibited their due variety of bright tints, and passed muster as the real things when stood on the high shelf or lofty perch.

The genus *homo* was represented in divers grades and ages. One of the earliest and best painted deceptions of the kind under consideration which I have ever met with, was in the possession of my lamented friend Mr. Crofton Croker. It purported to be a Dutch child, in standing posture, with a cap on its head, and clothed in a long dark coloured pelisse. Never shall I forget the impression made on me when confronting this little gentleman for the first time, whom I took for the instant to be a living juvenile dressed up in the garb of the seventeenth century.

Men and women were far more common in these counterfeits of nature than were children. Shepherdesses, ballad-singers, and servant maids, knights in armour, bluff yeomen of the guard, soldiers with muskets, and Highlanders being very favourite dummies.

Our once associate, the late John Adey Repton, states in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for Dec. 1845, p. 590, that "It

was formerly the custom in ancient family mansions to introduce a painting which represents a chambermaid holding a broom in her hands, which was cut out of a board, and generally placed in a passage, or at the top of the stairs. The earliest specimens I have seen (from the costume of the dress) are of the date of Charles I, or the early part of Charles II, as at Knole and Cobham Hall, in Kent, and also at Stoneleigh Abbey, in Warwickshire." And it may be added that a fourth old maid exists at Lullingstone Castle, Kent. Mr. Repton's remarks are accompanied by a woodcut of a very sprightly chambermaid, formerly at the Black Boy, and subsequently at the White Hart Inn at Chelmsford, Essex. The habit of this ladylike domestic determines that the dummy was produced towards the close of the reign of William III, when the Fontagne head-dress was in high favour,¹ and bodices laced in front, and embroidered tuckers, and short under-sleeves were all the go. The damsel's hood and gown are of a deep red colour, the latter being protected by a dark green apron, and she grasps with both hands the long handle of a besom, the hairs of which are fixed in a round stock, above which are three little discs by way of ornament. When this effigy was at the Black Boy Inn it had a companion in the shape of a grenadier, a delineation of which is also given in the *Gentleman's Magazine*. His sugar-loaf cap has the letters G. R. on its front, his wrists are decked with ruffles, and his shoes with buckles. From his broad white belt hangs on his left side the sword, and on the right a cartouch-box. Both hands hold the musket by the muzzle, its butt resting on the ground between his feet, and the point of the bayonet apparently pressed against his lips. Mr. Repton says that there is another "sentry" on the staircase of the Bull Inn at Dartford.

We must now pass on to the curious dummy which has given birth to these remarks, and which has for very many years been an inmate of Canons Ashby, Daventry, Northamptonshire, the seat of Sir Henry Dryden, Bart., who has kindly contributed a coloured drawing of "the old soldier." This figure is a much finer one than that at the Black Boy Inn, and cannot be assigned to a date much later than *circa* 1700. It is life-sized, painted on a board about one inch

¹ "Fontagne, the top-knot; so called from Madlle. de Fontagne, who first wore it."—Evelyn's *Fop's Dictionary*.

in thickness, and exhibits far more action and vivacity than is usually seen in such productions. Beginning with the head the first thing to notice is the exceedingly lofty sugar-loaf cap with its frontlet inscribed G. R., a form of head-cover that came in with the grenadiers during the reign of Charles II. Then we discern a portion of the white shirt with its narrow neck band, rendered visible by the coat being left a little open. This said coat is scarlet, with blue cuffs and facings, a combination of colours which had long been admired for the British army, and which were definitively established for its clothing in the reign of Queen Anne. Knee-breeches, white stockings, and rather high cut shoes with large buckles, complete the costume of our effigy; the whole dress being similar to that which may be seen in Hogarth's celebrated picture of the "March of the Guards to Finchley", at the Foundling Hospital, London. The sword, which is of the scimitar type, depends behind the soldier, who with both hands raises his musket as if about to present arms. Projecting from the back of the board is an horizontal handle by which the sentry can be secured to a wall, post, etc. Well, indeed, may we exclaim as *Portia* does in the *Merchant of Venice* (i, 2), "He is a proper man's picture; but, alas! who can converse with a dumb show?"

Such imposing figures as are here mentioned were not confined entirely within doors. We may instance Jenny's Whim, near Chelsea; the Red House, Battersea; the Green Man, Old Kent Road; the Montpelier Gardens, Walworth; and the old tea gardens near Brook Street, on the north-west of the late rectory grounds of St. Mary, Newington, where red-coated soldiers were formerly on guard *al fresco*, but some of whom have scarcely existed within living memory.

And I may perhaps be pardoned for referring to a private sentry which stood in the garden of No. 45, Newington Place, Kennington, and which was the pride and boast of its owner until misfortune fell with ruthless hand upon the antiquated dummy. This was a meritorious performance in its pristine state, but its proprietor discovered one morning to his horror that it had turned black during the previous night, some rascal having scaled the wall and painted the thing over from head to foot of one uniform black hue, leaving nothing of the gallant veteran but the carved out-

line. The old warrior was speedily recoloured "after the quick," but all to no purpose, what was done in the day was undone in the night, every attempt at restoration failed, and the miscreant who wrought the mischief escaped detection.

Vauxhall Gardens, though never graced with a picture-board sentry, was famed for its venerable cut out hermit, who sat beside a table in a cave, with shaven crown, and russet garb tied about the waist with a cord ; a regular St. Anthony in aspect. This original dummy was said to be the work of some good artist, but in later times was succeeded by one of very inferior execution, and differing much in pose and habit. The dress was bluish-gray, the hood concealing the head, and the face displaying nothing of the beautiful serenity which distinguished its ancient predecessor. The last hermit which figured at Vauxhall was painted by a person named Cox, and now serves as a sign at a public-house called The Hermit's Cave, at the corner of Grove Lane, Camberwell. It is a very poor performance, and represents the bare-headed, russet clad recluse seated at the sinister side of a table, on which is placed an open book, and tall cross. The older dummies were seated at the dexter side of the table, and were respectable looking fellows in comparison with the existing daub. Should mine host of the "cave" desire a bit of poetry as an accompaniment to his dingy sign he could scarcely find anything more suitable than the lines written by Dr. Johnson, as an example of bathos :—

Hermit hoar in solemn cell,
Wearing out life's evening gray,
Strike thy bosom, sage, and tell,
What is heaven, and which the way.

Thus I said, and saying sigh'd,
Scarce repressed the falling tear,
When thus the hoary sage replied,
"Come my lad, and drink some beer!"

Though Vauxhall and its hermit have alike disappeared, and the sentry has all but vanished from the staircases and gardens of old fashioned mansions and taverns, a life-sized, kilted Highlander, with *sneshin-horn* in hand, painted on cut-out board may occasionally be seen at the door of a suburban tobacconist. One in such a situation remains in the

Borough Road, Southwark ; and I have been told that some few may be found loitering in the east of London.

The picture-board dummies which have engaged our thoughts were unquestionably designed as lively and surprising decorations to grounds and mansions, but as time wore on the primal purpose seems to have gradually faded away, and one of the last remnants of the quaint and expiring old fashion may be seen in the life-sized mutes which sometimes stand as trade signs at the entrance of the country undertaker's shop. Fashion, like human nature, has its birth and death, and perhaps it is not altogether inappropriate that a moribund conceit should find its final resting place at the door of the coffin maker.

Proceedings of the Association.

14TH JANUARY, 1874.

H. SYER CUMING, ESQ., F.S.A. SCOT., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

THE election of the following members was announced :

Henry Hancock, Esq., F.R.C.S., 76, Harley Street

Alfred Wyon, Esq., 287, Regent Street.

Thanks were returned for the following present :

To the Society, Canadian Institute, for vol. i, No. 1, New Series. 8vo.
Toronto, 1873.

Mr. Thomas Morgan read a paper "On the Druids according to the Greek and Roman Writers", which will be printed hereafter.

E. Roberts, Esq., F.S.A., Hon. Sec., exhibited the following objects : from Moorfields,—two bronze Penates, Venus, and perhaps Apollo ; respectively $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches and 3 inches in height. The right leg of the Venus, which is of the Medici character, and of the third or fourth century, is about one third of an inch shorter than the left, and is more attenuated, as if intended to appear foreshortened. The Apollo is without feet. Several implements of iron, namely, a crimping iron, or indenting tool, Roman ; an iron ornamental clasp of a casket, Roman ; a lamp-iron ; a hasp to a chest, thirteenth century ; a leaden fishing-net weight ; a piece of book-chain, thirteenth century.

From Blackfriars, probably the bed of Fleet River,—hasp of a small chest ; a Roman horseshoe ; a large needle ; a pair of shears, Roman ; a pair of surgical pliers ; a bone pin ; two keys, fifteenth century ; knife with the rivets for splints on each side ; a beam of a gypsire, sixteenth century ; the guard of a dagger ; two British skates ; a plug-bayonet, seventeenth century ; a large beam for differential balances ; eleven specimens of waste bone after button cutting, and some of the buttons not being removed ; a large buckle, seventeenth century ; two waste pieces of bone.

From Clerkenwell five encaustic paving tiles, fourteenth century.

Mrs. Baily contributed an interesting assemblage of relics discovered in London about the commencement of the year 1873, the following being specially noteworthy :

Roman *tessera lusoria*, or die for gaming. It is of bone, about eleven-twelfth inch each way, the natural foramen remaining open, the numbers on the six faces being indicated by incised double circlelets with central dots, and thus disposed. The *unio* or ace opposite the *senio* or six; the *duo* or two opposite the *quinque* or five; and the *ternio* or three opposite the *quaternio* or four; so that the points on the two parallel sides make in the aggregate the number seven, an arrangement continued on European dice of the present day, and one which is also met with on those of China, of which there are examples in the Cuming collection. This fine and perfect die may be compared with *Tessera*, engraved in Le Chausse's *Grand Cabinet Romain*, p. 105; and in the *Museum Britannicum*, tab. xvii, fig. 7. For Roman *Tesserae* of silver and ivory, see *Journal*, v, 361, and xvii, 335. Three *tesserae* constituted a set with the Romans; and were cast from a *fritillus*, or upright box, in the manner still practised. The ace, *canis* or *canicula*, was counted an unlucky chance, the *senio* a lucky one; but the best throw of all was the *venus*, when three sixes turned up together.

Roman *fibula* of *aurichalcum*, or golden-coloured bronze wire, nearly three inches in length, of delicate fabric and extremely rare type. The *acus*, or pin, had a volute or coiled spring, and its point rested in a narrow channel at the base of the somewhat harp-shaped frame.

Bronze ornament, three and four-twelfth inches high, representing a *calathus* or basket with expanded mouth, filled with fruit and foliage, among which is the pine-cone. It is flanked by bold and graceful scrolls, and has a curved bar rising from the over-arching handle. This elegant piece of metal work was in all probability attached to a Roman *tripus*, sacred to Bacchus, in the mode of the little busts on the Pompeian tripod engraved in the *Museum Disneianum*, vol. ii.

Semicircular *ansa* of bronze, seemingly one of a pair fixed below the rim of a Roman vessel, by which it could be conveniently lifted. This handle is strongly made, with a boss at the turned ends, and a third in the centre, all graven with a cross.

Two pieces of bronze, on which are traces of gilding, measuring respectively four and three quarters and five and a quarter inches in length, each having a rounded edge, which, when placed together, form a tube through which a small chain or cord may have passed. Both portions are elaborately engraved with a scroll and scale-like pattern, bespeaking a Teutonic origin. These exquisitely rare remains are believed to have formed part of the mountings of the edge of a sword sheath, in the way seen on the scabbard found in the tomb of King Childeric (457-481), and now preserved in the Museum of the Louvre, Paris.

Earring of copper, originally gilt. It has a wire hook to pass through the lobe, like the very ancient Etruscan, and very modern English

earrings, and in front of it projects a little ornament, from which swings a broadish pendant, the round cavated centre of which appears to have held some kind of setting; and the crescent-shaped base displays three stars of eight points. This pretty trinket is far from being of recent manufacture, and may be as old as the seventeenth century. It is of interest on account of the hook, which many consider to be a *new fashion*, whereas it has been in vogue in Greece and Italy, in the East, and in Egypt, and among the Bechuana tribe of South Africa from a remote era. Several examples of Bechuana ear-hooks are in the Cuming collection.

The Rev. S. M. Mayhew exhibited an iron stirrup of the early part of the sixteenth century, exhumed in the Temple Gardens, Dec. 1873. It is upwards of six inches in height and six inches and three quarters wide at the base. The arc gradually spreads from the oblong square straphole, and has its sides fluted, and lower edges cut in the form termed by heralds *nebulée*. The foot-rest is composed of four strong twisted bars, well adapted for the support of the broad *soleret* then in vogue. Stirrups of this type are rarely discovered in London, but the greater portion of the arc of one, recovered from the Thames in 1847 is in the Cuming collection.

Mr. H. Syer Cuming, V. P., read the following paper on

ST. MARY'S CHURCH, LETHERINGHAM, SUFFOLK.

"For some time past I have been in communication with Mr. Watling of Stonham respecting the ruin and desecration which has fallen on the ancient Church of St. Mary at Letheringham in Suffolk, and now propose bringing that gentleman's statements before the meeting, and with them some most interesting sketches of the sacred edifice and a few of its details. I will, in the first place, cite certain passages from Mr. Watling's memoranda, and then proceed to describe his sketches. Mr. Watling affirms that of all the destruction he had seen in churches he has never met with anything approaching that at Letheringham. The fine brasses have all been purloined, leaving nothing but the void matrices to tell how grand and numerous they once were. Some years since the Marquis of Northampton discovered the brass of Sir John Wingfield in the house of a salesman, purchased it, and presented it to the parish, and it is now fixed on the north wall of the nave. The once beautiful chancel, with its elegant arcade of early English date, is in ruins, but in its better days contained the monuments of the Wingfields, Nauntons, Burghs, etc. The armour of the noble families of Wingfield and Naunton, which formerly hung in the church, have long since been dispersed.¹ Mr. Watling goes on to say that on visiting

¹ Letheringham is not the only Suffolk church which has been despoiled of its armour, for Mr. Watling writes that quantities have been taken away from

the Abbey Farm he found numerous relics of the venerable church planted about the grounds. The iron chest, without lid and bottom, is employed as a chicken coop. The marble effigies of a gentleman and lady, in kneeling posture, after keeping guard at the entrance of a bower or grotto in the garden for a time, were removed to the front of the farm dwelling, and at the present moment grace each side of the door of a counting-house of the farmer's. And certain monumental inscriptions are let into the south wall of the farmer's abode. The marble effigy of the infant son of Sir Robert Naunton, which once reposed on its mother's bosom, is now built into a recess in one of the old chimneys. The whole ground of the farm is bestrewn with the fragments of the mullions of windows, tracery, and portions of the arcade, and on some of these pieces flower pots are perched.

"Having listened to Mr. Watling's lamentable narrative we will next turn to his sketches, the first of which gives a south-east view of the church, with its unpretending porch bearing the date 1685 above the doorway. On the upper part of one of the nave buttresses, near this porch, is a semicircular sundial, of which we have a full-sized tracing, showing that it is marked with Roman numerals, and has in its centre the initials I F surmounted by the date 1608. This horologe measures full eighteen inches across its top. At the west end of the church is a square embattled tower with pinnacles at the angles. And this sketch also includes the ruined chancel, of which an enlarged drawing of a portion of its arcade on the north side is likewise submitted. Another sketch represents the upper part of the Norman doorway of the south porch of the church, the dripstone of which is chiselled with billet and zigzag bands. And there is also one giving the capital and base of a Norman column.

"Passing from the church to the Abbey Farm, the first view to notice is that of a noble old gate-house of brick, of the sixteenth century, which was formerly the entrance to the court-yard, but now used as a stable. It has a peaked roof, arched doorway, with arched window above it; and has a stout buttress at either angle. By the side of this fine building is a sort of shed of modern erection which greatly mars the effect of the old work.

"Following this view we have one of the north front of the abbey farmhouse in the midst of its garden, shaded by trees, and with the before-mentioned counting office showing the kneeling figures at its door. This fine old mansion was erected about the time of James I. The rooms are spacious, with panelled walls, but the collection of paint-

Mendlesham and Bramfield. I have often heard my father say that he well remembered armour suspended in the church of St. Laurence, Ludlow, Salop, but on his last visit it all had vanished, and was said to be packed away in a great chest, the key of which was lost.



ings which once adorned them are all gone. There are dormer windows in the sloping roof, and the chimneys are of ornamental character. In front of this abbey farm was the ancient cellar, floored with brick, which is now filled with water and used as a horse pond. Destruction and desecration reign triumphant at Letheringham.

"We have a sketch of the iron chest which once held the treasures belonging to Letheringham Church and now serving as a chicken coop or pen at the abbey farm. It is of an oblong square form, each face being panelled by broad stiles, and each end provided with a twisted drop-handle swinging between staples. The key-hole is in a boss placed in the very centre of the front of the coffer. This curious 'strong-box' is of the fifteenth century, and may be compared with one of the same date preserved in the vestry of Hornsey Church, Middlesex, for which see *Gentleman's Magazine*, July 1832, p. 14.

"There yet remain for mention four of the monumental effigies. The earliest is the brass of Sir John Wingfield, who died 1399; a noble production, representing the famous warrior armed cap-à-pic, with his gauntlet-covered hands pressed together in prayer, and resting his feet upon a couchant lion. The knight's head and throat are protected by a conical bassinet and attached camail or tippet of mail. An ornamental girdle with enriched boss in front, encircles the person just above the hips, and supports on the right side a dagger, and on the left a sword the globose pomel of which seems decorated with a shield. The chain apron peeps out beneath the scalloped edge of the jupon, and the pointed sollerets are accoutred with spurs having rowels of eight points.

We will next notice one of the kneeling effigies placed by the side of the counting-house door, and said to represent Sir Thomas Wingfield, and was formerly at the foot of the tomb of Sir Anthony Wingfield on the north side of the chancel of the old church. This monumental figure is a truly interesting piece of sculpture. The head is very Shaksperian in character, and seems to rise out of an immense plaited wheel ruff, on which rests the point of the *pique devant* beard. The body is clothed in a close-fitting doublet buttoned down the front, and belted about the waist, and over it is worn a long loose coat or gown, the nether limbs being sheathed in trunk-hose, the whole costume having an air of wealth and comfort about it well suited to the 'fine old English gentleman.'

"Next in succession we have a sketch of the emblazoned shield of Sir Robert Naunton, Secretary of State to James I, and author of *Fragmenta Regalia*, who died in 1630. This shield was originally attached to the knight's monument in the church, but somehow or other got turned into the churchyard, where, after being kicked about for a while, it was rescued by some considerate gentleman, and is now let

into the south wall of the church. The shield displays no less than fifty-seven quarterings, thirty-two being on the dexter, and twenty-five on the sinister side; the two most conspicuous coats being of course those of Naunton (*sable*, three of martlets *argent*) and of his wife Penelope, daughter of Sir Thomas Perrot (*gules*, three pears *argent*, on a chief of the last a demi lion issuant *sable*).

"The marble effigy now serving as a counterpart to that of Sir Thomas Wingfield at the door of the counting-house is stated to be that of Penelope, daughter of Sir Robert Naunton, and to have formerly occupied a recess beneath the recumbent figures of her father and mother. The lady wears a large round plaited ruff much like that of the companion effigy. The body of her dress is tight fitting, and peaked at the lower part in front; the sleeves are very full and of the kind called by Randle Holme *the virago sleeve*. She also wears a long coverchief which descends in ample folds like a mantle all round her back and shoulders. This figure, like that of Sir Thomas Wingfield, kneels upon a cushion, and once clasped the hands in prayer, but the hands of both lady and gentleman are now broken off and lost.

"The last fragment of a monument to describe is the infant son of Sir Robert Naunton, which, as already stated, once rested on the marble bosom of its mother, but is now built into a recess in the old chimney of the abbey farm-house. The upper part of the face of the little bantling is sadly mutilated, the right arm is quite gone, and a good portion of the left is also lost. There is not much in the costume to call for comment. A broad frill or ruff encircles the child's neck, and the body clothing is of the plainest kind, being a long frock tied about the waist and frilled at the armhole.

"There is nothing about these marble effigies to indicate for whom they were intended, and their identification is due to the research of Mr. Watling, to whom I beg to express my thanks for the interesting series of sketches he has sent me for exhibition. And we ought also, I think, to be grateful to Mr. Watling for directing attention to the direful and most disgraceful state of things at Letheringham, for, though that state seems almost remediless, the mere fact that it has attracted public notice may have a powerful effect in staying the destroyer's hand at other places, lest names as well as deeds be proclaimed aloud and legal vengeance overtake delinquency.

"The ruin and spoliation which has proceeded unchecked at the locality we have been considering is quaintly set forth in a doggerel poem by our late associate J. Clarke, of Easton, entitled *The Suffolk Antiquary* (1849, pp. 17, 22) wherein he says:—

"Letheringham next I chant on,
Once held by Sir Robert Naunton,
Who married Wingfield's daughter Liz,
Made priory and mansion his.

The ruins of the church we know,
 Were scatter'd all the churchyard thro',
 And splendid tombs stood here to vie
 With the old porch, then a pig-sty.

The armour which Wingfield put on,
 I lately saw at Brandeston;
 The helmet that might bear a rub,
 Removed to Vicarage by Clubbe.

A fine brass-plate at Letheringham
 (Which once the people stamp't on)
 Of Wingfield, now fix'd to the wall,
 Restor'd by Lord Northampton."

28 JANUARY.

H. SYER CUMING, ESQ., F.S.A. SCOT., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

The election of the following members was announced :

- C. Atkinson, Esq., Crabtree, Sheffield
- Alfred Allott, Esq., Norfolk Street
- L. William Bragge, Esq., F.S.A., Shirle Hill, Sheffield
- Thomas Brooke, Esq., F.S.A., Armitage Bridge, Huddersfield
- L. Sir John Brown, Endcliffe Hall, Sheffield
- M. Baker, Esq., High Street, Sheffield
- M. H. Brittain, Esq., Ranmoor, Sheffield
- H. J. Dixon, Esq., Stumperlow Hall, Sheffield
- J. D. Ellis, Esq., Atlas Ironworks, Sheffield
- A. R. Ellen, Esq., Beauchief, Sheffield
- John Fairburn, Esq., Broomhall Park, Sheffield
- Michael Ellison, Esq., Norfolk Cottage, Norfolk Park, Sheffield
- Mark Firth, Esq., Oakbrook House, Sheffield
- L. T. R. Gainsford, Esq., Whiteley Wood Hall, Sheffield
- E. Hall, Esq., Abbeydale Villa, Sheffield
- John Hall, Esq., Norbury, Sheffield
- J. Hallam, Esq., Mayor of Sheffield
- J. Hobson, Esq., Tapton Elms, Sheffield
- E. S. Howard, Esq., Pittsmoor, Sheffield
- Michael Hunter, Esq., Dam House, Western Bank, Sheffield
- L. Thomas Jessop, Esq., Endcliffe Grange, Sheffield
- R. Leader, Esq., Moor End, Sheffield
- L. F. F. Mappin, Esq., Thornbury Ranmoor, Sheffield
- L. Thomas Moore, Esq., Ashdell Grove, Sheffield
- John Newbold, Esq., Sharrow Bank, Sheffield
- Samuel Osborne, Esq., Clyde Steel Works, Sheffield

W. K. Peace, Esq., Brook Hill, Sheffield
 Samuel Roberts, Esq., Sharrow Mount, Sheffield
 Alexander Robertson, Esq., Highfield Terrace, Sheffield
 Wm. Short, Esq., 10, East Parade, Sheffield
 Wm. Sorby, Esq., Longley, Piper Lane, Sheffield
 H. Seabohm, Esq., Oak Lea, Collegiate Crescent, Sheffield
 George Wilson, Esq., Banner Cross, Sheffield
 T. E. Vickers, Esq., Bolsover, Pitts Moor, Sheffield.

Thanks were returned for the following present :

To the Author, M. P. L. Lemièrre, for *Examen Critique des Expéditions Gauloises en Italie, sous le Double Point de Vue de l'Histoire et de la Géographie.* 8vo. St. Brieuc, 1873.

Mr. Roberts exhibited, from Blackfriars, excavated during the present year, fourteen further specimens of bone waste pieces after the cutting of buttons ; a number of specimens of copper and bronze wire, and strips of metal ; and a piece of latten, $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, cut into strips of different lengths, like a hand and fingers, which the Chairman suggested might have been part of a flame from which a phoenix might have been rising ; two paving tiles of the thirteenth century ; two bone skates ; an Egyptian two-handed water-bottle. Mr. Roberts said that a doubt as to the genuineness of the Egyptian bottle had existed in his mind, on account of the perfect state of its preservation ; but the Chairman remarked that Morocco vessels had undoubtedly been found in the City in a remarkably perfect condition, and therefore he saw no sufficient reason for condemning the object exhibited by Mr. Roberts. After remarks by Messrs. T. Morgan, Brent, Previté, and Phené,

The Rev. S. M. Mayhew exhibited a fine and perfect bellarmine, of late sixteenth century fabric, exhumed in Bishopsgate Street in 1873. It is about 8 inches in height, and covered with a mottled brown glaze, characteristic of the stoneware of the Middle and Upper Rhine. On the front of the neck is a bold mask of the usual graybeard type ; and round the body of the jug are three medallions of unusually large size, being $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches diameter. These medallions have a wreath on their margins, and each bears a laureated profile to the right of the Emperor Charlemagne ; his beard being, perhaps, a little more pointed than is generally seen in his conventional portraits. In the mosaic of the ninth century, adorning the *triclinium* of San Giovanni di Laterano at Rome, Charlemagne has long moustache, but shaven chin ; and this description also applies to his full-faced effigy in the Bible of St. Paul, belonging to the order of St. Calixtus at Rome, a MS. of the ninth century. In the painted window, of the twelfth century, in the Cathedral of Strasbourg, the Emperor is represented with a very ample

beard ; and so he continued to be, with rare exceptions, through succeeding ages. The medallions on the bellarmine are remindful of the bookbinders' stamps of the sixteenth century.

Mrs. Baily sent for exhibition two most choice objects exhumed in London about the beginning of the year 1873, respecting which Mr. H. Syer Cuming has furnished the following memoranda :

"The first of these curious relics of Roman art is a nude figure, in gold, eight-twelfths of an inch high. It is standing with its arms extended, and slightly advanced ; and although void of any attribute or emblem, was probably intended as a representation of a young Cupid, and attached by the back to the hook of an *acus* or pin, in the manner of the little golden Bacchanal discovered at Pompeii. Roman works in the precious metals are of surpassing rarity as London finds, the tiny god now produced being, it is believed, the first gold effigy that has come to notice ; and very few silver images have been discovered, the best known being the Harpocrates, now in the British Museum, which was recovered from the Thames in 1825.

"The second object submitted by Mrs. Baily is a *lucerna bilychnis*, or lamp for two wicks. It is of bronze, $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length, with a central foramen seven-twelfths of an inch in diameter. The annular *ansa*, or handle, is surmounted by a triangular leaf ; and the *myxæ*, or nozzles, have a somewhat lozenge-shaped outline. This specimen is probably as early as the first century of the Christian era.

"*Lucernæ* of bronze are rarely met with in London excavations. The two Diana lamps engraved in this *Journal* (viii, p. 57), and the *lucerna pensilis*, or hanging lamp, with six *myxæ*, given in our volume xxvi, p. 371, are among the chief examples that have been discovered, for the fraudulent hoax recorded in Hone's *Table Book* (i, p. 267) must not be counted with genuine finds.

"The most famous provincial lamp of bronze is, perhaps, the four-nozzled *lucerna pensilis* found near Windsor in 1717, and presented to the Society of Antiquaries by Sir Hans Sloane. Our own *Journal* (v, p. 137) contains a representation of a lamp of a most *bizarre* character, said to have been exhumed at Colchester in Essex, and having every appearance of having been cast in the same mould as one stated to have been discovered at Lincoln, and published in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, Oct. 1842, p. 351. The most elegant bronze lamp yet met with in England is probably that obtained from one of the Bartlow tumuli at Ashdon, Essex, and figured in the *Archæologia*, xxvi.

"So seldom do Roman *lucernæ* of bronze occur in this country that their discovery should be carefully registered, and full and accurate description given of their forms, so that examples from different localities may be compared with a view if possible of ascertaining their place of fabric, and settling the question whether they be of home or foreign origin."

Mr. H. Syer Cuming read a paper on the "Whirligig or Top," which is printed at pp. 37-42 *ante*.

Mr. E. Roberts read the following paper, by Sir P. Stafford Carey, on

THE EARTHQUAKE IN 1750.

"As the Congress of the Archæological Association was held last summer at Sheffield it has struck me that it might not be altogether out of place to say a few words about one of the worthies of Yorkshire, a dignitary of the archiepiscopal church, known in the world of literature as Mr. Yorick.

"Four volumes of sermons under the name of Mr. Yorick were published during the author's lifetime. Two or three volumes more appeared after his death. I now beg to draw the notice of the Association to two of these posthumous sermons.

"The first of these, which is included in the fifth volume of the early editions, and numbered as Sermon XIII, is headed as being for the 30th of January, a day that was at that time kept in memory of the martyrdom of King Charles I. The text is a passage taken from the Book of Ezra, complaining of the corruption of the Jewish people. The preacher applies the description to the circumstances of his own times. He first adverts to the blessings which this country had enjoyed. He then continues thus:—

"'God has since this tried you with afflictions; you have been visited with a long and expensive war: God has sent moreover a pestilence among your cattle, which has cut off the stock from the fold, and left no herd in the stalls.'

"The other sermon that I have referred to is the last in volume vi, numbered xxx, and intituled 'The Ingratitude of Israel.'

"In this discourse, as well as in the former one, the preacher draws a parallel between the Jewish people and his own countrymen. Having thus been led to point out how this island had been favoured by heaven he proceeds as follows:—

"'God has since tried you with afflictions; you have had lately a bloody and expensive war; God has sent, moreover, a pestilence amongst your cattle, which has cut off the stock from the fold, and left no herd in the stalls.'

"It will be observed that these are the two very topics that had been brought forward before. But on this occasion the preacher does not stop here. He goes on to speak of another warning that had been received

"'Besides, you have just felt two dreadful shocks in your metropolis of a most terrifying nature; which, if God's providence had not checked and restrained within some bounds, might have overthrown your capital and your kingdom with it.'

"To any one who will consider the matter it will, I think, be evident that the two shocks here spoken of must have happened in the interval between the first of these two sermons and the second.

"Some two or three years ago accident threw in my way a little tract-like publication, about the size of my three fingers, containing a prospectus of the Book Society, 28, Paternoster Row. In this prospectus I read of the terrors of two successive shocks of earthquake in February and March 1749-50 (that is to say, according to the computation now in use, 1750), whereby the masses of the population were thrown into the deepest alarm, their terrors being increased by the prophecy of a fanatical trooper, that the dread visitation would on the 8th of April be repeated in a third and more fatal shock, engulfing the whole population. The alarm took so great a hold upon the public mind that six gentlemen having conceived the happy idea of turning it to a good account succeeded in founding what was then called 'The Society for Promoting Religious Knowledge among the Poor.'

"I have since endeavoured to procure a copy of this prospectus, but without success. In the absence of other information I have had recourse to Smollett's *History of England*, where I find the following passage :—

"On the eighth day of the same month (February 1750), between twelve and one in the afternoon, the people of London were still more dreadfully alarmed by the shock of an earthquake, etc. On the very same day of the next month, between five and six o'clock in the morning, the inhabitants of the metropolis were again affrighted by a shock more violent than the first. . . . The chairs rocked, the shelves clattered, the small bells rang, and in some places public clocks were heard to strike. Many persons, roused by this terrible visitation, started naked from their beds and ran to their doors and windows in distraction; yet no life was lost. . . . The circumstance, however, did not fail to make a deep impression upon ignorant, weak, and superstitious minds, which were the more affected by the consideration that the two shocks were periodical; that the second, which happened exactly one month after the first, had been the more violent; and that the next, increasing in proportion, might be attended with the most dismal consequences. This general notion was confirmed, and indeed propagated among all ranks of people, by the admonitions of a fanatic soldier, who publicly preached up repentance, and boldly prophesied that the next shock would happen on the same day of April, and totally destroy the cities of London and Westminster. . . . It is no wonder that the prediction of this illiterate enthusiast should have contributed in a great measure to augment the general terror. The churches were crowded with penitent sinners: the sons of riot and profligacy were overawed into sobriety and decorum. . . . Those whom fortune had enabled to retire from the devoted city fled to the country with hurry and precipitation, insomuch that the highways were encumbered with horses and carriages. . . . In after ages it will hardly be believed that on the evening of the eighth day of April the open fields that skirt the metropolis were filled with an incredible number of people assembled in

chairs, in chaises, and coaches, as well as on foot, who waited in most fearful suspense, until morning and the return of day disproved the truth of the dreaded prophecy. Then their fears vanished; they returned to their respective habitations in a transport of joy, and were soon reconciled to their abandoned vices, which they seemed to resume with redoubled affection, and once more bade defiance to the vengeance of heaven.' Book iii, ch. 1, sec. 39, vol. iii, p. 269.

"From the sermon itself it is to be collected that when it was composed the event was still recent.

" 'If,' says the preacher, 'from the effects which war and pestilence have had we may form a judgment of the moral effects which this last terror is likely to produce, it is to be feared, however we may be startled at first, that the impressions will scarce last longer than the instantaneous shock which occasioned them.'

"It will be observed that what the historian describes as having actually occurred, the preacher only looks forward to as probable. This of itself appears to fix the date of the sermon as belonging to the early part of the year 1750.

"There is another passage that carries us a step further in our inquiry. In the introductory part of the sermon the preacher speaks of furnishing 'some reflections seasonable for the beginning of this week, which should be devoted to such meditations as may prepare and fit us for the solemn fast which we are shortly to observe.'

"From what is said about 'the beginning of the week,' it is evident that the sermon was preached on a Sunday. The 'solemn fast' that is spoken of can hardly indicate any other season than that of Lent; not, however, the beginning of Lent, for that was before the second shock of the earthquake, which did not occur till the 8th of March. It appears to me not improbable that the day on which the sermon was preached was the Sunday before Good Friday; and as Easter-day in 1750 fell on the 15th of April, the next preceding Sunday must have been the 8th. That was the day that the fanatical trooper had fixed on for the destruction of the metropolis, and if my conjecture is correct, Mr. Yorick must have been preaching his sermon, probably in the Cathedral of York, at the very time that the affrighted inhabitants of London were thronging into the fields. At all events there can I think be no doubt that the sermon on the ingratitude of Israel was written in the year 1750. This being the case it is pretty clear that the war that we find spoken of both in this sermon and in that for the 30th of January, was the war that was put an end to by the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748.

"These points being settled, we may conclude with some confidence that the sermon for the 30th of January is to be assigned to the year 1749, and the sermon on the Ingratitude of Israel to the month of April, 1750.

"It was also in 1753 that was first published the sermon on the abuses of conscience, which, some nine or ten years afterwards, was introduced in the second volume of *Tristram Shandy*.

"In 1750 Laurence Sterne, who was born towards the end of 1713, was in his thirty-seventh year.

"I may mention as a singular circumstance that the first number of the *Rambler* appeared on the 20th of March, 1750, just twelve days after the second shock; and from this time the publication continued twice a week during the whole of this reign of terror, and yet I have not been able to discover in any of the numbers the slightest allusion to the earthquake."

Mr. H. Syer Cuming in reference to a previous exhibition by Mr. Horner, read the following remarks on a polychromic tile of the sixteenth century:—

"The encaustic, or, as they are frequently called, Norman tiles, so extensively and effectively employed for pavements of sacred buildings from the thirteenth to far within the fifteenth century, began during the latter period to wane before the advent of stanniferous glazed, surface-painted quarries, which soon after the commencement of the sixteenth century had gained such favour that the older tiling had well nigh ceased to be manufactured, not only in this country, but also on the Continent. These surface-painted, or polychromic tiles, as they are termed, though at first preserving a certain degree of resemblance in design to their Norman predecessors, were in truth the offsprings of Oriental art, and trace their lineage to a Saracenic parentage. Abundant proof of this latter statement is afforded in the beautiful *azulejos* at Seville, Granada, and other parts of Spain, some of which evidently date from the thirteenth century. Good examples of the Moresco-Spanish *azulejos* may be seen in the Mayor's Chapel at Bristol. But it is clear that by the year 1528-9 the fabrication of polychromic tiles had been established in England, for we read in the accounts of Little Saxham Hall, Suffolk, 20 Henry VIII, 'Item, paid to Th. Lester of Stowe, in part of paiement of xxvijs. iiij*d*. for a ML' of paving tile to be eneled (enamelled) with colours of green, yelow, and black.'¹

"A most curious and rare type of a polychromic tile of the early part of the sixteenth century, which was brought to our notice by Mr. Horner at the first meeting of the present session (see vol. xxix, p. 421), forms the subject of the accompanying plate. It has just been observed that these later quarries preserved at their outset a certain reminiscence of the designs adorning their elder brethren, and the specimen in question will in a manner support the assertion.

¹ See Gage's *Suffolk*, p. 151. The glazed earthen busts formerly on the gateways of Hampton Court and Whitehall were, no doubt, made in England.



Tape belonging to W. C. Horner F. 7

(Two thirds full-size)



“In the *Gentleman's Magazine*, Dec. 1788, is an engraving of an encaustic tile from Northfleet Church, displaying a full-faced bust with open crown fleury, closely resembling the effigies seen on the money of our first three Edwards; and tiles with crowned heads are given in our *Journal* (vi, p. 116; and viii, pp. 151 and 248), from examples in Leicester Abbey; St. Andrew's Church, Chinnor, Oxfordshire; and Thurgarton Priory, Nottingham. And others, with the busts of Our Lord and the Virgin Mary, are exhibited in vol. xii, p. 75, from originals of the fifteenth century in St. Michael's Church, Cheriton, Hampshire.

“The tile produced by Mr. Horner presents us with an effigy of a male personage, the face slightly turned to his right, and pencilled in with so much care and feeling that none can question that the artist intended it for a portrait of some illustrious individual. The costume of this effigy deserves special consideration. The head is covered with a huge cap; the front apparently made up of three broad fan-shaped flaps of a rich brownish orange hue. The white shirt has a broad collar encircling the throat, embellished with a yellow trellis-pattern, doubtlessly meant to represent gold embroidery; and over this garment is worn a very low placard or stomacher, which seems to be upheld by a long loop of blue ribbon passing round the neck, and to be composed of some brownish orange stuff banded horizontally with blue, with two rows of white leaflets between each band. These leaflets may be slashes in the placard, showing the white shirt beneath, or else some species of embroidery, for the stomachers of kings and princes were of costly fabric; Hall, the chronicler, mentioning one worn by Henry VIII, embroidered with diamonds, rubies, great pearls, and other rich stones. An ermine lined mantle of ample proportions hangs upon the shoulders, and falls on either side of our effigy; and it will be noticed that the hair covering the ears descends as low as the mouth, and bulges out laterally. The face is altogether void of hair, and has a grave and almost feminine expression about it. Can it possibly be the lineaments of some youthful scion of the house of Tudor?

“In the *Gentleman's Magazine*, Nov. 1794, is ‘a faithful copy of a bust of Henry VIII, when young, carved in stone, in *alto relievo*, on the north front of the south-east wing of Prinknash Church, in Gloucestershire.’ I know not on what authority this bust is affirmed to be that of bluff King Hal, but it is worth referring to on account of the cap which seems to be of the same description as that seen on the tile. Both heads have about the same amount of bushed-out hair, and the mantles are worn in the same style; but in spite of all resemblance that may exist between the habiliments of the two effigies I would far rather accept that on the tile as the presentment of Prince Arthur than that of his brother Prince Henry. The former died at Ludlow Castle

on April 2, 1502, when only sixteen years of age, and the costume delineated on the quarry well accords with this period.

"The paste of this most interesting tile is of a yellowish white colour, very like in aspect and composition to the majolica ware of Italy. It is five inches and a quarter square and nearly seven-eighths thick; well fired, and altogether of superior fabric. It remains to be stated that this rare specimen was discovered mid a lot of building refuse in excavating in Coleman Street, and with it was another polychromic tile of vastly inferior execution, the device on it being an owl within a blue border composed of concentric rings.

"Speaking broadly, the earliest polychromic tiles of English fabric manifest more or less a Gothic bias, the patterns on them partaking of an architectural character, with the addition of fruit, flowers, etc., which relieves the general stiffness of design. Animal life is not very often represented on them, but that it sometimes appears, is a fact proven by the quarries discovered in Coleman Street, and also by one in my own possession exhumed at the Crown and Horseshoe Wharf, Upper Thames Street, in 1859, whereon is depicted a bird of Paradise in flight, no legs of course being shown, for it was long fabled that the poor creature was legless, and never touched the earth until the moment of its death. I have also a tile of a little later date on which is a very stately blue dromedary padding across a green and yellow mount.

"The thick polychromic quarries seem to have pretty well gone out of fashion by the year 1600, when their place as wall facings began to be supplied by the thin blue and white delft-ware gally tiles, manufactured first in Holland and afterwards at Lambeth on the banks of the Thames, but both products pass under the generic title of Dutch tiles. Religious subjects abound on these tiles, as also do equestrians of post-biblical times; and landscapes and seascapes, all painted by hand, so that the same scenes and subjects may appear on half a dozen specimens with half a dozen minor variations in treatment. Some of the later examples have the blue central device inclosed in a speckled or mottled lilac border, and at times the whole picture is penciled in with this colour. The Dutch tiles are rarely polychromic, though I have a few instances of such in my collection. The taste for these quaint affairs gradually died out, but was resuscitated in some measure in the second half of last century, when John Sadler of Liverpool produced his transfer-printed tiles, examples of which are now held in high and well deserved esteem by connoisseurs."

FEBRUARY 11.

GORDON M. HILLS, ESQ., HON. TREASURER, IN THE CHAIR.

The election of the following member was announced: Reginald Ames, Esq., M.A., 14, Conduit Street, Hanover Square.

Thanks were returned for the following presents:

- To the Society*, Smithsonian Institution, for Miscellaneous Collections, vol. x. 8vo. Washington, 1873.
- „ „ Sixth Annual Report of the U.S. Geological Survey of Montana, Idaho, Wyoming, and Utah. By F. V. Hayden, U.S. Geologist. 8vo. Washington, 1873.
- „ „ Annual Report of the Board of Regents for 1871. 8vo. Washington, 1871.
- „ „ Report of the Chief Signal Officer for 1872. 8vo. Washington, 1873.

Mr. F. Redfern exhibited an impression of a builder's seal found underneath the Cross Keys Hotel, Uttoxeter, formerly belonging to the builder of the house. It bears his initial, H; his motto, T. R. I.; and his mark, in the form of a cross. His name, with the date, is on an upper stringcourse, as follows: "1697. Edward Hadley, builder."

Mr. Cecil Brent, F.S.A., exhibited the following objects:—three Roman keys; bone Roman spoon; bone tally, similar to one as stated by Mr. Hillary Davies to have been found at Wroxeter; three pairs of Roman tweezers; with *spatulae* and other bronze articles; and two very fine early spurs, one in bronze, and the other in iron, with the leather straps complete. All found in Queen Victoria Street in 1873. Also the undermentioned objects found in 1873 and 1874 in Blackfriars:—a very fine *umbo* of a Saxon shield; pointed-toe shoes, knife and dagger-sheaths, and other leather objects; netting needles; brass wire, and fragments of brass with engraved pattern on them; a lamp-trimmer, letter S in brass, with I.H.S. on it; two arrow-heads, one in the shape of a broad arrow; and other objects.

With regard to the *umbo*, Mr. Cuming stated that a similar specimen was figured in the catalogue of the Copenhagen Museum.

Mrs. Baily sent for exhibition an exceedingly curious miniature jousting-shield of iron, five inches and a quarter high, with concave sides, two inches wide in the centre, and three inches and a quarter at the biscalloped ends. The upper part of the dexter side is cut out with a *bouche* or aperture for the lance to pass through, consisting of a diagonal slit terminating at the base in a round hole. The face of the shield is engraved with the cross of St. George, the limbs extending to the edges of the metal, which are neatly bevelled. From the

middle of the back projects a staple about one inch and five-twelfths long and half an inch wide ; drilled towards the end to admit a pin or peg, by which it was, no doubt, fixed to a full sized shield ; in like way with the iron escutcheon on the hand-target of elk's horn in the Museum of Artillery, Paris ; engraved in Demmin's *Weapons of War*, p. 301, fig. 63. This rare and interesting relic of chivalry may be assigned to about the middle of the fifteenth century, and was exhumed in the Steelyard, Upper Thames Street, in March 1865. It may be remarked that the *bouche* in the jousting-targe does not appear to date earlier than the time of Henry IV ; nor is it found much, if at all, later than the end of the fifteenth century. It seems, however, to have suggested the slit for the sword in the *rondache* with which some of the infantry were equipped at the commencement of the seventeenth century.

Mr. Hillary Davies exhibited a chap book entitled *A New History of England from the Invasion of Julius Cæsar to the beginning of the year 1790, adorned with Cuts of all the Kings and Queens who have reigned since the Norman Conquest*. Gainsbrough. Printed at Mozley's Lilliputian Book Manufactory 1791 (Price Sixpence), 159 pages, 32mo. The cuts are impressions of wood blocks, and commence with a frontispiece representing three figures, viz., Liberty presenting a knight in armour to Britannia, the two latter holding "Magna Charta" between them. The next cut gives the effigies of a male and female Briton painted with suns, moons, and stars ; both armed with spears and swords ; and the gentleman holding in his right hand the head of a slain enemy. Then follow a series of the English monarchs from "William the Conqueror" to "George III" ; and beneath each figure is a quatrain, the beauty of which may be judged of by the following examples, the first and last in the book :—

"William, a spurious branch of Rollo's race
From Norman's duke to England's king we trace,
He conquer'd Saxon Harold, seiz'd the throne,
Was brave, but proud, and partial to his own.

"Born in this isle, let George the sceptre sway,
And Englishmen their native prince obey,
May he preserve their liberties and laws,
And be the foremost in religion's cause."

This quaint little book is a reprint, with certain alterations of an earlier work, the cuts in which are somewhat in the manner of Thomas Bewick, and evidently the archetypes of those given in the "New History." The series of kings and queens decorating the quadrangle of the old Royal Exchange, and those illustrating Mountague's *History of England* may have suggested the cuts here mentioned.

The Rev. S. M. Mayhew exhibited an incuse paving tile, exhumed in

Bishopsgate Street in 1870, in reference to which Mr. H. Syer Cum-
ing read the following paper :—

“From an early period in Greece, Rome, and their colonics the floors of temples, palaces, and other buildings of importance were covered with pavements composed of small dies of stone, glass, and terra-cotta of different colours, so arranged as to produce designs of more or less elaborate character, and which in all cases must have been of rather costly price. To economise both labour and expense larger tiles gradually came into vogue, the surfaces of which bore on them patterns which required far less skill to adjust than was needed to produce a mosaic picture, and these tiles in time entirely superseded the ancient *tessellæ*. It was in all probability the contemplation of the stamped wall bricks of Egypt, Babylon, and Rome which suggested to the mind of the craftsman the idea of embellishing the paving quarries with subjects which occasionally displayed a shadowy reminiscence of the classic *pavimentum vermiculatum*, but which reminiscence was speedily lost in mediæval conventionalism.

“On the present occasion we have to deal with one class of the so-called Norman or encaustic tiles, the decorations on which were impressed on the soft clay with wooden stamps ; the cavetto lines, as a general rule, being filled up with white clay, and the whole surface protected with plumbiferous glaze. From the tread of feet and other causes this vitreous covering was occasionally completely worn off, and in such cases the white inlay being less compact than its red matrix not unfrequently got detached, leaving the device incuse as it was in the early stage of the manufacturing process. This state of things is of course the result of accident, but it appears pretty evident that the tile makers did at times purposely leave the designs in cavetto, simply applying the stamp to the surface of the quarry and then glazing it over. This practice certainly dates as far back as the end of the thirteenth century, as may be seen by the pavement discovered in the ruined priory at Castle Acre, Norfolk, and by a green-glazed tile exhumed about the year 1860, near the Drapers’ Almshouses, Shrewsbury, to which our attention is called by Mr. Hillary Davies. This quarry displays the singular device of a winged quadruped with the head of a fox, tail of a lion, and eagle’s feet, a monster which may be classed with, but is not strictly, the griffin.

“Examples of incuse tiles from Repton and Bakewell, Derbyshire, are engraved in our *Journal* (vii, 385, 388), the glazing on them not being of the ordinary yellowish tinge, but described as of ‘a dark blue colour.’ I place before you a tile of similar character to the two last mentioned, inasmuch as the glaze is of a dark hue, the result of the presence of oxide of copper. This fine quarry is one of a set of four, which, when joined as a square, formed a cross composed of four large

oak leaves within a multifoil, the whole sharply impressed. This specimen, like the two given in our *Journal*, appears to be of late fourteenth century date.

"These few observations may not be deemed an inappropriate prelude to the exhibition of an incuse tile of great rarity and interest, exhumed in Bishopsgate Street, December 1873, and now the property of our valued associate the Rev. S. M. Mayhew. This tile is full four inches and a half square, and about one inch thick, the paste being rather less compact than is commonly the case with encaustic quarries, and the glaze is of a dull greenish-brown hue. The underside has five depressions which helped to fix the object securely in the bed of mortar. The surface is impressed with a medallion bust in profile, occupying the centre of a quatrefoil, each member of which is filled with foliage. This bust is turned towards the dexter side of the tile, and wears what looks like a close-fitting salade, with flattened knob at top, and long neckguard upturned at the rim. The headpiece, whether it be helm or chapeau, is encircled by an ornamented bandeau, and the hair of the youth falls in locks nearly to the shoulders. This effigy bears resemblance to the busts stamped on the leather covers of German books of the commencement of the sixteenth century, and may also be compared with the medallions on the stoneware bellarmines of Rhenish fabric, and on the carved panels of bedsteads, coffers, and cabinets of reputed Netherlandic and Almain origin. This curious tile may, however, be an English production, although I can point to no English collection of fictilia containing its fellow. Taking into consideration its mode of manufacture, colour of glaze, and general character of design we may fairly fix its era to *circa* 1500, when the taste for encaustic tiles was rapidly sinking, and the surface-painted quarries as rapidly rising in estimation.

"The incuse tiles with unitint surfaces above described must not be confounded with the embossed quarries, of which examples have been met with on the site of Whitland Abbey, Carmarthenshire, and still exist in Tawstock and other churches in Devonshire.¹ These embossed tiles have their devices in relief with the fields in cavetto, in the manner of the Florentine tiles so exquisitely moulded by the Della Robbia family at the end of the fifteenth and early part of the sixteenth centuries."

Mr. Hills said that an abundance of the same kind of tiles had been found in Chichester Cathedral, resembling in colour those now manufactured by the Messrs. Minton and known by the name of "Salisbury Green."

Mr. E. Roberts, F.S.A., Hon. Sec., read a paper on "Watering Pots," which will be printed in a future number of the *Journal*, and as

¹ See *Journal*, xx, p. 81.

illustrative of which Mr. H. Syer Cuming exhibited the mammiformed rose of a sixteenth century watering pot, four inches and a quarter in diameter, pierced with small lozenge-shaped holes. It is of red earthenware, covered with a brownish-yellow plumbiferous glaze, and is of unusually careful fabric. It was found in Moorfields, May, 1866. Mr. Cuming observed that one of the finest bottle-shaped watering pots that he knew of was in the British Museum. It is twelve inches high, and like most of the very early examples is unglazed, but decorated with broad white wavy scrolls. In the Baily collection is a good series of watering pots, including the simple bottle form, the bottle form with the addition of a side handle (like that engraved in this *Journal*, v. 344), and examples with roses. About February or March, 1872, no less than six earthenware rose watering pots were exhumed in Walbrook, and pronounced Roman by some bold ignoramus. It is doubtful if watering pots with roses can be traced further back than the sixteenth century.

When the *earthen* watering pot was superseded by one of *tin*, is a question of rather difficult decision. Certain it is that the metal vessel has been in vogue for more than a century, for it is seen in the hand of the dressed up monkey tending the withered "*exoticks*" in Hogarth's well known design engraved by Grignon, and published in 1761.

FEBRUARY 25.

H. SYER CUMING, ESQ., F.S.A. SCOT., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

Thanks were returned for the following presents :

To the Society, Royal Archæological Institute, for *Journal*, No. 119. 8vo. London, 1873.

" " The Essex Institute (U.S.A.), for *Bulletin*, vols. 1, 2, 3, 4. 8vo. Salem, Mass., 1869-72. And for *Historical Collections*, vol. x, Part I; 8vo, Salem, 1869. And vol. xi, Parts II, III, IV; 8vo, Salem, 1871-2.

Mr. F. A. Burt exhibited the following objects found in the City:—three examples of bones with the ends squared and notched, one stained with bronze; two bone skates, one polished, and one in process of manufacture; a *poculum* of Northamptonshire pottery, elegantly decorated with white barbotine (Roman); a bronze buckle, *temp.* Edward II or III; a piece of thin Venetian glass, which the Chairman thought had been used as a handle; a sixteenth century specimen of a Flanders ware jug; a sixteenth century porringer of Italian ware; and a polychromatic tile with the device of a running deer, rather late sixteenth century. Remarks were made by Messrs. Roberts and G. R. Wright.



Mr. Cuming cautioned the members against purchasing some spurious glass beads, some specimens of which were now exhibited by Mr. Cecil Brent, and which were being extensively offered for sale to collectors at the present time.

Mr. Harris exhibited a bronze enamelled armlet found at Vernham, which Mr. Cuming thought was Keltic, and that it might probably have been brought to this country from Ireland. It was certainly of a very rare type.

Mr. H. Syer Cuming read the following portion of a letter he had received from Mr. Watling relative to Mendlesham Church, Suffolk :

"On the 7th instant I visited the fine old church of Mendlesham, which has been restored, but in such a way that all the points of interest are either demolished or wear a new face. Of one relic left in the nave I send a rubbing. It is a fine brass to the memory of a Ryvett, with one shield only, bearing the arms of the Freston and Bryant families, into which the former married. The colours are, of course, not given ; but we may describe this shield as per pale, *azure*, on a fess *or*, three leopards' heads *gules*, for Freston. *Or*, three piles meeting in base *vert*, with a bordure bezantee, for Bryant.¹

"On ascending to the loft or chamber over the north porch, my attention was at once drawn to an iron-bound door with three block-locks of extraordinary size, having three separate and massive keys to them. In this chamber are no less than six old massive chests with semicircular lids, and all in one piece, like the coffer at Southwold. Upon the chests, and all over the room, were scattered portions of armour, breast-plates, helmets, arm-pieces, saddles, etc. In the largest of these chests I discovered a vast accumulation of loose papers, documents, etc., on some of which I noticed the dates 1595 and 1606. One little chest or shrine is highly interesting, and ought to be looked to. The whole chamber has an air of great antiquity ; and the sad unconcern for the treasures in it pained me much. The roof over this loft was painted blue, and studded with crowns of thorns with I.H.S. in the centre of each ; but all are now destroyed. The exterior of the north porch is grand. At the corners are four great statues, viz., two lions crowned, and two wild men covered with hair and armed with large clubs. The south porch had on its interior roof the monogram of the Virgin Mary, but it has now vanished. The tower is very elaborate, in flint and stone, with shields over the west door of the Weylands and Ryvetts, once great people here. In the north aisle is a curious piscina or drain ; and in the middle department of the east window is a niche,

¹ Mr. Tucker (*Rouge Croix*) has carefully examined these arms, and decided them to be those of Knevet and Basset ; and the monument to be that of Sir John Knevet, Lord Chancellor in 1371, who married Eleanor, the daughter of Sir Rafe Basset of Welden.

and in it was painted the Virgin, and this has been destroyed during the late restoration of the church."

Mr. Cuming said he felt it his duty to lose no time in laying the foregoing communication before the Association, and asking if some action could not be taken in the matter of the armour and other relics spoken of by Mr. Watling. If nothing be done to prevent it, the armour will most assuredly be parloined bit by bit until the whole be abstracted, and the MSS. will most likely be burnt as waste paper.

With respect to the brass at Mendlesham, Mr. Cuming observed that it reminded him, in many ways, of that of Sir John Drayton, 1411, in Dorchester Church, Oxon. The Mendlesham knight wears a conical bascinet and a gorget of solid plate with an ornamental border. The gussets of the armpits are covered with plane circular palettes; and the parts of the cotices, or elbow-pieces, which protect the bend of the arm, take the form of scallop-shells. The wristlets, or cuffs of the gauntlets, are embellished at the edges similarly to the gorget. The armour is very contracted at the waist; below which, descending to the hips, are taces or tassets composed of broad horizontal bands of plate. Beneath the tassets is discerned the lower edge of the chain-mail under-tunic, with two plates attached to its centre, which seem to be the rudiments of the sixteenth century brayette. The cuisses, genouillieres, and greaves, are all of solid plate; the toes of the pointed sollerets are made of overlapping bands, and the heels are accoutred with spurs. By the right hip hangs a dagger; and from a belt studded with bossets, and crossing in a slanting direction from right to left, depends a long sword with ovoidal pommel, straight cross-guard, and annulated grip. The locket of the scabbard is decorated with a quatre-foil, and the chape displays the letters I.H.S. intertwined. The knight's feet rest on a couchant lion; and his head on a tilting-helmet covered with a cointoise with leafy edge, and surmounted by the crest, the head of a dragon. One very interesting feature to notice in this monumental effigy is the beard flowing over the neck-guard. The beard is shown in the brass of Ralph de Knevynton, 1370, in Aveley Church, Essex; and in that of Sir William de Tendring, 1408, at Stoke by Nayland, Suffolk; but in both instances the knights are bare headed. Erasmus, in his *Pilgrimages to Sacred Places*, speaks of having seen at Walsingham a brass plate of a knight with "a beard as long as a goat's"; but he tells us not whether he wore with or without the helm. The beard, as exhibited on the Mendlesham brass, is undoubtedly of rare occurrence.

Mrs. Baily forwarded for exhibition a massive but extremely elegant pike-head of the time of Elizabeth. It is of bright steel, thirteen inches and a quarter long, and about four inches and a half at its greatest breadth. From the faceted socket rises a strong quadrangular spike

with concave faces, from the two opposite sides of which spread out bold perforated scrolls which gradually merge into the cusp, and are much in the character of the architectural embellishments of the period. This fine example may be compared with a pike-head engraved in Skelton's *Meyrick* (Plate LXXXVI, fig. 11); but the latter has a solid edging or frame to the perforated scroll-work.

Mr. H. Syer Cuming remarked that the pike, in its earlier form, was nothing more than the cavalry lance adapted to infantry; but in the sixteenth century there were considerable taste and fancy displayed in the outline of its blade, which was made so much wider towards its lower part than it was wont to be, that it is sometimes difficult to determine if a specimen be a pike or partisan. In England the weapon reached its highest degree of elegance in the reign of Elizabeth; from which period it declined in beauty of *contour* and richness of detail, though some traces of fancy were manifested as late as the reign of Charles II. Mr. Cuming closed his observations with the exhibition of a pike-head of the time of Charles II, the octangular socket and blade together measuring twelve inches and a half. At the base of the blade are two crescents, the tips of one turning upwards, those of the other and larger one downwards; and issuing out between them, on either side, is a flame-like point. This specimen was found, with other seventeenth century pike-heads, in the ruins of the House of Lords, after the memorable fire of Oct. 16, 1834. The weapons were, however, uninjured by the flames.

Mr. E. Roberts, F.S.A., exhibited upwards of two hundred and twenty specimens of wholly and partially manufactured bronze wire of the Romano-British period, and scraps of *latten* of the eleventh century, from Blackfriars, excavated within the last four months. He accompanied the exhibition with the following observations:

"Amidst an immense variety and great quantity of articles acquired from the excavations, which, from a study of Maitland's and other maps, I imagine must have been the bed, or at least one of the banks, of the Fleet River, these bronze and latten articles have been found. At first I treated the few specimens as of little value, and laid them aside; but day after day brought additions to the quantity until they amounted to hundreds, and showed marks of various stages of manufacture and ornamentation, so that I came to the conclusion that there had been near the spot works for their production. There are innumerable specimens of the wire crumpled up, apparently free from evidences of handiwork; but an examination will prove that almost every piece is convoluted as it came from its muddy bed. The ends show signs of either having been flattened, cleanly cut, or pointed. I have sorted them into assimilating specimens, and you will, therefore, see in one series thick wires; in another, exceedingly fine specimens,

about as fine as a hair ; others elaborately twisted ; and, again, others looped either at the ends, or with consecutive and contiguous loops in the course of their length ; others are drilled at the ends ; and one curved specimen, six inches and three quarters long, is flattened at both ends, and finely perforated, and ready to be cut and converted into needles or some other implements.

"Amongst the finished articles are headed pins of various sizes, some of brilliant metal ; needles ; and two netting-needles, one of them quite perfect. These are of fine wire, and four inches and a half and four and a quarter long respectively, and are suitable for making nets for the hair. The latten articles include several engraved narrow bands, which have been nailed on to the objects ornamented ; while others appear to have formed part of either an angel's wing, or a representation of flames. There are also some tapered prisms of lead.

"Of other articles I purpose producing only a few of the varieties on this occasion, in order to show what these wires were associated with ; reserving the bulk to exhibit, in their several varieties, at future meetings. They consist of leather, principally shoes, varying in date from Edward I to Henry VIII ; gypsires ; knife, dagger, and sword-sheaths ; straps and buckles, etc. ; innumerable knives, daggers, shears, and tools, of forms from the Roman to the Jacobean ; pottery, from Samian down to that of the seventeenth century ; mediæval paving tiles, bone skates, waste iron, locks and keys, spurs and horse-trappings, belonging to various centuries. It seemed to me desirable to limit the kind of exhibition, and I have, therefore, only produced a specimen or two of the latter named articles ; but I have laid on the table the whole of the wire manufactures, in order to render it not only more complete, but more interesting, especially as they show the *modus operandi* in several stages, from the plain wire up to the completely finished ornaments or works of utility."

In regard to the specimens of wire, the Chairman remarked that two of them were of special interest, as they were evidently in the progress of manufacture ; and, as he thought, were not intended to work up into needles, but were unfinished Roman fish-hooks. Remarks were made by Messrs. Blashill and Loftus Brock upon the course of the Fleet River and the objects found there ; and Mr. Hillary Davies said that at Uriconium a great quantity of bent wire had been discovered, most of it in the lower parts of the town, near the river Severn,—a fact which seemed to confirm the Chairman's opinion that some of the examples now before them had been intended for fish-hooks.

Mr. H. Syer Cuming read the following paper on "Jolly Boys":—

"It has already been indicated in these pages that there was a period when *Jacks*, *Georges*, and *Jeroboams*, *Kitties*, *Betties*, and *Gills*, ministered to the desires, needs, and fancies of toppers of all sorts and de-

grees, and that 'tall boys and Dutchmen' not only sat at, but stood on the festive board.¹ And what hath been said of 'Dutchmen and tall boys' may with equal truth be echoed respecting 'jolly boys,' those that graced the table imparting joviality to those surrounding it.

"However gratifying it may be to contemplate the smiling face and sparkling eyes, to hear the cheerful laugh, to listen to the smart and telling jokes, we are constrained to pass the biped 'jolly boys' in silence and haste to their inanimate, but still mirth-inspiring namesakes, which left to themselves are sedate, solemn old fellows without a grain of risibility in their composition, rigid and frigid as the mother earth, whence they emanated. Paradoxical as all this may seem it is strictly correct as shall now be shown. The 'jolly boys' on whom we are to concentrate our thoughts and gaze, are drinking vessels so denominated from the effects they produce on those who quaff deeply from their enticing brims. And if the novice knows naught of the cunning design of the insidious cups, he may become not only jolly but witless ere he suspects the amount of good liquor he has swallowed.

"The quaint old 'jolly boys' consist of groups of vessels varying in number from two to twelve, and in height from less than two to upwards of three inches. But whatever be their size or number there is a free channel of communication through the whole group, so that fluid poured into one cup finds its way into all the rest, and of course when one cup is pressed to the lip its companions contribute their quota to the draught. The learned will take note of this and sip accordingly, the unlearned will swig and pull until the cups are drained of their contents, to the comfort or discomfort of the performer as the case may be.

"The principle (I do not say use) of the 'jolly boys' is of very ancient date, evidence of it being apparent in the sepulchres of the Egyptians and nations of Central America. But vain would it be to speculate when and where the first 'jolly boys' were made; one thing however is certain, that on the site of the Roman Condate at Wilderspool, near Warrington, Lancashire, was exhumed in 1871, a trio of vessels which meet all the requirements of the 'jolly boys' of more recent days. The specimen referred to is in the possession of Dr. Kendrick, and is briefly noticed in our *Journal* (xxvii, 433). It consists of the remains of three olla-shaped cups, three inches and a quarter high, with mouths two inches and three quarters diameter, and their swelling bodies united by tubular ligatures placed about two inches above their bases. This rare group is neatly wrought of terra cotta, the paste being of a reddish hue like that of other fictilia of presumed Condate fabric. In the

¹ For a headless and tailless fragment of a paper on these and other quaintly named vessels, see *Journal*, xvi, p. 355.

opinion of more than one provincial archaeologist we have here an undoubted example of a Roman 'jolly boys,' and if it be so it offers another instance, among many, of the strange fact that what was familiar in ancient times was altogether lost sight of, or unappreciated, in later ages until the arrival of the sixteenth or seventeenth century, when the old idea again crops up, and in such full-blown vigor that we can scarcely fancy that there has ever been a break in the chain, a non-continuance of the fashion since its birth in the far distant past.

"In a valuable paper by the Rev. E. L. Barnwell 'On some Ancient Welsh Customs and Furniture', printed in the *Archæologia Cambrensis* (Oct. 1872, p. 334), description is given of how the village belle was wont on Easter eve and Easter Tuesday to carry on her head a curious China article, 'in the spaces between the cups lighted candles were placed, fixed in clay, the cups themselves being filled with a native beverage called *bragawl*. The difficulty was to drink this liquor while placed on the damsel's head without running the risk of burning, her companions singing a stanza, the last line of which was 'Rhag i'r feinwen losgi ei thalcen,' meaning 'Lest the maiden burn her forehead.' The illustration which accompanies Mr. Barnwell's paper represents an object closely resembling one type of Roman flower pot, being formed of a tubular ring on which little cups are ranged, and we may fairly regard it as a variety of our 'jolly boys.'

"There are two capital examples of 'jolly boys' in the British Museum. One group consists of three cups arranged triangularways like the Condote relic, with the swelling portions of their bodies in contact and communicating, and with twisted handles bowing out from vessel to vessel. This fine specimen is made of red earthenware, covered with a rich dark chocolate-brown glaze, identical with that commonly seen on the tygs of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The other example of 'jolly boys' in the national collection is of more complicated design, consisting of a tubular ring supported on four low feet, and on which are placed four cups, with a fifth in the middle. These cups are not so large as those in the first named group. This specimen is of rich tortoise-shell ware, and rather yellower perhaps in tint than is usually the case with this variety of earthenware.

"At a recent sale of the collection of the Hon. R. G. Molyneux, which took place in Wellington Street, was a fine and rare specimen of our 'jolly boys' in the shape of three mugs joined in a triangle, provided with twisted handles, and inscribed with these words: 'In this, Christ, and thee, my joy shall be, 1739.' We have often heard of 'Love and a Bottle,' but here religion is strangely blended with amorous passion and predilection for tippling.

"Our good member Mr. Kettel has kindly brought to our notice an exceedingly fine and interesting example of the old 'jolly boys,' the

anticipated exhibition of which has called this paper into existence. We have here a group of six cups arranged in a triangle, and wrought of red earthenware, covered with a yellow glaze mottled with green. Spreading round the upper part of the cups is this doggerel line, 'Fill me full, drink of me while you woul,' followed by the initials and date, thus S. O. 1762. Mr. Kettel informs me that this curious group was made at Wrotham in Kent, where a pottery was established as far back as the middle of the seventeenth century.

"Not only certain kinds of drinking vessels, but some ladles employed in filling the spirit cup have been made with communicating bowls, of which we have a proof in the rare old Scotch toddy ladle which I lay before you. It is carved out of beechwood, and has a cluster of three round bowls with an aperture one from the other close to their bases, and the two next the handle are provided with square lips or spouts to pour off the potent fluid into small *quechs*. Though this ladle has lost the end of its handle it still measures eleven inches and a half in length. The handle is of unusual character, consisting of two branches which unite in a single stem, and which is furnished with a foot, so that the ladle may stand firmly on the table, or be hooked on to the edge of the toddy bowl. Toddy, which is an European corruption of the Indian word *taree*, is strictly speaking the fermented juice of the *arenga saccharifera*, commonly called palm wine. How or why this name got bestowed on whisky-punch seems a marvel. Certain it is that it was with some such strong mixture as toddy that the 'jolly boys' were wont to be filled, and which made 'jolly dogs' of those brave spirits who flinched not from a draught which seemed as never ending to some as did that which Thor drew from the horn of Utgard Loki.

"The Cup of Tantalus, the Ale-yard, and Jolly Boys are among the three most tricky vessels which were ever set before a thirsty soul to provoke his anger or his mirth. The old vessels are becoming scarcer and scarcer as time goes on, and the old names are fast fading from memory, and it is therefore well, before all trace of them be lost, that some record should be made of these and such like quaint forms and titles.¹

¹ For the "cup of Tantalus" and the ale-yard, see *Journal*, xxvi, p. 37; xxviii, p. 174.

Proceedings of the Congress.

1873.

MONDAY, AUGUST 18.

THE thirtieth Annual Congress of the Association assembled at Sheffield on Monday the 18th of August, under the patronage of His Grace the Archbishop of York and the Earl Fitzwilliam, Lord Lieutenant of the West Riding. Although the Patrons were not present, the Association has to acknowledge with gratitude the interest taken by them as well as their aid given in a substantial form ; a similar acknowledgment is due to Viscount Galway, M.P. The Earl of Dartmouth, Past-President ; Lord Houghton, Past-President ; and Lord Wharnccliffe, actively joined the Congress, and materially conducted to its success.

His Grace the Duke of Norfolk, E.M., had accepted the office of President of the Association for the year, on learning that the Society proposed to visit Sheffield at the invitation of the Sheffield Archæological Society, and to hold its Annual Congress at this great manufacturing town, with whose interests in all things His Grace is so intimately connected. The anxiety of His Grace, and his condescending kindness in promoting the objects of the meeting, have made this one of the most successful Congresses yet held. Besides the noblemen above mentioned, the following is a list of those who joined the Congress :

Rev. A. C. Abdy, M.A., Rector of St. Mary's, Stamford, Lincolnshire ; G. G. Adams, Esq., F.S.A., London ; J. G. Alger, Esq., London ; A. H. Allen, Esq., Sheffield ; Alfred Allott, Esq., Sheffield ; Charles Atkinson, Esq., Crabtree Lodge, Sheffield ; M. G. Atkinson, Esq. ; Stephen Bacon, Esq., Sheffield ; B. Bagshawe, Esq., Sheffield ; J. J. Bagshaw, Esq., Sheffield ; E. Bainbridge, Esq., Sheffield ; W. Baker, Esq., High Street, Sheffield ; Fairless Barber, Esq., F.S.A., Rastrick, Huddersfield ; W. Swinden Barber, Esq., Halifax ; Jonathan Barber, Esq., Sheffield ; J. Barras, Esq., Rotherham ; Rev. J. Battersby, Incumbent of St. Simon's, Sheffield ; J. Binney, Esq., Sheffield ; Walter De Gray Birch, Esq., British Museum, London ; Thomas Blashill, Esq., London ; Rev. Henry Blane, M.A., Folkton, Yorkshire ; Miss Booler,

Sheffield ; William Bragge, Esq., F.S.A., Shirle Hill, Sheffield ; J. H. Brammall, Esq., Sheffield ; Miss Bramhall, Sheffield ; C. A. Branson, Esq., Heatherleigh, Sheffield ; Cecil Brent, Esq., F.S.A., Bromley, Kent ; W. H. Brittain, Esq., Ranmoor, Sheffield ; E. P. Loftus Brock, Esq., London ; A. Brookbank, Esq., Sheffield ; Thomas Brooke, Esq., F.S.A., Armitage, Huddersfield ; Sir John Brown, D.L., Endcliffe Hall, Sheffield ; W. T. Brown, Esq., Sheffield ; J. T. Burgess, Esq., Grassbrook, Leamington ; Rev. James Catchpole, Wales, near Sheffield ; Mr. Alderman Carr, Sheffield ; A. R. Chalk, Esq., Sheffield ; John Chambers, Esq., Sheffield ; Joseph Clarke, Esq., Sheffield ; The Worshipful W. C. Clarke, Esq., Mayor of Doncaster ; W. G. Clegg, Esq., Sheffield ; Rev. W. M. Cobby, Sheffield ; Miss Cockayne, Sheffield ; T. Collinson, Esq., Sheffield ; Dr. Cooke, Sheffield ; John Cooper, Esq., Sheffield ; William Corbitt, Esq., Rotherham ; Colonel Creswick, Sheffield ; H. F. Crighton, Esq., East Parade, Sheffield ; J. C. Cropper, Esq., Sheffield ; J. E. Davies, Esq., Sheffield ; Rev. G. Depledge, Sheffield ; J. W. Dixon, Esq., Stumperlow Hall, Sheffield ; C. Doncaster, Esq., Sheffield ; D. K. Doncaster, Esq., Sheffield ; Dr. Drew, Sheffield ; Rev. S. Earnshaw, M.A., Chaplain of St. Peter's, Sheffield ; G. Eaton, Esq., Sheffield ; A. R. Ellin, Esq., Beauchief, Sheffield ; T. S. Ellin, Esq., Sheffield ; J. D. Ellis, Esq., Thurnscoe House, Rotherham ; Michael J. Ellison, Esq., Norfolk Cottage, Sheffield ; Miss Ellison, ditto ; The Worshipful John Fairburn, Esq., Mayor of Sheffield ; John Fawcett, Esq., Rotherham ; Joseph Fawcett, Esq., St. James' Row, Sheffield ; C. H. Firth, Esq., Sheffield ; Mark Firth, Esq., Oakbrook House, Sheffield ; Mr. Alderman W. Fisher, Norton Grange, Sheffield ; Mrs. P. E. Fisher, Sheffield ; Mrs. C. Fisher, Sheffield ; Miss M. Fisher, Sheffield ; Mrs. Freeman, Sheffield ; T. R. Gainsford, Esq., Whiteley Wood Hall, Sheffield ; Rev. A. Gatty, D.D., Vicar of Ecclesfield ; J. M. Gibbs, Esq., London ; George Godwin, Esq., F.R.S., F.S.A., London ; Henry Godwin, Esq., F.S.A., Newbury, Berks ; Mrs. Gow, Shropham Vicarage, Thetford ; — Greaves, Esq., Sheffield ; Charles Greenwood, Esq., Sheffield ; Thos. Griffin, Esq., Wolverhampton ; Thos. Griffiths, Esq., M.D., *Hon. Local Secretary*, Sheffield ; Mr. Alderman Grundy, Sheffield ; John Guest, Esq., Rotherham ; George Gulliver, Esq., Sheffield ; The Worshipful J. M. Habershon, Esq., Mayor of Rotherham ; C. Hadfield, Esq., Sheffield ; M. E. Hadfield, Esq., Sheffield ; E. Hall, Esq., Abbeydale Villa, Sheffield ; Mr. Alderman Hallam, Sheffield ; Henry Hart, Esq., Rotherham ; G. W. Hawksley, Esq., Sheffield ; Rev. E. Hawley, M.A., Sheffield ; The Very Rev. Dr. De Hearne, Belgium ; John Hibbard, Esq., Sheffield ; B. Hicklin, Esq., The Holmes, Wolverhampton ; Gordon M. Hills, Esq., *Hon. Treasurer*, London ; Dr. W. C. Hills, Norwich ; John Hobson, Esq., Tapton Elms, Sheffield ; John Hobson, Esq., Sheffield ; F. Hobson, Esq., Sheffield ; Samuel F.

Holmes, Esq., Sheffield; E. S. Howard, Esq., Pittsmoor, Sheffield; S. E. Howell, Esq., Sheffield; Rev. Canon Hulbert, M.A., Kirkburton, near Huddersfield; Rev. Thos. Hulme, Vicar of Brightside, Sheffield; Michael Hunter, Esq., Western Bank, Sheffield; H. W. Ibbotson, Esq., Sheffield; — Ibbotson, Esq., Sheffield; J. Jackson, Esq., Chief Constable of Sheffield; S. Jackson, Esq., Sheffield; Thomas Jessop, Esq., Endcliffe Grange, Sheffield; C. J. Innocent, Esq., Sheffield; G. Walter Knox, Esq., Sheffield; J. D. Leader, Esq., Oakburn, Broomhall Park, Sheffield; J. W. Leader, Esq., Sheffield; R. Leader, Esq., Moor End, Sheffield; M. Leach, Esq., Sheffield; G. F. Lockwood, Esq., Sheffield; C. Lynam, Esq., Stoke-upon-Trent; C. B. Mander, Esq., Wolverhampton; Miss Mander, Wolverhampton; F. J. Mappin, Esq., Sheffield; J. J. Mappin, Esq., Thornbury, Ranmoor, Sheffield; J. M. Mappin, Esq., Sheffield; James Matthew, Esq., London; John Merrill, Esq., Sheffield; Samuel B. Merriman, Esq., Tottenham, London; Mrs. Merriman, ditto; Robert Merriman, Esq., Marlborough; W. P. Milner, Esq., Sheffield; Hon. Robert Milnes, Fryston Hall, Yorkshire; H. S. Mitchell, Esq., Kensington, London; Mr. Alderman Moore, Ashdell Grove, Sheffield; Thomas Morgan, Esq., Streatham, Surrey; Miss Morley, Sheffield; J. Mowatt, Esq., Sheffield; Joseph Nelstrap, Esq.; J. Newbould, Esq., Sharrow Bank, Sheffield; William Nicholas, Esq., F.R.G.S., London; M. Oakes, Esq., Sheffield; Samuel Osborn, Esq., Sheffield; D. Parkes, Esq., Sheffield; B. Parkin, Esq., Sheffield; W. R. Peace, Esq., Brookhill, Sheffield; J. R. Planché, Esq., *Somerset Herald*, London; R. N. Philipps, Esq., LL.D., F.S.A., Temple, London; R. M. Phipson, Esq., Norwich, Sheffield; John Reynolds, Esq., Bristol; E. Roberts, Esq., F.S.A., *Hon. Secretary*, London; Samuel Roberts, Esq., and two Ladies, Sharrow Mount, Sheffield; J. Robertshaw, Esq., Sheffield; Miss Robinson, Sheffield; Alexander Robertson, Esq., Highfield Terrace, Sheffield; Arthur Roebuck, Esq., M.P., London; J. W. Rodgers, Esq., Sheffield; Henry Rodgers, Esq., Sheffield; W. F. Rodgers, Esq., Sheffield; Edward Ross, Esq., Sheffield; Dr. Russell, Worksop; Rev. Dr. Sale, Vicar of Sheffield; Miss Saxelby, Sheffield; H. Seeböhm, Esq., Oak Lea, Collegiate Crescent, Sheffield; Alfred Scargill, Esq.; — Sharman, Esq., Sheffield; William Short, Esq., East Parade, Sheffield; Dr. Frank Smith, Sheffield; W. Sorby, Esq., Longley, Sheffield; P. S. Spooner, Esq., Sheffield; Rev. J. Stacey, M.A., F.S.A., Shrewsbury Hospital, Sheffield; J. E. Stacey, Esq., Sheffield; W. S. Stanhope, Esq., M.P., Cannon Hall, Barnsley; W. Swift, Esq., Sheffield; Dr. G. S. Taylor, Sheffield; A. Thomas, Esq., Sheffield; A. Thompson, Esq., Hereford; J. Thompson, Esq., F.S.A., Leicester; E. Tozer, Esq., Sheffield; Miss Tucker, Sheffield; S. J. Tucker, Esq., *Rouge Croix*, London; John Turner, Esq., Sheffield; John Turton, Esq., Sheffield; Mrs. J. Tyzack,

Sheffield; T. E. Vickers, Esq., The Master Cutler, Sheffield; Bernard Wake, Esq., Abbeyfield, Sheffield; Mrs. Wake, ditto; The Misses Wake, ditto; G. Walker, Esq., Sheffield; Rev. Canon Walshaw, Sheffield; A. J. Ward, Esq., Sheffield; S. H. Ward, Esq., Sheffield; W. Watson, Esq., Sheffield; John D. Webster, Esq., *Hon. Sec.*, Sheffield; W. Wheatley, Esq., Sheffield; Robert White, Esq., Sheffield; W. W. Wilding, Esq., Montgomery; E. Wilson, Esq., Sheffield; George Wilson, Esq., Banner Cross, Sheffield; C. Macro Wilson, Esq., Sheffield; R. H. Wood, Esq., F.S.A., F.R.G.S., Crumpsall, Manchester; T. Woodcock, Esq., Sheffield; Bennet Woodcroft, Esq., London; Mrs. Woodhead, Sheffield; G. Wostenholm, Esq., Sheffield; G. R. Wright, Esq., F.S.A., London; John Yeomans, Esq., *Town Clerk of Sheffield*; J. Young, Esq., Sheffield.

The names of about twenty-five other gentlemen who took tickets were, by an omission, unrecorded. Besides these the following gentlemen not present took part by contributing papers to the congress: Llewellyn Jewitt, Esq., F.S.A.; J. W. Grover, Esq., of London, an associate of the Society; Edward Levien, Esq., M.A., F.S.A., of the British Museum; and Alfred Wallis, Esq., of Derby.

Throughout the proceedings of the congress ladies largely availed themselves of the privilege of admission for a lady annexed to every gentleman's congress ticket, so that the numbers attending much exceeded what is represented by the mere list of names.

The congress was formally opened shortly before 3 P.M., when the members assembled at the Cutlers' Hall. The Mayor of Sheffield, John Fairburn, Esq., attended by Messrs. Aldermen Jessop, Fisher, Grundy, Hallam and Moore, and Councillors Jones, Brookfield, Crighton, Robertshaw and Shipman, Brittain, Stacey, Dobb, Binney and Bacon, and the Town Clerk honoured the Association by awaiting them in the drawing-room, where shortly His Grace the Duke of Norfolk arrived, supported by Lord Houghton, the Hon. Robert Milnes, the Treasurer and Secretaries of the Association, and as many of the ladies with a numerous body of the members as could find standing room.

The mayor addressed a few words of hearty greeting to His Grace the President, and then requested the Town Clerk to read the following address:—

“To the Most Noble Henry Duke of Norfolk, the President, and others the Members, of the British Archæological Association.

“We, the Mayor, Aldermen and Burgesses of the Borough of Sheffield, tender to the British Archæological Association our most hearty welcome on its assembling in our borough for the first time to hold its annual congress, and beg to express our gratification that Sheffield and its adjacent districts have been selected for the purpose of antiquarian research.

"We assure you that we are fully alive to the advantages to be derived from archæological investigations, believing that the researches made by your Association into the history and usages of our forefathers, the rise and progress of arts, sciences and manufactures, and the advance of civilisation, are of deep interest and great practical utility, and cannot fail to prove beneficial to the present and future generations.

"We have no doubt that the inspection of the antiquities in the ancient liberty of Hallamshire and the surrounding districts, with the information obtained during the holding of the congress here, will be productive of both interest and pleasure to the members of the Association.

"We desire to take this opportunity of assuring your Grace of our feeling of personal respect and regard, and we congratulate the Association on having as their President a descendant of the illustrious family of Howard, which has for centuries been intimately connected with the town and neighbourhood of Sheffield, not only by rights of property, but as Lords of the Ancient Saxon Manor of Hallam, of which this town is the centre."

The Mayor, in handing the address to the President, said His Grace would perhaps allow him to reiterate the last sentence of it—that they congratulated the Association on having as their president a descendant of the illustrious house of Howard upon its visit to Sheffield. The inhabitants of the town looked upon His Grace as being more intimately connected with them than any other nobleman could possibly be, and they were proud that he had consented to become the president of the Association during its visit here. They were at all times glad to see him in Sheffield, and hoped His Grace would favour them with his presence as often as possible.

The Duke of Norfolk, in receiving the address, said, Mr. Mayor, I beg to thank you in the name of the Association for the very cordial address of welcome which has just been read to us, and for the kind way in which you have received us. All the members feel, in visiting a town like Sheffield, the centre of a great branch of trade, and which is rapidly increasing to even a greater extent than it has yet attained, that it is most important not to forget the old associations of the town and district, that it is important they should carefully examine into everything which relates to the past history of the town and neighbourhood and their former inhabitants, that they should look into old remains which are more or less in danger of becoming lost as mines and factories spring up. In coming here it is a great pleasure to the members of the Association to be received in such a kind and cordial manner by the inhabitants, and to have the assurance that in making the researches they are about to commence they will have the sympathy and the assistance of those living here. As regards the kind expressions made use of by you, Sir, towards myself, I can assure you it is a sincere and real pleasure to me to be present on this occasion—the first

time the Association has visited Sheffield. I feel I am hardly competent to discharge the functions of president as I could wish; but I will do the best I can, and I can only add that it gives me much pleasure to meet you here in the position I now occupy.

Mr. Gordon M. Hills, Treasurer, said they could not proceed to the business proper without expressing a few words of gratitude to the Duke of Norfolk for his kindness in coming forward to support the Association with his influence and with the historic and archæological name he bore. The Association was also indebted to the Mayor and Corporation for their cordial welcome. He then announced that a visit would be paid to the Parish Church, and next to the Manor. Preparatory to the visit to the Manor, it had been thought desirable to hang up on the walls of the room in which they were assembled, some drawings of the Manor and the proposed restorations, so that they might be examined here.

The drawings had been prepared by Mr. Hadfield, who now briefly explained them, and by permission of the President a selection from them has been engraved to illustrate the subject at pp. 42-51 *ante*.

The Congress then proceeded to the Parish Church, to inspect the interesting monuments in the Shrewsbury Chapel. These were explained by the Rev. Dr. Sale, the vicar. The Parish Church underwent a well-meant "restoration" early in the present century, which has left very little of its ancient features apparent. Nevertheless a very great improvement on its present condition could be effected. In its present state the only objects of archæological interest are the monuments in the Shrewsbury Chapel, which is on the south side of the chancel. To these Dr. Sale directed the attention of the meeting. The Chapel was founded soon after 1520; and the first and finest of the monuments is on the north side, viz., the altar-tomb to the founder of the Chapel, the fourth Earl of Shrewsbury, with the recumbent marble effigies of that Earl and his two Countesses. Against the south wall the monument of the sixth Earl was erected by himself some time before his decease. The effigy of the Earl, in plate armour, is somewhat defaced. Above it is a long Latin inscription surrounded by a border of heraldic devices. The inscription contains not only a list of the Earl's illustrious titles and deeds; but refers to his custody of Mary Queen of Scots, with allusions to certain scandalous reports. A space was left vacant for the date of his death. Dr. Sale and Mr. G. Godwin, F.S.A., F.R.S., commented on the vast difference in taste between that monument and the fourth Earl's tomb, and the depravity of art and feeling exhibited in the later of the two. Pointing to a third altar-tomb, between the two already described, Dr. Sale said there was considerable doubt who erected it, and to whom. There is no name upon it, but certain coats of arms. It had been suggested

that it might be the tomb of the sixth Earl's first wife, put up during the lifetime of Bess of Hardwick, his second wife, in retaliation upon that strong-minded woman.

The Rev. J. Stacey, M.A., F.S.A., said there was little doubt the tomb in question was erected by the sixth Earl about 1585.

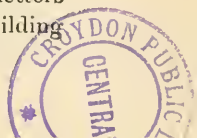
Mr. Planché, Somerset Herald, who examined the armorial bearings, thought they afforded ground for the belief that it was put up in memory of the Earl's first wife and her sons.

A careful paper on the subject of these monuments has since been prepared by the Rev. J. Stacey, and will be printed hereafter. The Vicar mentioned that in moving the old font from before the Communion-Table to the western entrance, a brass plate was found underneath it, which is still preserved in the church. It records the burial of "Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Erle of Ormond, and of Lore his wyf, sometime wyf to the Lord Mountioye; which Elizabeth deceased the xx. day of February the yere of our Lord MCCCCC., on whose soul Jhu have mercy. Amen."

Mr. M. E. Hadfield pointed out the old altar-stone of the Chapel, found some years ago, bearing the usual five consecration-crosses; and after examining the busts of the Rev. James Wilkinson and of Mr. Thomas Harrison, by Chantrey, the visitors left for the Manor.

At the remains of Sheffield Manor some interesting preparations had been made for their reception. Under the direction of Mr. Michael Ellison and Mr. Hadfield, architect to the Duke of Norfolk, a trench had been cut along a portion of the west front of the mansion, revealing the foundations of one of the octagonal towers that flanked the entrance. The general outline of the Manor House may still be traced in spite of the intrusion of coal-mining works within its area, and of hideous cottages built in the ruins. The Duke of Norfolk, in conducting the visitors, expressed his intention to continue, at all practicable times, the reinstatement of the ruins already begun, and the measures instituted for their preservation; upon which His Grace spoke with a warmth of interest which elicited the utmost satisfaction. The result will effect an important transformation. The cottages will be relegated to some more suitable habitation; and this spot, so rich in historical associations, will be permitted to repose in all the dignity of a ruin.

Some little distance before the west front of the Manor House stands a detached tower, lately used as a farmhouse. Here the restoration has made important progress. The Rev. J. Stacey was the first who suggested that this work may have been built for the occasional prison of Mary Queen of Scots. It is well known that the princess was removed from her long imprisonment at Sheffield Castle, for short intervals of change, to the Manor Lodge. From a sentence in the Talbot letters Mr. Stacey has inferred that the Earl of Shrewsbury erected a building



here for her reception, and many circumstances seemed to point this out as the building. But, besides, we are able to trace with remarkable clearness the scene of Wolsey's confinement and last illness. The long gallery is still standing where he walked, and the fair tower in which his lodgings were placed can be seen in a mutilated form. Even the place where the great window was, in which Shrewsbury and the Cardinal daily communed together, is distinctly recognisable in the masonry; and Sheffield Manor becomes as interesting for its associations with the last days of Wolsey as for its connection with the imprisonment of the Queen of Scots.

For full particulars of the history and the remains of the Manor and the Manor Lodge, the reader is referred to a paper prepared for, and read at, the Congress, by S. J. Tucker, Esq., Rouge Croix, which will be printed in a future number of the *Journal*; and to that by J. D. Leader, Esq., at pp. 42-51 *ante*.

About half-past four o'clock the carriages conveyed the party to Broom Hall, the residence of Mr. R. N. Philipps, LL.D., F.S.A. That gentleman received the Duke of Norfolk and the members of the Association with great kindness and hospitality, and in a very neat address expressed the pleasure it afforded him to see them under his roof. Passing to the back of the building the visitors inspected the very fine timbered gable, rich with carvings, which appears to have been erected about the time of Richard III. Under its shadow Mr. Philipps read a genial paper on the history of Broom Hall, and spoke generally of the domestic architecture of our forefathers with excellent taste and feeling. At the close of the reading the thanks of the Association were accorded to Mr. Philipps, and, returning to the house, the loving cup with all due solemnity was passed round with a true regard for the usages of antiquity. The party soon afterwards broke up, and the guests proceeded to prepare for the evening banquet, to which the members were invited by His Grace the President.

THE PRESIDENT'S BANQUET.

In the evening, the members of the congress, to the number of upwards of three hundred ladies and gentlemen, were the guests of the Duke of Norfolk, by whose kindness a magnificent banquet was provided in the Cutlers' Hall. The noble President, the Duke of Norfolk, occupied the chair. He was supported by Lord Houghton, the Master Cutler and Mrs. Vickers, the Rev. S. Earnshaw, the Hon. Robert Milnes, Alderman and Mrs. Fisher, the Rev. Canon Walshaw, Monsignor de Hearne, Mr. S. Tucker (Rouge Croix), the Mayor and Mayoress, the Mayor of Doncaster, the Rev. Canon Sale, Mr. G. Godwin, F.R.S., F.S.A., the Rev. J. Stacey, Mr. R. N. Philipps,

Mr. J. R. Planché (*Somerset Herald*), the Rev. Dr. Gatty. The vice-chairs were filled by Mr. M. Ellison, Mr. Gordon Hills, Mr. E. Roberts, F.S.A., and Mr. George Wright, F.S.A.

The noble President, in proposing the health of the Queen, said:—Mr. Mayor, Mr. Master Cutler, Ladies, and Gentlemen,—I beg to propose the health of her Majesty the Queen. Whenever it falls to the lot of any one to propose this toast—whether it be at a State banquet, a tenant's dinner, a regimental mess, or a meeting of a learned society such as this, he is quite sure to find it received in one and the same way—with the greatest possible warmth and respect. I therefore need only to ask you to drink "The health of the Queen."

The President then proposed "The Health of the Prince of Wales and the rest of the Royal Family." Both toasts having been responded to with due heartiness,

Lord Houghton, who was received with cheers, said:—It is now about three years since I had the honour of speaking in this room. At that time the two great nations of central Europe were engaged in internecine combat; and the minds of men were so agitated by images of tumult and terror, that they could hardly set themselves to the tune of an hospitable banquet in this apartment. At this moment after these tremendous issues, the political condition of Europe is as happy—perhaps happier—than we have a right to expect; and we meet here with no associations except those which are peaceful and agreeable, at this pleasant entertainment, to which the presence of the other sex lends so considerable an interest, and can hardly realise how short a time has elapsed since those days of anxiety and trouble. I am very happy here again to meet the members of the British Archaeological Association. It is not the first time I have met them in Yorkshire. Some ten years ago I had the pleasure of presiding over a similar gathering at Leeds. From the recollections of that time, and from my personal association with members of that company, I am able to say that I believe they are engaged in a most useful work, and I trust they will find in their present visit to Yorkshire, as they did in their last, no cause for dissatisfaction or regret. It is difficult for them indeed to light on any spot in Yorkshire which would not in some degree accomplish their expectations. For this county, of which I am proud to be a citizen, holds within itself almost the whole of British history; and from the very earliest times, when it was inhabited by conflicting races and various emigrations, it has been the scene of all those great conflicts of body and of mind which have resulted in the present condition of the English nation. It is difficult to say what portion of it has not contributed to British history. On the occasion to which I allude I had the pleasure of accompanying this Association over the historical bridge of Wakefield, which has added one tower to the Tower

of London. I took the congress to my own neighbourhood, Ferry Bridge, where began those continual conflicts from the Aire river, which ended in the battle of Towton. When we come into this country we find ourselves perhaps not so immediately connected with particular conflicts; but nevertheless this town and this neighbourhood are full of those great associations of the different times of English history which still remain vividly impressed on the mind of the English people. You will recognise that on well nigh all great occasions Yorkshiremen and Yorkshire noblemen have been pre-eminent. They have contributed much to archæology—very often their own lives. We know the great interest that has always hung about a slain or decapitated nobleman, and how we always feel, whether it be the thorough going Earl of Strafford or any other nobleman of a still earlier time, who has fallen in a great political conflict, whose name is associated with districts and with periods which render the locality in which he lived a matter of general and universal interest. We have to-day been seeing the old Manor House, where the Earl of Shrewsbury was the guardian—it may be historically perhaps said almost the jailer—of the romantic Queen of Scots; and we find that property transferred to the care of a nobleman whose family happened to take very much the other side in those historical periods, and who would probably, if they had had their own way, been anything but the jailers of that princess. But so has turned this wonderful English history of ours! So are locked and woven together its multifarious threads! And thus it has devolved upon me, after the course of so many years, to present to you to-day the health of an English nobleman who has presided over—and not only presided over, but entertained us at this magnificent banquet. By the decease of a parent, in whom I lost an attached friend, that nobleman has been placed in a position of very great responsibility at an early period of life. It becomes us at this present moment to acknowledge the way in which he has come forward to show that he takes the fullest interest not only in the political, but in the intellectual affairs of his time, and that he welcomes to this, in some degree his own district, the British Archæological Association. It is well that he should do so, not only because of the early age at which he begins what I trust may be an illustrious life; not only because it is well for him to know that in this country of ours it does not do for a man in his position to rest upon his oars, or simply to enjoy the benefits which Providence has given to him, but because it is his duty, and I believe he will find it to be his pleasure, to mix in all the great concerns of the community of which he is so distinguished a member. I believe, from his education and from what I know of him, that he will rejoice to do so; and I am sure he is animated by that sentiment of duty which in itself is above all intellectual pretensions.

therefore propose to you his health on this occasion, in which we try to blend together the past with the present. This society will, and has found many interests by a connection with the great house of Howard : and I therefore ask you to join with me in drinking most earnestly, "The health of the present Duke of Norfolk." In his history in all its varying phases, he is in himself an archaeological society. He has nothing to do but to study the history of his ancestors to become more learned than any of us. I trust that he will thus combine the old and new, and that this day will carry with it in his mind many pleasant associations ; that he will feel we are grateful to him for his entertainment, and will find pleasure here in our having been entertained by him.

The Duke of Norfolk, in acknowledging the toast, said : I beg to thank you extremely for the great kindness you have shown in drinking my health, and for the warm way in which you have received the toast. I must confess to having had a feeling of awe at finding myself, the first time in my life, the President of a body such as this ; but I have been somewhat relieved by hearing that I am not expected to enter into archaeological details, but that my duty is rather to express, as best I can, my own welcome of the Association to this town, and the welcome which I am sure the inhabitants desire to tender to the members. As far as I am concerned, that is a very sincere and easy task, but I could have wished it had fallen into hands better able to discharge it than I am. I must say I view with great gratification this visit of the Archaeological Association. Sheffield, I think, is one of those places which should most value such a visit, and to which it may be productive of great good, not only in pleasure to those who are to make the archaeological researches, but in creating a feeling of interest among the inhabitants in those things which are about them. Sheffield is a very great and increasing centre of a particular branch of trade, and a singular fact in connection with it is that no town in England has grown so rapidly. For that reason it entertains, perhaps more than any other manufacturing town, a feeling of affection for the old things which have not yet been obliterated by the advance of various branches of industry within it. At the same time, as so much is given up to the purposes of trade, there is a great danger of old things becoming more and more ignored, and that very much so from the character of the trade carried on in the town and neighbourhood. We ought, therefore, not only to welcome the Association for coming here, but to sincerely thank it for coming. According to modern ideas, towns given up to such industries as those in Sheffield are not the places likely to attract the archaeologist. Not only is everything here given up to activity and business, but the manufactories carried on here tend to promote change. Things are overturned, to be replaced by others. Build-

ings which do very well for one kind of trade are allowed to exist as long as that trade is flourishing. It may be that a staple trade is carried on within them; that trade fails, and then the buildings are pulled down for others more suitable to trades which are active. I remember about twelve years ago Sheffield was largely engaged in the rolling out of wire for crinolines. Now the great thing to look at here is the rolling of armour plates for our iron-clads—two very different things. You will therefore see that in this constant change the long gone-by past is apt to be forgotten. At the same time there are objects in this town and neighbourhood which, I trust, will repay the members of the Association for having come here. We have already seen the monuments in the parish church and the remains of the Manor Lodge, reminiscences of events connected with two great names—Cardinal Wolsey and Mary Queen of Scots—names historically famous throughout the world. That is especially so as regards Mary Queen of Scots, about whose life and times so much mystery and romance lingers; and everything which can throw any light upon her history is always regarded with great interest and curiosity and looked into with great care. I hope what we have to see during the week will not prove unproductive of interesting results. Such an association as this cannot fail to be of benefit to a town like ours, where there is so much of the wear and tear of business, so much of change and obliteration, and in which there is so great a tendency to forget things which have reference to its past history. The effect will perhaps be to cause us to look for objects from which we may derive interest and information, to enable us to look at them from a point of view never thought of before, and to induce us to interest ourselves about things which never before attracted our attention. His Grace concluded by expressing a hope that the members of the Congress had not been alarmed by the smoke which they had seen hanging round Sheffield. They would find when they went a little distance into the country that the scenery was as beautiful as could be found in almost any part of England. He had already said the town was rapidly increasing. It was fast stretching out its arms into the country. Factories were springing up here and there, and mines were being opened up; but notwithstanding that, there were some most beautiful and picturesque spots, and the pleasure they would all feel in visiting them would be enhanced by the labours of those who would tell them something of their former history.

The Mayor, who was very cordially received, proposed “The British Archæological Association.”

Mr. George Godwin, F.R.S. (senior vice-president of the Association) acknowledged the toast. He remarked that it was many years since he assisted at the foundation of the Society, but during the whole of that time he had never been present at a finer assemblage or in a finer room than the present.

Mr. Gordon M. Hills, Hon. Treasurer, proposed "The Mayor and Corporation." He said in the course of the thirty years during which they had visited more than that number of corporate towns, he thought it would be impossible to mention any Corporation that had not heartily and kindly welcomed their endeavours; and certainly on this occasion they had to recognise the goodwill of the Mayor and Corporation of Sheffield as warmly as they had ever done elsewhere. The Mayor had told them that because this was a busy place, and because men were carried away by the interests of the present day, therefore it was an unpromising place, and he was not likely to shine much as an archæologist. He could assure the Mayor that archæologists were, for the most part, the very working bees of society. It was not to the idle man that they had to look to aid them in their researches. It was to the busy man who was accustomed to be energetic in all his pursuits, and who snatched some time from those pursuits, to devote to a totally different object, in which he felt some relief from the world and the necessities of life. They had been asked several times, "Why did the Association come to Sheffield?" In the first place, they came because they were invited by the archæological and scientific societies of the town; and they joined in thanking them as well as the Mayor and Corporation. It had been said that there was so little to inspect; but that was just the reason why attention should be directed to the little there was. There was a great deal more than was supposed. He had examined some of the monuments which were to be seen and descanted upon during the week, and it struck him that there was very much to be done by gentlemen upon the spot. He had been to Bradfield and Huddersfield, and there found some very knotty points to be discussed,—such points as it was impossible for strangers to enter upon effectually; and they could do no more than ask those who were in the neighbourhood to give their attention to them.

After a suitable reply by the Mayor, Mr. R. N. Philipps proposed "The Master Cutler of Sheffield."

The Master Cutler, in responding to the toast, observed that he cordially welcomed the members of the Association to the Hall of the Cutlers' Company, and the more so as this was the first occasion that ladies had ever graced a dinner with their presence in that room.

The last toast was "The Ladies," which was proposed by Mr. G. R. Wright, F.S.A., and responded to by Mr. Robert Merriman.

TUESDAY, AUGUST 19TH.

BEAUCHIEF ABBEY.—The members of the Association assembled at the Midland Station at ten o'clock, and were conveyed by special train to Beauchief. The President drove out from Sheffield, and met the

party. A description of the Abbey will be given in this *Journal*, from the pen of Mr. Gordon M. Hills, who described its remains to the visitors on the spot. It is a small Abbey, of the Premonstratensian order of canons.

WORKSOP PRIORY.—At noon a special train was waiting at the Victoria Station to convey the members and their friends to Worksop, there to inspect the famous Priory Church and Gate-House. The remains of the Priory consist of a very fine gate-house, and the nave and part of the transepts, with a side-chapel, of the Priory Church,—altogether a group of great interest. A description by the Rev. J. Stacey, whose father was for many years incumbent of the church, and who was greatly instrumental in its restoration, will be printed hereafter.

After a careful inspection of the buildings, under the guidance of the Rev. J. Stacey, the party proceeded to the Corn Exchange, where they partook of luncheon.

Carriages were then once more brought into requisition, and half an hour's ride through the pleasant lanes of Nottinghamshire brought the Congress to Steetley Chapel. This beautiful specimen of Norman architecture is concealed from the road by a small plantation. Coming suddenly upon it, as the visitors did, it formed a pleasing surprise, and an inspection of the edifice proved one of the most enjoyable portions of the day's excursion. The Rev. J. Stacey again undertook the office of guide. The notes and description of that gentleman are as follow:

“STEETLEY CHAPEL.—Steetley is situated in the extreme north-eastern verge of the county of Derby; indeed as we learn from a survey made in 1636, the last of its fields towards the east was bounded by the celebrated ‘Shireoak,’ which marked the convergence of the three counties of York, Nottingham, and Derby. It is now included in the parish of Whitwell, though formerly it was a separate parish, having a rector, and the beautiful structure now visited for its parish church. Its history may soon be told. The name does not appear in the Domesday survey; but we learn from the register of Welbeck Abbey, referred to by Thornton in his *Antiquities of Notts*, that shortly after that survey was made it was held by one Gley le Briton or Brett, together with the manor of Dennaby, near Mexbro, and as we are informed by Inq. P. M., 16 Ed. II, of the honour of the Castle of Tickhill.

“Gley had, it would seem, four sons, Adam, Robert, John, and also William, who appears as a witness to the foundation charter of Welbeck, c. A.D. 1154. Of these, John appears to have been the only one who had issue, viz., three sons, James, Matthew, Roger, and a daughter Matilda, the latter of whom became the heiress of the family, her brothers leaving no issue. She was married to Robert le Vavasor, who through her became Lord of Steetley and Dennaby. This would be in the time of King Henry III, for his son John, 22 Ed. I, grants a con-

firmation charter of gifts made by his ancestors, the Britons, to Worksop Priory.

"We learn from an Inq. p. mortem, taken at Chesterfield after the death of Anker Freshwill, 14th R. II (1391), that, among other things, he was seised of property at Steetley, together with the advowson of the church, and that he held them of John le Vavasour by fealty for all services (*Collect. Geneal. et Top.*, vol. iv, p. 198), and by an earlier document quoted in the same work, p. 199, namely, in 42nd Ed. III, we find one Robert de Smeton mentioned as rector of Steetley. MS. Lansd., 207 F., p. 142. The property continued long in the family of Freshwill, some of whom resided at the hall, near the chapel, now a farm house. From the Freshvills it was conveyed to Sir Thomas Wentworth, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and from his representatives to the Earls of Shrewsbury, I believe, by purchase; and with their descendants the noble house of Howard it remained till, together with the Worksop estate, it was sold to the Duke of Newcastle in 1840. From this slight historical sketch we may form a very probable conjecture as to under whose auspices this beautiful chapel was erected. I can scarcely be far wrong in ascribing it to one of the sons of Gleg de Britton, who seems to have lived exactly at the period to which we may attribute the date of the building, viz., the middle of the twelfth century, and certainly it is a building which evidences no ordinary amount of taste and liberality in its construction; indeed, may be pronounced a gem both rich and rare in an architectural point of view. The chapel consists of a nave and chancel, and sacrarium, which terminates in a semicircular apse. The nave is externally of plain character, without buttresses, but is entered by a rich doorway on the south. This is of three orders, with nookshafts, some of which are ornamented with medallions and interlacing foliage, while other parts of the arch are supported by slender plain clustered shafts. The arch has bands of triple chevron, beak head, and plain mouldings. There is a very small round-headed window on the south side, and two similar ones at the west end, one below and one above. The chancel up to the apse is of the same plain character, but has had a larger decorated window inserted in the south side, in place of the small round-headed one. When we come to the apse we find considerable richness. It has round edged pilaster buttresses with a broad string course passing round their midwall, the latter enriched with very graceful interlacing foliage. Upon this stand three round-headed windows, which have bold nookshafts. There is also a well moulded cornice supported by carved brackets. The base is moreover good and effective.

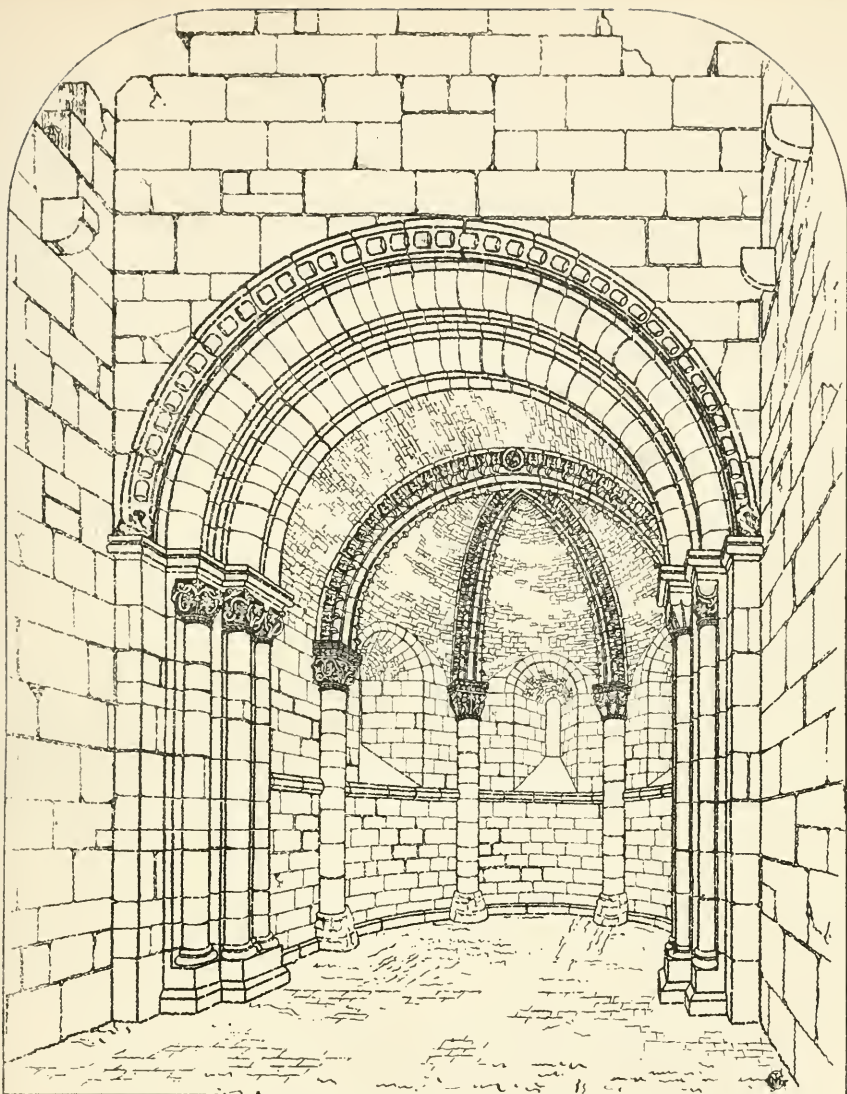
"On entering the building the first object which meets the eye is the chancel arch. This is extremely well proportioned, rich, and beautiful. It is of two orders, the inner one filled with chevron, the other

with embattled ornaments, while there is a broad moulded label, having an escalloped margin, filled with fine cones. The interior order is supported by twin shafts, the capitals of which are carved with a representation of the contest of St. George and the Dragon, the saint being represented in a conical helmet and coat of mail, the dragon as of vast size, the folds of his tail extending over the second shaft. The outer order has a representation of a double headed lion. The capitals of the shafts on the south side are of much plainer character, viz., escalloped.

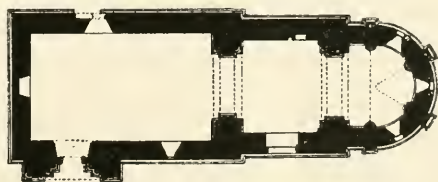
This arch is plainly moulded on the inner side. The apse has an arch of plainer character, the label being merely filled with the billet ornament, though the capitals of the shafts are carved with foliage. When, however, we enter the apse we again find great enrichment. It is vaulted with stone. The vault has well moulded bold ribs, ornamented with the beak head carving springing from engaged shafts, the capitals of which are elaborately carved; the first on the north side, with interlacing foliage, above a band of five cones, with an abacus filled with the star ornament. The second capital contains a representation of Adam and Eve and cone ornaments, the abacus enriched with a twisted cable. The next escallopes each having a bird above, and cones, with abacus of interlaced foliage. The fourth capital has interlaced arches, cones, with abacus filled with four-leaved flowers. At the intersection of the ribs is an agnus Dei, within a border. Each compartment has a plain round head window standing upon a bold string course, which is interrupted by the shafts. Colour has been used in the ornamentation of the ribs, remains of which are visible. This apse was in a ruinous state, but was carefully rebuilt by the Earl of Surrey, afterwards Duke of Norfolk, the then owner, about forty years ago. The walls were found to have had a coating of very fine plaister. In the surrounding yard several skeletons were also then found.

A very perfectly illustrated work on Steetley Chapel has been published by Mr. Robert White, bookseller, of Worksop.

Mr. Blashill produced drawings of five churches which, he said, were very similar to this both in date and style. One of these was at Kilpeck, Herefordshire: the others at Moccas, in the same county; Dalmeny, Linlithgow; East Ham, near London; and St. Julian, near Rouen. There was also, he said, a small ruined chapel similar to these between Vittoria and Salvatierre, Spain, and of course others would be met with by other observers. Though these churches were of the same character as this he had never seen any equal in interest to the Steetley Chapel. It was what he might describe as a "perfect beauty," and was in a good state of repair. Mr. Robert White said he had authority for saying that the chapel would be covered in, and he should



Steetley Chapel, Derbyshire



Scale of 10 20 30 40 50 feet



like some members of the Association to say what kind of roof should be put on.

Mr. Godwin suggested the employment of a proper architect.

Mr. Robert White said he had a note from Mr. Massey (agent of the Duke of Newcastle) suggesting that as the collieries in that neighbourhood were extending very rapidly, the chapel might be restored, so as to make it suitable for the accommodation of the colliers.

Mr. Godwin, on behalf of the Association, expressed a wish that some means should be taken to cover the building, even if it was not restored; and the meeting requested Mr. White to convey to the owner the wish expressed.

THORPE SALVIN CHURCH AND HALL.—A pleasant drive of twenty minutes brought the visitors to Thorpe Salvin, the ruins of whose stately hall stood out prominently in front of the road leading to the church. Entering the church by the peculiar wooden porch and the fine Norman archway, the company proceeded to the chancel. There a paper was read to them by the Rev. J. Stacey as follows:—

"*Thorpe* is an ancient word signifying a 'village' or 'hamlet,' but perhaps it may not be commonly understood that it denotes a village or settlement of the Danes. To their residences the term is almost exclusively confined in a much greater degree than the other prevailing suffix 'by,' which also denotes the settlements of the early northern sea-rovers. We may, therefore, conclude that we have here a settlement of the Danish people, as in the neighbouring village of Wales we may perceive indications of its having been the habitation of another race speaking a totally different tongue, probably remains of the ancient Celts, the word 'welch' or walls, signifying foreigners, or those speaking a language unintelligible to their Teutonic neighbours.

"In some parts of the country, especially on the eastern side of England, the *thorpes* are very common, in others, as in Lancashire, Cumberland, and Westmoreland almost unknown; but where the term was common, it soon became necessary to add some other distinguishing name. Accordingly the ancient distinctive name of this Thorpe was *Rykenild*-thorpe, under which designation it appears in Kirkley's Inquest and other early documents. This peculiar affix our Thorpe derived from an ancient highway, which bounds the parish on the west, separating it from that of Harthill. This road is no doubt of very great antiquity, probably as early at least as the time of the Romans, as is indicated by its old name of *Rykenild* Street, a mode of designation usual with our forefathers to apply to a Roman road. At the point of its entrance into the county of York stood *Street* houses, now called Honeynets, and near its junction with the great Roman road from Lincoln to York, near Wentbridge, it is called 'old street.' A more modern name of the road in this neighbourhood was Packman's

Lane, doubtless from its having been the usual track of packmen and their horses in this direction.

“The village of Thorpe, however, and the western parts of the parish in pretty early times acquired another distinctive appellation; the name ‘Salvin’ having displaced that of Rykenild in the quarter alluded to, though it did not extend to the eastern portion of the parish, which still long retained its ancient title of Thorpe Rykenild or Ragual, and is now called Nether Thorpe. The addition of Salvin was derived from a family who bore that name, and who seem to have acquired the principal manor here very shortly after the conquest. According to Thoroton they were descended from one Jocus de Flamangh, who came in at the conquest. He had three sons; Richard, who was seated at Cockney, Thomas the founder of Welbeck Abbey, and Ralph the ancestor of the Salvins. At this place it appears that the latter or his son were enfeoffed by Roger de Busli, who had obtained the chief lordship here, as a dependency of the great manor of Laughton, which he acquired upon its forfeiture at the death of the great Saxon Earl Edwin. In the Domesday survey Thorpe is entered as Soc of that place, and is stated to have had six carucates of land then under cultivation, a large proportion for that period. Mr. Hunter thinks that the first Salvin here may have been one of the two knights of de Busli, alluded to under the entry of Laughton. Be this as it may, there is no doubt that the Salvins were a family of distinction. They flourished here for several generations till about the time of Edward III, when they gave place to another name, that of the Sandfords. How these latter acquired the estate is by no means certain; but here they resided in great respectability till the reign of Queen Elizabeth, when the name became extinct by the death of Hery Sandford in 1582, whose monument still remains in the church, the inscription on which states that his ‘ancestors came forth of Westmoreland in the year of our Lord 1420.’ This date, however, seems very questionable, as they appear to have been seated here earlier than that. The Sandfords had a park attached to their mansion at Thorpe, for we learn from a letter given by Hunter, that Brian Sandford, a man in much favour and trust with Henry VII, one of whose esquires of the body he was, had a warrant to Sir Thomas Fitz William, keeper of the king’s park of Cunesburgh Hawe, ordering him “to deliver to Sandford twelve quick does towards the storing of his pare at Thorp,” dated 11th November, 1491.

“The ancient hall of the Sandfords and Salvins was rebuilt by Hery Sandford in the reign of Elizabeth, as is shown by the arms of Copley, which appear in the quarterings of arms, over the gatehouse. Hery having married Margaret, the eldest daughter of Philip Copley of Spotborough. It seems probable that he could only have resided in

his new hall for a short time, as he died rather early in life, his only son having died before him, an infant. Of this hall the south front alone now remains, though much more, indeed nearly the whole, was standing within living memory, but was demolished to provide building materials for other erections. In front of the gatehouse, with the arms above alluded to is an inscription, said by Mr. Hunter to be 'Beo me gre.' The meaning of which he pronounces to be very obscure, and which I will not undertake to interpret.

"Henry Sandford left three daughters, Mary, Ellen, and Elizabeth, married respectively to Sir Roger Portington of Barnby on Don, Henry Nevile of Chevet, Co. Ebor., Esq., and Robert Rogers of Everton, Esq. The hall and manor came to Francis Nevile, son of Ellen Sandford, who sold them to Sir Ed. Osborne in 1636. Here Sir Edward occasionally resided, and here he died. His son, also Sir T. Osborne, afterwards Duke of Leeds, sometimes dwelt here. The estate still continues in the family of the Duke of Leeds. The youngest daughter, who was married to Rogers, had for her portion the estate of Thorpe Ragnal or Netherthorpe, where her descendants lived for several generations, indeed till about 1730, in the rank of gentry. This estate of Netherthorpe Grange before the dissolution belonged to the Priory of Worksop, to whom it seems to have been given, in part at least, by some of the early Salvins. This we learn from a deed preserved in the Dodsworth Coll. F. 142, an abstract of which is given by Dr. N. Johnston in his 'Notices of the Foljambe family,' the name of Sir Thomas Foljambe appearing as one of the witnesses. See *Collectanea Topographica et Genealogica*, vol. v. The deed is a confirmation charter of 'Richard de Sylwayne de Thorp, Knight, son and heir of Osbert de Sylwayne, in which he gives to the canons of Radford, Worksop, of the grant of his ancestors, lands in Nether-Thorpe, Raven'al' (Ragnal or Rykenild). There was, however, another early benefactor of Worksop Priory in this quarter, namely Walter de Haier, evidently a subtenant of the Lovelots, whose fee seems to have extended here into Thorpe, since Richard de Lovelot, the son of the founder of the Priory, confirms the gift in these words, 'Confirmo etiam terram de Thorpe, ex dono Walteri de Haier et concessione Rogeri filii ejus per divisas.' This gift of de Haier seems to have conveyed a strip of land lying within Thorpe, but along the county and parish boundaries between Notts and Worksop, and Yorkshire and Thorpe; in fact a strip of land to the east and south-east of Netherthorpe, now reckoned within Worksop parish and in county Notts, but properly belonging to Thorpe and Yorkshire.

"In the close Rolls 8 R. II, m. 16, among the fee of Lord William de Furnival the manor of Thorpe Ryknild is returned as one. The estate of Nether Thorpe was granted under its old name of Thorppe

Rygnalle, together with Salct-common wood, to Henry Payne, 37 H. 8, from whom the chief part, at least, passed to the Sandfords. The wood here alluded to may be the same which the Prior of Worksop is recorded in the Hundred Rolls to have imparted, perhaps that now known as 'Scratta wood,' *i. e.*, the Skirt Hay wood, the wood enclosed or imparked on the verge of the estate or county boundary; just as a little further on there is a place named Bondhay, signifying much the same thing. And here I may observe that there seems little doubt that the county and parochial boundaries in this direction have undergone a very considerable change during the last century or so, as I may think may be pretty clearly shown; the real site of the celebrated Shircoak, which dropt into the three counties of Notts, Derby, and York being about a mile eastward of the present supposed point of convergence of the county boundaries.

"The arms of Sandford were, parti per chevron, sable and ermine, in chief two boars' heads coupé or; crest, a boar's head issuant from a ducal coronet.

"The church of Thorpe Salvin is one of considerable interest, and it contains a font which is especially deserving of notice. The church consists of nave with north aisle, and a chancel, with a beautiful chantry chapel on its north side. There is also a tower and a wooden south porch. The body of the church is Norman, with a beautiful south doorway of that style, the ornamentation of which shows a considerable advancement in the style. It may probably be assigned to the end of Henry I's reign, or that of Stephen. The chancel arch and north arcade are also Norman. The clerestory and windows are generally of later date. There is a fine pointed Norman transition tower arch. The chancel has been rebuilt in the decorated period, and has a fair east window of that style. It contains several monuments of the Sandfords in good preservation, and also the beautiful and remarkable Norman font before alluded to. This has been removed from its more appropriate place adjoining the northern pier of the tower-arch. It is very boldly carved with the representation of various subjects under a series of Norman arches, with an enriched band above. In the first double compartment we have the sacrament of baptism being administered by a priest of gigantic proportions, and attended by several other figures. Next is a man reaping corn; the third represents a gentleman on horseback passing over a bridge with a branch of a tree in his hand, the fourth a man sowing corn, the fifth an old man sitting before a fire. These there can be no doubt were intended to represent the four seasons of the year, and perhaps were designed as emblematical of the life of man. The next compartment is a strange figure, a head surmounting a double chevron, and may perhaps be intended to denote death; then follows a series of intersecting arches,

which possibly may be intended for the church, and the whole be designed to imply that the Christian man begins and ends his earthly career there. But indeed the signification of the whole is very obscure, and I am not aware that any satisfactory explanation of it has been offered.

"There is a font similar in its decorations to this one at Barnham Deepdale, Norfolk; but in that case each month in the year is represented by some rustic operation, in scenes placed under twelve round arches, with a band of foliage and animals above. That font stands upon octagonal Norman shafts. See a paper by Dr. Paye, vol. x, 'Archæologia.'

"The chantry chapel on the north side of the chancel is of the Decorated period. It was founded by Sir William Sandford, clerk, and endowed with £10 per annum, a rich endowment for that period, probably equal to £200 of our present money. It is said in Archbishop Holgate's return of charities to have been founded by Sir W. and 'others,' probably other members of his family, and it seems very likely that under the guise of a chantry priest, they thus obtained the services of a resident clergyman of their own appointment for themselves and their dependants, in order to supply the precarious services of some non-resident minister, who would be employed, at as cheap a rate as might be, to supply the parish by the appropriator, the prebendary of Loughton, in York Cathedral. Until it has been recently modernised the house in the north-east corner of the churchyard showed marks of great antiquity, having one or two square trefoil arches. This was probably the residence of the chantry priest.

"The patent for the confirmation of this chantry chapel, which was dedicated to the Virgin, is still extant, bearing date the fourth year of King Richard II (1380)."

A visit was next paid to the ruins of the old hall, the Rev. J. Stacey again giving the company the result of his researches. He stated that within the memory of persons now living the whole of the walls were standing. Much of the building however had, within the last few years, been pulled down to erect houses in the neighbourhood. There is an inscription with armorial bearings on the gateway; but its distance from the eye and weather-worn condition made it undecipherable.

On the motion of Mr. George Wright, seconded by Mr. Godwin, a vote of thanks was given to Mr. Stacey for the information he had afforded during the day. The carriages then conveyed the party to the Kiveton Station; there a special train was in readiness, and it arrived at Sheffield at six o'clock.

The evening meeting was held in the Old Banqueting Room at the Cutlers' Hall. There was a large attendance both of ladies and gentlemen. The Duke of Norfolk in the chair.



Mr. J. R. Planché, *Somerset Herald*, read a paper on "The Early Lords of Holderness"; and the Rev. Dr. Gatty one on "The Town and the Old Parish Church of Sheffield." Both these papers will be printed in the present volume of the *Journal*.

Mr. Roberts trusted that the work which was done in the Parish Church about the year 1800 would be undone again as far as possible. He was expressing the general feeling of the Association when he said that if the galleries were removed, it would very much add to the beauty of the building. The high pews also might be replaced by others, which would occupy less space, and quite as many worshippers could be accommodated as now.

The Vicar, the Rev. Dr. Sale, in reference to a compliment paid him by Dr. Gatty on the preservation of the dial, said that it had been preserved at his own expense. He should be glad if the galleries could be removed, as it would add very much to the beauty of the church. Mr. S. Tucker (Rouge Croix) asked when the gravestones in the churchyard were laid down, and whether any copy of the inscriptions upon them was being preserved. The Rev. Dr. Gatty did not think the stones were ever upright. The Rev. Dr. Sale was afraid no copy had been made of the inscriptions. The Rev. J. Stacey remarked that Mr. Swift, of the Stamp Office, was exceedingly zealous in preserving everything of the kind, and he was happy to say that he believed Mr. Swift had forestalled the suggestion now made. Mr. Tucker hoped that the record, when made, would be placed among the archives of the church.

Mr. Gordon M. Hills apologised for the non-reading of the paper by Mr. Tucker, on the Manor. Fresh information about the Manor had been obtained, and the paper would be ready on a succeeding evening. He asked the meeting to convey their grateful thanks to his Grace for occupying the chair, and for the great attention he had bestowed as President on the business of the meeting. The members were aware that owing to the serious illness of his mother, the Duchess of Norfolk, his attendance must have led to a great sacrifice of personal feeling, and were desirous to express to his Grace their deep sense of his kindness and their sympathy with him, whilst also they were greatly rejoiced to know that his Grace's anxieties at Arundel had been relieved.

His Grace, in reply, said it was a great pleasure to him to be there. He sincerely regretted that he should have to go home to-morrow, as he had hoped to have spent the week here, and he was the more disappointed when he saw the zeal with which they went about their work. After thanks had been voted to the readers of the papers, the proceedings terminated.

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THE EARLY LORDS OF HOLDERNESS.

BY J. R. PLANCHÉ, ESQ., SOMERSET HERALD, V.P.

THE subject on which I have the honour of addressing you is one possessing no local interest as regards Sheffield ; nor, indeed, the Riding in which we are assembled. It is, however, a Yorkshire subject, of some importance to the history of this great county, and affords us a remarkable instance of the tenacity of error, and an instructive lesson to the student of our national records, too often contented to take upon trust the statements of writers generally acknowledged as authorities, instead of critically examining for themselves the data on which these statements are apparently founded. Genealogy is not an attractive pursuit for the many, and its details are difficult to follow orally even by the few who, like me, feel as great an excitement in it as the keenest sportsman ever enjoyed in a fox-chase. I labour, therefore, under considerable disadvantage on occasions like the present, and rejoice that the limitation of time recommended by the Council will compel me to be brief, as I cannot hope to be entertaining.

Amongst the principal holders of land in Yorkshire at the time of the compilation of the great survey of England, known as *Domesday* (commenced in 1085, and completed in 1086), we find the name of Drogo de Brevere, of whom little is known beyond the fact that he was a Fleming, who, with others of his countrymen, joined the Norman army of invasion in 1066 ; and received, in reward for his services

at Hastings, the hand of some relative or connection of the Conqueror, with large estates in England, including the greater portion of the Isle of Holderness, wherein he built the strong castle of Skipsey.¹ By the early writers he is styled Earl of Holderness ; but we have no proof that he was legally entitled to that distinction ; nor that, like several of the followers of William Duke of Normandy, he was a count in his own country, and was, therefore, known as the Earl of (*i. e., at*) Holderness, the principal place of his residence. His name does not occur in the Roll of Battle Abbey, and we are as ignorant of his antecedents as we are of the parentage of the lady he married. Whoever she was, he killed her ; whether by accident or "*malice prepense*" does not appear in the indictment. His subsequent conduct, however, was that of a guilty man. He hastened to the King, and pretended that he was anxious to take his wife to Flanders, but not having sufficient command of money for the purpose at that moment, craved assistance from his royal connection. The King, not doubting his story, gave or lent to him the sum requested, with which Drogo made the best of his way to the coast, and took ship for the Low Countries.² The King, on learning the truth, sent orders for his arrest ; but it was too late. Drogo was beyond his reach. There was no extradition treaty in those days, and the Conqueror was obliged to content himself with the confiscation of his estates, which was done without loss of time ; and of Drogo de Brevere nothing more appears to be recorded.

So far the story is, at any rate, as clear as it is brief. More information would be highly acceptable ; but the little we know is probable, and has not been disputed, nor contradicted by other circumstances. At all events, as late as August 1086 we have the undoubted evidence of *Domesday* that Drogo was in possession of all his estates ; so that if the story be true, the slaying of his wife, and his flight to Flanders, must have taken place in the autumn of that year, at the close of which King William quitted England never to see it more. Drogo's personal interview with him could only have been at the time of his holding his last great "witan" at Salisbury (1st August), to which all the great

¹ *Book of Merux, Register of Fountains Abbey, Mon. Ang.*

² Ordericus Vitalis.

landowners in the kingdom were summoned ; or while he was subsequently residing in the Isle of Wight, awaiting the collection of the money extorted from all against whom the avaricious and rapacious tyrant could bring any charge, whether by right or otherwise : that final robbery of his English subjects, with the fruits of which he departed amid "curses not loud but deep", to die deserted, dishonoured, and despoiled, in his native land.

It must have been at this period that the forfeited estates of Drogo in the Isle of Holderness were bestowed by William on his brother-in-law, Count Eudes or Odo de Champagne : a personage respecting whom more blunders have been perpetrated, and more confusion created, than, perhaps, any other of the companions or connections of the Conqueror.

Amongst the principal leaders of the Norman host at Hastings, the old rhyming chronicler, "Maistre Wace," in his *Roman de Rou*, mentions one "who was then Lord of Albe-marle", without any indication of who the Lord of Albe-marle (or more properly Aumale) was at that period. Mons. Auguste le Prevost, the learned commentator of Wace, has a confused note on this passage, and was unacquainted with the facts which the intelligent industry of the late Mr. Stapleton has fortunately furnished us with. Of them, however, hereafter, as they refer more to Odo's wife than himself ; and we must first consider who he was.

Eudes or Odo de Champagne was the son of Etienne, second Count of Champagne and Brie, by Adela, supposed to have been a daughter of Richard, second Duke of Normandy ; but by which of his wives or mistresses has not been stated. Now if such were the fact, Odo was the nephew of Duke Robert, the Conqueror's father, and consequently first cousin of William and of his sister Adela, as far as blood was concerned. A marriage with that lady, therefore, would have been within the prohibited degrees so rigidly construed by the Church of Rome. William of Jumiège, a contemporary historian, says "Odo was nearly allied to King William by consanguinity, being grandson of Maude, daughter to Richard I, Duke of Normandy, wife of Odo Count of Blois and Chartres." This assertion is still more unfortunate, for Maude died childless ; and Etienne, the father of our Odo, was the son of the Count of Blois by his second wife, Ermagarde, daughter of Robert first Count of

Auverne, whom he married in 1020.¹ I, therefore, deny the maternal descent of Odo from any near relation of William Duke of Normandy, of whom he has been set down as a kinsman on the above authority only. Dugdale, who appears to have been perfectly bewildered respecting him, has printed in his *Monasticon* two accounts, one from the *Book of Meaux*, an abbey in Holderness; and the other from the *Register of Fountains Abbey*, which is nearly *verbatim*, but in one or two instances more explicit. The story told in them is as follows. Odo having killed a magnate of his own country, took refuge in the dominions of his kinsman, William Duke of Normandy, who gave him, through the intercession of the Archbishop of Rouen, his sister for wife; and subsequently bestowed upon him, according to the *Book of Meaux*, the *Island*,—according to the *Register of Fountains*, the *county*, of Holderness. To the same Archbishop (not named) he is said to have been indebted also for the grant of the county (“*comitatum*”), the *Register of Fountains* reads “*civitatem*”, of Albemarle, on condition that he should attend the Primate in any expedition with ten knights, and bear his standard before him. The author of *L’Art de Vérifier les Dates* and Père Anselme follow this account, but specify the Archbishop as Jean de Bayeux, who entertained a great friendship for Odo, and with the consent of the Chapter bestowed upon him the lands of Aumale on the above conditions.

Now let us see what light the crucial test of dates flings upon these statements. Etienne, the father of Odo, could not have been born earlier than 1021, and would have been about sixteen or seventeen when he succeeded his father, in 1037, as Count of Champagne and Brie. Supposing him even to have married before he was of full age (say 1040), his son Odo would have been a mere child at his death in 1047-48, when he was immediately dispossessed of his inheritance by his uncle Thibaut III; not illegally, as it has been represented, but according to the law at that period, which, if the heir to the lordship was not of sufficient age to receive investiture by the ceremony of girding with the sword, authorised the nearest in blood, who was of full age, to claim, if he so willed, the succession. Sharp practice, it may be said; but yet strictly in accordance with “the statute in such case made and provided.”

¹ *Art de Vérifier les Dates.*

At what time the dispossessed Odo took refuge in Normandy is not stated; but he must have been a most precocious young swashbuckler if he killed a magnate of his own country before he entered his teens; and the loss of his estates was quite sufficient to have caused him, at a later period, to seek his fortune elsewhere, without having killed anyone fairly or foully.

At the time of the invasion of England, Odo would have been about five and twenty; and what more likely than that, having nothing to lose, and everything to gain, he should eagerly have volunteered his services to William. But if we are to believe that Odo was indebted to Jean de Bayeux for the hand of his wife, and the lands of Aumale, how could he be the "Sire d'Aubermare" who fought at Senlac in 1066, when the said Jean de Bayeux was not elevated to the primacy until after the death of Archbishop Maurilius in 1067? The labours of Mr. Stapleton, before alluded to, enable us to solve this problem in the most satisfactory manner.

The old Norman chroniclers state clearly enough that Odo was the husband of the Conqueror's sister, though differing as to the fact of her being of the whole or the half blood; but not one of them had the kindness to inform us, if they knew, that the lady had been twice married previously, and had issue by each husband. The facts of the case, which have been elicited from the records of the church of St. Martin d'Auchi (commonly called of Aumale, from its vicinity to the town of that name), are these.

In or about the year 1000 a castle was built on the river Eu (now known as the Brêslé), at the point where it divides the provinces of Normandy and Picardy, by a certain Guerinfroï (Guerinfridus), who also, in 1027, founded in its neighbourhood the Abbey of St. Martin d'Auchi. This Guerinfroï, who was "Sire d'Aumale" (not Count, as some have incorrectly called him) from his tenure of the town of Aumale, and the lands on which he had built his castle and the abbey, had an only daughter named Berta, who became the wife of Hugh, second Comte de Ponthieu; and mother, by him, of Enquerrand or Ingleram, Sire d'Aumale in right of his mother, who married Adelaide or Adeliza, sister of the Conqueror, succeeded his father as Count of Ponthieu, and was killed in a conflict near Arques in 1053, leaving



an only daughter named Adelaide or Adeliza after her mother, and having settled on his wife the lands of Aumale in dower. The widow of Enquerrand being still young, married secondly, and in the first year of her widowhood, Count Lambert of Lens in Artois, brother of Eustace, second Count of Boulogne, and bore to him a daughter named Judith, whose hand was given by her uncle, King William, to Waltheof Earl of Northumberland. Count Lambert could scarcely have seen the birth of his child, for he was slain at Lille the year following that of his marriage, in a battle between Baldwin Earl of Flanders and Henry Emperor of Germany. A widow for the second time, and still in the prime of life, and, as it is indicated, full bloom of beauty, she married, thirdly, Odo the expatriated Count of Champagne; the fruit of this third union being an only son named Etienne (Stephen) after his grandfather, the Count of Champagne and Brie, and who, on the death of his elder half-sister, Adelaide, became the first Count d'Aumale, or Earl of Albemarle, the seigneurie having been erected into a county by King William; upon what occasion, or at what time, we have no direct evidence, but clearly not previous to 1066.

The name of Adeliza (either the mother or the daughter) as Countess of Albemarle occurs in *Domesday*; but not that of Odo, who first appears in connection with English affairs in 1088 (1st of William Rufus), when, with the consent of his son Stephen, he gave the manor and church of Hornsea, in the "wappentake" of Holderness, to the Abbey of St. Mary at York, being a portion of those estates forfeited in 1086 by Drogo de Brevere, and bestowed on Odo by his royal brother-in-law in the last year of his reign. This latter fact also leads to the correction of Orderic Vital's assertion that King William granted the earldom, as he calls it, of Holderness to Odo de Campania at the same time that he distributed cities and counties, with great honors and domains, among other lords who had assisted him in the conquest; such distribution having been made about 1070, sixteen years before Holderness was vacated by the felonious Fleming.

The gift of the lands (one writer says of the city) of Aumale by an Archbishop of Rouen has yet to be explained; for as Jean de Bayeux, to whom it has been attributed, was

not Primate before 1067, such donation could not have been made previous to the invasion of England, at which period, and as late as 1086, the city and castle of Aumale, with such lands as had not been given to the church of Auch, were in possession of Adeliza Lady or Countess of Aumale, the wife,—or, if she were deceased, as it is assumed, in 1080, the younger Adeliza, who, to complete the absurd confusion, has been married, instead of her mother, to her stepfather Odo; while he has been made the father of her sister Judith, daughter of Count Lambert, the wicked Countess of Northumberland. And this was English history before the formation of archaeological associations awoke the spirit of critical inquiry which has rectified so many serious errors, and exposed so many flagrant falsehoods!

There is every probability, when we review the preceding evidence, that the marriage of Odo with the sister of the Duke of Normandy took place before the conquest, and that consequently he was “Sire de Aubermare” in right of his wife at the time of the great battle. Whether he fleshed his maiden sword at Senlac or not, he appears to have made no mark either for good or for evil in the annals of this country till, misled by ambition, he was induced to join in a conspiracy, the collapse of which doomed him to a miserable death.

History is quite silent about him during the lifetime of the Conqueror; but on the accession of the new king we are told that Odo found himself embarrassed by his position as a feudatory of William Rufus in England, and of Robert Courtheuse in Normandy. He owed allegiance to each; but how could he serve two masters who were at war one with the other? He decided in favour of Rufus, and received an English garrison in his castle of Aumale, which, in conjunction with his son Stephen, he enlarged and strengthened at the expense of the Royal Treasury, on the invasion of Normandy by the red King in 1090. Five years afterwards, however, he embarked with the ever restless Robert de Mowbray, William d’Eue, and other disaffected nobles in the rash enterprise I have alluded to, the object of which was to depose Rufus and place Odo’s son, Stephen d’Aumale, on the throne. The conspiracy failing, in consequence of timely warning having been given to the king, Odo and his son were both arrested; the former thrown into a dungeon

from which he never emerged alive, and the latter condemned according to the barbarous custom of the age to have his eyes taken out. The piteous prayers of his wife and family, to say nothing of the payment of a very considerable sum of money, succeeded in obtaining a remission of that horrible sentence, and restoration to liberty.

How long Odo lingered in his fetters is unknown ; the exact date of his decease is as uncertain as nearly every other part of his history, but is presumed to have been in 1108. The story that Odo requested his friend Jean de Bayeux to represent to the Conqueror that the land he had granted to him in Holderness was sterile, and could grow nothing but oats, and that his wife having presented him with a son named Stephen, he prayed the king to bestow on him some land on which he could grow wheat that he might feed his (King William's) nephew, whereupon the king gave him Bytham in Lincolnshire, another forfeited manor of Drogo's besides other places, is shown by the above facts to be either wholly untrue, or some inexplicable confusion of the actual circumstances. Jean de Bayeux died in 1079, seven years at least before the grant of Holderness to Odo. Bytham, originally held by Drogo, was probably given to him at the same time with Holderness, or very shortly afterwards, as William died in 1087, and Bytham was one of the manors in England, with which Odo's son Stephen endowed the monastery of Aumale, he being the first who described himself as "*Albermarlensis Comes*," his father never assuming that title ; but invariably granting or witnessing charters as "*Odo de Campania*," or "*Odonis Comitibus de Campania*."

Of his step-daughter Adelaide or Adeliza, the younger Countess of Aumale, we know nothing beyond her confirmation of the grants of her mother and her father Enguer, and Count of Ponthieu, to the Abbey of St. Martin d'Auchi (or Aumale).¹ She must, however, have died unmarried or without issue when her right to the title devolved solely on the male heir of her mother, her half-brother Stephen.

It is remarkable, considering the position and connections of Adeliza, sister of the conqueror and Countess of Ponthieu, that the discovery of her triple marriage should have been left to reward the diligence of an English antiquary of the nineteenth century ; every previous account of her and her

¹ *Archæologia*, vol. xxiv.

issue being, from the ignorance of that simple but important fact, full of errors and contradictions.

It is perhaps still more remarkable that, as this fact has been clearly set forth by the authors of *Recherches sur le Domesday*, in 1842, as well as by Mr. Stapleton himself in his notes on the Norman Roll of the Exchequer, and the letter of the late Sir Charles Young, Garter King of Arms, in the *Collectanea Topographica et Genealogica* for 1840, so acute and critical an antiquary as Mr. Edward Freeman should have overlooked the information, and in the second volume of his *History of the Norman Conquest*, published 1870, p. 615, married Odo to his step-daughter Adeliza, on the misrepresentation of Mr. Stapleton in vol. xxiv of the *Archæologia*, who subsequently discovered and acknowledged his error three and thirty years ago!

I am afraid I have dosed you with dates beyond the power of your digestion. Still it is only by the strict examination and comparison of them that we can distinguish fact from fiction, and their verification is one of the most important duties of the modern archæologist.

To the ladies who have honoured us with their company this evening my apologies are particularly due, as I have slurred over those sensational points in my narrative which might have more deeply interested them.

Had I been endowed with the imagination of the late authoress of *Paul Ferol* I might have indulged it in an inquiry why Drogo de Brevere killed his wife? or, possessing the power of a Wilkie Collins, have elaborated the history of the bride of three husbands into an exciting romance of as many volumes, but in that case I should not have been allowed the pleasure of reading them to the present assembly. I have only therefore to request your forgiveness for having trespassed on your time so long as I have done, in the hope of correcting some misapprehensions respecting persons and property which the neglect of those hard, indigestible dates may cause to arise in the minds of readers of that meritorious work, the *History and Antiquities of the Seignory of Holderness*, published before the later discoveries of Mr. Stapleton in Normandy had been promulgated, and of which the author had not the advantage of availing himself as I have done.

ON CANETTES.

BY H. SYER CUMING, ESQ., F.S.A. SCOT., V.P.

THE graceful *contour* which constitutes one of the most marked, striking, and pleasing characteristics in ancient oriental and Hellenic *ficilia*, seems to have exercised little influence on the Roman *figulus*, and was altogether lost on the potters of the Teutonic, Norman, and early mediæval eras. During the two latter epochs we occasionally find a few quaintly shaped vessels, but utterly devoid of elegance; those in common employ being of the most ordinary forms which can well be conceived. Among those forms, however, there is one which has maintained its place in the household for full eight hundred years, and which may be briefly described as a truncated cone of variable altitude, with a bowed handle on one side, and which is familiar to us in the tin and stoneware shaving-pots and glass claret-jugs of the present hour. This type of vessel, if it did not come in with the Normans, was certainly adopted by them, and made in sizes varying from 4 to 18 inches in height; which were at first of unglazed, brownish red ware; but their surfaces were afterwards protected with plumbiferous glazing, frequently coloured deep green by the protoxides of iron and copper. Of the first named kind I exhibit an example, 6 ins. in height, which was recovered from the Thames in January, 1847, and may be compared with one engraved in our *Journal*, v, p. 23, fig. 2. A few of the more ancient green glazed pots of this type have their sides embellished with narrow, perpendicular bands or mouldings, requiring but little thought to design, and skill to manipulate; which may be well understood by the remains of the vessel I produce, which is $6\frac{1}{2}$ ins. in height, of early twelfth century fabric, and exhumed in Moorfields in January 1866.

As we descend in time, and cast our gaze towards Germany, we find this humble, inartistic, conic pot developed into a thing of much importance; wrought of hard, dense paste, decorated with rich and elaborate devices, and displaying the heraldic bearings of great cities and princely

houses. These Almain stoneware vessels have been for centuries called *Jacobus Kannetjes*, or, more familiarly, *canettes*, names obviously cognate with our *can* and its diminutive *canakin*.

The finest and most esteemed examples of canettes are of a pearly white or slightly yellowish hue, without glaze, and were fabricated at Teylingen, Arnheim, and adjacent localities on the Lower Rhine, as far back as the first half of the fifteenth century : those produced at places on the Middle and Upper Rhine being inferior in every respect, and generally distinguishable from the better sort by their gray and brownish paste and dappled glaze. The embossed ornamentations on the Germanic canettes were, as a rule, impressed with copper moulds ; but a careful examination of some specimens has led to the belief that, in certain instances, the devices were actually carved on the paste before the vessel was baked in the kiln. These embellishments embrace a goodly diversity of subjects drawn from sacred and profane history, mythology, and fertile imaginings, mingled and surrounded with tasteful arabesques, and accompanied by brief legends and dates.

His Grace the Duke of Buccleuch possesses a fine, tall canette decorated with Scripture subjects in compartments, and bearing the date 1570, and the maker's initials, H. H., which we shall presently find repeated on a vessel of twenty-one years less antiquity.

The Bernal collection, sold in March 1855, contained a good series of dated canettes. The earliest was of the year 1573, and bore the initials L. W., and displayed in sharp relief the figures of Veritas, Justitia, and Pax, with shields of imperial arms. The next in age was of 1574, and decorated with armorial bearings, sacred and classic subjects, and signed B. I. V. Following this in chronological order was one dated 1576, and signed L. W., and on which the imperial, Bavarian, and Saxon arms displayed themselves. A canette with David and Alexander, and coats of arms, bore date 1589. Two of these pots were dated 1591. One of them, signed C. M., had on it the imperial eagle thrice repeated, with the escutcheons of Bremen and Lubeck. The other was embossed with shields of arms, Venus in medallions, and the letters H. H.; and these initials occurred on another, but undated, specimen, with figures of Samson and

Delilah, and other Scriptural scenes. The latest date on the Bernal canettes was 1592, which appeared on a vessel, $10\frac{3}{4}$ ins. high, decorated with three coats of arms, mascarons, and arabesques, and signed H. V. C. There is one other example, described in the sale catalogue of this collection (p. 261) as "a fine canette of rude, early design, with three upright bands, embossed with male and female busts and arabesques, green and white on brown and orange ground, $12\frac{1}{2}$ ins. high." Coloured stoneware canettes are rarely met with, and the one here mentioned was probably of Nuremberg origin. It may be well to add that five out of these nine canettes were provided with metal rims, lids, etc.

In the Museum of Sir John Soane is a tall canette (there called a *chopine*) which was exhumed in Bath Street, Bath. It is of the white variety of stoneware, embossed with effigies of Sol, Jupiter, and Venus, the first and last being accompanied by the date 1593. Above these deities are mascarons and arabesques, and below each is a shield charged with different arms, one bearing the imperial eagle.

The *Gentleman's Magazine* for March, 1827, gives an engraving of a canette adorned with Scripture subjects and coats of German arms; and it may be gathered from the foregoing remarks that heraldic insignia frequently formed part of the ornamentation on such vessels; but I now exhibit the remains of a canette on which a good sized shield in duplicate is the prime motive. This specimen belongs to the highest class of white stoneware, but is unfortunately much broken; but enough is left to display the two shields of elegant *contour*, and quartered with the arms of Berg, Cleves, Gulick, March, and Ravensburg, surmounted by a helmet *affrontée*, surrounded by scrollwork, and resting on a base inscribed C. K. This choice fragment of sixteenth century Lower Rhine pottery was exhumed in Moorfields, May 2nd, 1865.

Whilst London excavations have brought to light numbers of bellarmines or gray-beards, few traces of canettes have shown themselves. The major portion of a fine example was, however, unearthed in 1872 in the Commercial Road East, and passed into the possession of the Rev. S. M. Mayhew, by whose kind permission it is now before you. From the broad convex hoops encircling its base stretch upwards three highly enriched panels, all being from the same mould.

The decorative motive is a large oval cartouch, the frame of which is embellished with bold and elegant scrolls, and the field with a standing draped figure of Harmony playing on a viol or crowd, the head of the lady dividing the potter's initials, E. R. Above and below the cartouch are graceful and elaborate arabesques which the pencil of a Raphael or a Clovio may have designed. The paste of this canette is inferior to that of the one just described; and there are patches of glaze about the surface remindful of the wares of Cologne and Achen, and it is not improbable that it was manufactured in the latter city during the second half of the sixteenth century.

The value set on these fine old canettes is attested by the fact that they have been imitated for fraudulent purposes in recent times. I have a good example of this bad practice in a specimen nine inches and a quarter high, the paste of which is much darker and dingier in tint than that of the vessels of the Lower Rhine, and differs entirely in aspect from the stoneware of the Middle and Upper Rhine. The reliefs are clumsily executed, and instead of being wrought at once on the surface of the canette were evidently stamped on separate bands of clay which were then laid on the body of the pot and pressed close with the fingers. The motives are three figures standing beneath arches, each accompanied by a name and the date 1566. The first effigy is called LEONIDAS. This Spartan monarch wears a helmet with three lofty feathers and a richly chased cuirass, and rests his right hand on a fancifully-shaped shield charged with a human head in profile. Next comes HANIBALD. R. CARTHAGO, in the same pose and dress as Leonidas, save that a spiked or eastern crown graces his head instead of the helmet. The shield on which his hand rests is charged with three bulls' heads. The remaining figure represents VENUS, decently habited like a lady of the reign of our Elizabeth, only that her skirt is looped up above her left knee so as to expose her lower limb. A natty ruff encircles the goddess' throat, and in her right hand is an arrow, and in her left a blazing heart; by her side stands an ugly little nude Cupid, who seems about to let fly a dart from his bow. Above this group is a satyric mascaron, and scrolls of bold character. Beneath each historic hero is a shield charged with the imperial eagle, and beneath Venus is another with four quarters



and an escutcheon of pretence, and on either side a nude figure by way of supporter. The stamps employed on this rudely made canette may be as old as the year 1566, but I question much if the vessel itself can claim an antiquity of fifty years.

The Bavarian town of Bayreuth was one of the places where the brown stoneware canettes were manufactured in the sixteenth century, and here also, in later times, were wrought others of fine Fayence, some of which were painted *en grisaille*, the subject being delicately penciled in blue. Any other fictile canettes, save those of stoneware, are, however, of considerable rarity, a fact which enhances the interest and importance of an example fabricated of Fayence, which was exhumed in Queen Victoria Street in 1873, and is now kindly brought before us by Mr. Edward Roberts. The hard compact white paste of which it is made has a porcelainic look about it, and the glazing is of a brilliant white hue. The vessel is 8 inches in height, and preserves, both in form and style of decoration, a powerful reminiscence of the older canettes. The front and back are embossed with military trophies, each composed of an upright spear, and two battle-axes in saltire, and on either side is an ancient warrior within a panel edged with slender pilasters, and in one instance surmounted by massive scrollwork, in the other by a satyric mascarón flanked by Amorini. Let us first scan a figure in armour, having on his head a broad-brimmed hat with feather in front, and resting his left hand on the top of an odd-shaped shield charged with three eastern crowns. On the ground, near his right foot, is a plumed helmet, and behind his head is a ribbon or label bearing the following words in small incuse letters CVNIG. ARTVS. Below this King Artus is an escutcheon with five quarterings thus charged—1, lion rampant; 2, cross avelane; 3, eagle; 4, chequée; 5, two chevrons. The effigy on the opposite side of the jug is armed *cap-a-pie*, rests his right hand on a quaint-shaped shield charged with a dragon segreant, and holds in his left a mace. The label bears the legend HECTOR VAN DROIE.T.K., the two last letters being the initials of the potter. The shield beneath Hector of Troy has four quarterings exhibiting 1, a cross; 2, a lion; 3, three crescents; 4, an eagle. The supporters are Amorini. The vessel previous to firing had its rim perfo-

rated to admit rivets to secure a metal mounting ; and with the exception of this rim, and the broad rings at the lower part, the whole of the unembossed surface is covered with minute depressions which may be likened to lace-coral in appearance. The handle is of more tasty character than is commonly the case with those of stoneware canettes, and has its sides reeded. On the base of the jug is stamped the number 40 ; and it may be remarked that many of the wares of Bayreuth are marked in a similar way. There is so much of old fashion about this beautiful canette, combined with a newness in aspect, that it is no easy matter to assign it to its exact date, though it is probably as early as the close of the seventeenth century.

A few of the delft potters of the eighteenth century continued to manufacture canettes, on which subjects in blue were occasionally depicted, and mottos inscribed, among others the admonition—*Looft. Godt. Boven. Alle* (*Love God above all*).

From what has been adduced it is clear that the old canettes were frequently equipped with metal rims and lids, the rattling together of which sounded as sweet music in the ears of the “swill pot,” and to which allusion is made in *Othello* (ii, 3) where *Iago* sings :—

“And let me the canakin clink, clink,
And let me the canakin clink :

A soldier’s a man ; O ! man’s life’s but a span,
Why then let a soldier drink.”

THE DRUIDS ACCORDING TO GREEK AND ROMAN WRITERS.

BY THOMAS MORGAN, ESQ.

It has been suggested that I should give either the *ipsisima verba*, or translations of the Greek and Roman writers who have supplied information about the Druids, and from whom later accounts of them have been taken, so that the reader may at a glance see what facts rest upon the positive evidence of antiquity and what are referable to testimony of a different age and character. Extracts from all that has been said by the classic authors concerning Britain have already been collected and placed in chronological order in the great work, Petrie's *Monumenta Historica Britannica*, and more recently by Dr. Giles, but as the passages which immediately concern the Druids have not been brought together synoptically my reasons for reproducing them here will I hope be considered sufficient.

The first and most important account is that of Julius Cæsar, whose authority in Gaul, his special province, enabled him to obtain the best information. The Druidical tradition mentioned by him which asserted the Celts to have sprung from Pluto is suggestive of the worship paid to Ceres and Proserpine in an island near Britain referred to by Onomacritus, *Argonaut. Exped.*, vv. 1187-8.

ἰδ' ἐνρεα δώματ' ἀνάσσης
Δημητρὸς.

"Behold the spacious mansions of Queen Ceres."

The religious rites there practised, analogous to those of Samothrace, are a subject worthy of further investigation. (See the passage from *Strabo* hereafter quoted). The reckoning by nights instead of days and making the days to follow the nights in the computation of time, are facts recorded by Cæsar as originating in the religion of the gloomy god, and are in accordance with our Celtic and Saxon traditions. He says the Celts held Mercury in special honour, who in their language was called Teutates (from the Celtic *Div Taith*, god of travel), and the epithet *ἐνόδιος* applied

to this god by the Greeks seems to point to the name of Odin, who in the northern mythology combines the attributes of Mercury, Mars, and Pluto; he goes on to say the Celts held nearly the same creed as most nations in respect to other gods such as Apollo, Minerva, etc. The Hermæ of Greece were the rough milestones worked into the effigies of the god of roads, and the rude stones of the Druids arranged in order up the avenues to the temples may have been types of the stones set up for marking distances. The chariot wheel, too, on some of the British coins appears to be an emblem of travel. *Cæsar de Bello Gallico, lib. vi, 13-18.*

“In omni Galliâ eorum hominum, qui aliquo sunt numero atque honore, genera sunt duo: nam plebes pœne servorum habetur loco, quæ per se nihil audet, et nullo adhibetur consilio. Plerique, quum aut aëre alieno, aut magnitudine tributorum, aut injuriâ potentiorum premuntur, sese in servitutem dicant nobilibus: in hos eadem omnia sunt jura, quæ dominis in servos. Sed de his duobus generibus alterum est Druidum, alterum Equitum. Illi rebus divinis intersunt, sacrificia publica ac privata procurant, religiones interpretantur: ad hos magnus adolescentium numerus disciplinæ causâ concurrit; magnoque ii sunt apud eos honore. Nam fere de omnibus controversiis, publicis privatisque, constituunt; et, si quod est admissum facinus, si cædes facta, si de hereditate, si de finibus controversia est, iidem decernunt; præmia pœnasque constituunt, si qui aut privatus aut publicus eorum decreto non stetit, sacrificiis interdicunt. Hæc pœna apud eos est gravissima. Quibus ita est interdictum, ii numero impiorum ac sceleratorum habentur; ab iis omnes decedunt, aditum eorum sermonemque defugiunt, ne quid ex contagione incommodi accipiant: neque iis petentibus jus redditur, neque honos ullus communicatur. His autem omnibus Druidibus præest unus, qui summam inter eos habet auctoritatem. Hoc mortuo, si qui ex reliquis excellit dignitate, succedit: at, si sunt plures pares, suffragio Druidum deligitur, nonnunquam etiam armis de principatu contendunt. Hi certo anni tempore in finibus Carnutum, quæ regio totius Galliæ media habetur, considunt, in loco consecrato. Huc omnes undique, qui controversias habent, conveniunt; eorumque decretis judiciisque parent. Disciplina in Britannia reperta, atque inde in Galliam translata esse, existimatur, et nunc, qui diligentius eam rem cognoscere volunt, plerumque illic, discendi causâ proficiscuntur.....

“Druides a bello abesse consuerunt, neque tributa una cum reliquis pendunt; militiæ vacationem, omniumque rerum habent immunitatem. Tantis excitati præmiis, et suâ sponte multi in disciplinam conveniunt, et a parentibus propinquisque mittuntur. Magnum ibi numerum versuum ediscere dicuntur. Itaque annos nonnulli viros in disciplinâ permanent; neque fas esse existimant, ea literis mandare, quum in reliquis fere rebus, publicis privatisque rationibus, Græcis utantur litteris. Id mihi duabus de causis instituisse videntur; quod neque, in vulgum disciplinam efferrî, velint, neque eos, qui discant, literis confisos, minus memoriæ studere: quod fere plerisque accidit,

ut præsidio litterarum, diligentiam in perdiscendo, ac memoriam remittant. In primis hoc volunt persuadere, non interire animas, sed ab aliis post mortem transire ad alios; atque hoc maxime ad virtutem excitari putant, metu mortis neglecto. Multa præterea de sideribus, atque eorum motu, de mundi ac terrarum magnitudine, de rerum naturâ, de deorum immortalium vi ac potestate disputant, et juventuti transdunt

“Natio est omnis Gallorum admodum dedita religionibus; atque ob eam causam, qui sunt affecti gravioribus morbis, quique in præliis periculisque versantur, aut pro victimis homines immolant, aut se immolatos vovent, administrisque ad ea sacrificia Druidibus utuntur; quod pro vitâ hominis nisi hominis vita reddatur, non posse aliter deorum immortalium numen placari, arbitrantur, publiceque ejusdem generis habent instituta sacrificia. Alii immani magnitudine simulacra habent; quorum contexta viminibus membra vivis hominibus complent: quibus succensis, circumventi flammâ exanimantur homines. Supplicia eorum qui in furto, aut in latrocinio, aut aliquâ noxâ sint comprehensi, gratiora diis immortalibus esse arbitrantur; sed, quum ejus generis copia deficiat, etiam ad innocentium supplicia descendunt.

“Deum maxime Mercurium colunt: hujus sunt plurima simulacra: hunc omnium inventorem artium ferunt: hunc viarum atque itinerum ducem, hunc ad quæstus pecuniæ mercaturasque habere vim maximam, arbitrantur. Post hunc Apollinem et Martem et Jovem et Minervam. De his eandem fere, quam reliquæ gentes, habent opinionem; Apollinem morbos depellere, Minervam operum atque artificiorum initia tradere; Jovem, imperium cœlestium tenere; Martem bella regere. Huic quum prælio dimicare constituerunt, ea quæ bello ceperint, plerumque devovent. Quæ superaverint, animalia capta immolant; reliquas res in unum locum conferunt. Multis in civitatibus harum rerum extructos tumulos locis consecratis conspiciari licet. Neque sæpe accidit, ut, neglectâ quispiam religione, aut capta apud se occultare, aut posita tollere auderet; gravissimumque ei rei supplicium cum cruciatu constitutum est.

“Galli se omnes ab Dite patre prognatos prædicant; idque ex Druidibus proditum dicunt. Ob eam causam spatia omnis temporis, non numero dierum, sed noctium finiunt; dies natales, et mensium, et annorum initia sic observant, ut noctem dies subsequatur. In reliquis vitæ institutis hoc fere ab reliquis differunt, quod suos liberos, nisi quum adoleverint, ut munus militiæ sustinere possint, palam ad se adire non patiuntur; filiumque puerili ætate in publico, in conspectu patris adistere, turpe ducunt.....

“Funera sunt pro cultu Gallorum magnifica et sumptuosa; omniaque, quæ vivis cordi fuisse arbitrantur, in ignem inferunt, etiam animalia; ac paullo supra hanc memoriam servi et clientes, quos ab iis dilectos esse constabat, justis funeribus confectis, una cremabantur.”

Cicero left the field open to his respected imperial friend and cared not to expatiate upon barbarian customs. He just mentions Divitiacus the Druid. *De Divinatione*, i, 40-41.

“Omnino apud veteres, qui rerum potiebantur, iidem auguria tenebant.

“Eaque divinationum ratio ne in barbaris quidem gentibus neglecta

est: siquidem et in Gallia Druidæ sunt, e quibus ipse Divitiacum (Eduum, hospitem tuum, laudatoremque cognovi; qui et naturæ rationem, quam physiologiam Græci appellant, notam esse sibi profitebatur, et partim auguriis, partim conjecturâ, quæ essent futura, dicebat. Et in Persis augurantur et divinant Magi, qui congregantur in fano commentandi causa, atque inter se colloquendi; quod etiam idem vos quondam facere nonis solebatis. Nec quisquam rex Persarum potest esse, qui non ante Magorum disciplinam scientiamque perceperit."

Strabo, the archæological and historical geographer of the Augustan age, is far too short in his account to satisfy our curiosity and fully to confirm the description given by Cæsar. I may mention an argument on the word *ovateis*, seers or augurs, as applied by him to the class assisting at the sacrifices and versed in natural philosophy. The scholiast of Ammianus Marcellinus renders the word Euhages, by which they are named by this latter author as equivalent to *εὐαγείς quasi ἁγιοί* "holy," and seems to think the word in Strabo may be a corruption of *εὐαγείς* by an error of the copyist. It seems more natural, however, to take *ovateis* as merely the Greek form of Vates, an augur or seer. Strabo, *Geograph. Gallia*, lib. iv, says:

"Amongst all (the Celts) are usually three classes of persons held in honour in different ways, the Bards, the Seers, and the Druids. The Bards are the musicians and poets; the Seers those who perform the sacred rites and the naturalists; the Druids dedicate themselves to physiology and ethical philosophy, and are considered the most holy, and on this account their judgments are believed in both when these are given privately as well as when collectively; so that they were in the habit of compromising wars in the first instance and stopping them when the men were about to be drawn up in line of battle; and trials for murder were specially handed over to them for adjudication, and the verdict given by them was considered the verdict of the country. Both they and others say that souls are incorruptible, and that fire and water will hereafter get the mastery over the world. And in place of the simple and the high-minded the obscure is preferred and the acting under false pretences, and the love of display. And they carry torques of gold upon their necks, and bracelets upon their arms and wrists, and those who are held in esteem have bright coloured vestments embroidered with gold.

"And the Romans made them leave off these customs and the practice of sacrifices and prophecies repulsive to our customs, for after striking a man with a sword on the back when he had been dragged down, they prophecied from the convulsions of the body. And no sacrifices were performed without Druids, and other forms of human sacrifices are mentioned, for they shot at some with arrows and crucified them in their temples; and preparing a colossus of straw and throwing on to it wood, fattened cattle, and all kinds of wild animals and men, they made a burnt offering.

“Concerning Ceres and Proserpine the accounts are more reliable, for they say there is an island near Britain in which sacred rites are performed, similar to those in Samothrace in honour of Ceres and Proserpine.”

Diodorus Siculus, the learned and travelled author of the *Βιβλιοθηκη*, a perfect library of history in forty books, of which, however, more than one half have perished, has given an interesting account of the three educated classes among the Gauls, the Bards, the Druids, and Seers. It has pleased him to show how mind becomes obedient to superior wisdom, and how even Mars bows down before the muses, but he adds little to what Strabo has already told us. He calls the Druids *Σαρωνίδαι*, “*Saronitæ*.”

Great is the power of language, sometimes even of a single word to stamp an idea upon history; by taking for granted that the name of Druid is derived from *Δρυς*, an oak, we have been led to associate Druids so completely with oaks, that by a confusion of ideas this tree seems almost to represent their religion and their philosophy. So far from this being correct it seems very doubtful whether the name Druid even was derived from *Δρυς*. The Gothic or Saxon word *dryhter*, lord or ruler, or the Celtic *Dernidhon*, very wise, as if from *Dre* and *Witten* seem quite as probable derivations. The Druids and nobles were the two classes mentioned by Cæsar as ruling over the Celts. Then it is to be noted that our principal authorities for Druid history make no mention whatever of the oak in connection with the Druids; neither Cæsar, Cicero, Strabo, Diodorus, nor Mela speak of an oak. Lucan, the poet, just mentions *robur* (the oak) but at the same time brings in the *taxus* (beech) when describing the sacred groves. Tacitus, Suetonius, and Ammianus are equally silent on the subject. Pliny, the naturalist, then is the great authority for the oak, but he chiefly refers to the ceremonies practised in gathering the mistletoe which is found on other trees as well as the oak. Oaks and Dryads were certainly associated together by the poets, but these mythical beings must not be confused with the learned priests in question, because Maximus Tyrius two hundred years before Cæsar had told us the reverence which the Celts had for the oak.

*Κελτοὶ σεβουσι μὲν Δία, ἄγαλμα δὲ
Διὸς Κελτικὸν ὑψηλὴ ἕρως.* (Dissert.)

The Celts, indeed, worship Jupiter; but the Celtic image of Jupiter is a lofty oak.

"There are among them composers of melodies who are called bards, and these singing on instruments like lyres, hymn the praises of some, and speak ill of others, and some of the philosophers are theologians, held in special honour, whom they call Saronidæ. They make use also of prophets, considering them worthy of high honour; and these by inspection of omens and holy sacrifices prophecy future events and keep the masses in subjection; when weighty matters are under consideration especially they hold a paradox and a fraud to be legal; for throwing a man down they smite him with a sword in the part above the diaphragm, and when the wounded man falls under the stroke, from the quivering of the limbs and the flow of the blood they judge of the future. By reason of ancient and long continued experience they have been trusted in these matters; and it is the custom to offer no sacrifice without a philosopher, for it is considered that through the intervention of those practised in the knowledge of the divine nature, and as if speaking the same (divine) language thank-offerings should be brought to the gods and through them it is held that good things should be prayed for, and not only in affairs of peace but in wars much faith is put in them, and in the musical bards, not only by friends but also by enemies, and often in their battle array when the lines of soldiers are approaching each other with swords crossed and lances thrown, these men coming into the midst make the soldiers cease fighting as if separating some wild animals; thus even amongst the wildest barbarians mind yields to wisdom, and Mars pays respect to the muses."—*Diodorus Siculus*, lib. v.

Pomponius Mela writes as follows in the reign of Claudius, when Druidism appears to have attracted the attention of the Roman world, to judge by the action taken by the emperor for its suppression. (*De Situ Orbis*, lib. ii, c. ii.)

"Una gens Thraces habitant, aliis aliisque præditi et nominibus et moribus. Quidam feri sunt et ad mortem paratissimi Getæ utique. Id varia opinio perficit. Alii redituras putant animas obeuntium: alii etsi non redeant, non extinguî tamen, sed ad beatiora transire: alii emori quidem, sed id melius esse quam vivere. Itaque lugentur apud quosdam puerperia, natiq[ue] deflentur: funera contra festa sunt et veluti sacra, cantu lusque celebrantur. Ne feminis quidem segnis est animus. Super mortuorum virorum corpora interfici simulque sepeliri, votum eximium habent; et quia plures simul singulis nuptæ sunt, cujus id sit decus, apud judicatu[rum] magno certamine affectant. Moribus datur estque maxime lætum, cum in hoc contenditur, vincere."

Again he says:

"Gentes superbæ, superstitiosæ, aliquando etiam immanes adeo, ut hominem optimam et gratissimam Deis victimam cæderent. Manent vestigia feritatis jam abolitæ, atque ut ab ultimis cædibus temperant, ita nihilominus, ubi devotos altaribus admovere delibant. Habent tamen et facundiam suam, magistrosque sapientiæ Druidas. Hi terræ mundique magnitudinem et formam, motus cœli ac siderum, et quid Dii velint, scire profitentur. Docent multa nobilissimos gentis clam et din, vicens annis aut in specu, aut in abditis saltibus. Unum ex his, quæ præcipiunt, in vulgus effluxit, videlicet ut forent ad bella

meliores, æternas esse animas, vitamque alteram ad manes.¹ Itaque cum mortuis cremant, ac defodiunt apta viventibus. Olim negotiorum ratio et exactio crediti deferrebat ad inferos; erantque qui se in rogos snorum, velut unà victuri, libenter immitterent."—*De Gallis*, lib. iii, c. ii.

Lucan, the conservative poet, addresses the Druids in characteristic strains. The Greeks might have called this William Pitt of aristocratic Rome "*Ce pur Romain*", if they had spoken modern French. (*Pharsalia*, i, 450.)

"Et vos barbaricos ritus, moremque sinistram
Sacrorum, Druidæ, positis repetistis ab armis.
Solis nosse Deos et cœli numina vobis,
Aut solis nescire datum: nemora alta remotis
Incolitis lucis. Vobis auctoribus, umbræ
Non tacitas Erebi sedes, Ditisque profundi
Pallida regna petunt; regit idem spiritus artus
Orbe alio; longæ (canitis si cognita) vitæ
Mors media est. Certe populi, quos despicit aretos,
Felices errore suo, quos, ille timorum
Maximus, haud urget leti metus. Inde ruendi
In ferrum mens prona viris, animæque capaces
Mortis; et ignavum redituræ parcere vitæ."

And again, book iii, l. 399 etc.:

"Lucus erat longo nunquam violatus ab ævo,
Obscurum cingens connexis æra ramis,
Et gelidas alte submotis solibus umbras.
Hunc non ruricolæ Panes, nemorumque potentes
Silvani, Nymphæque tenent; sed barbara ritu
Sacra Deûm, structæ (diris altaribus) aræ;
Omnis et humanis lustrata cruroribus arbor,
Siqua fidem meruit superos mirata vetustas,
Illis et volucres metuunt insistere ramis,
Et lustris recubare feræ; nec ventus in illas
Incubuit silvas, excussa que nubibus atris
Fulgura; non ullis frondem præbentibus auris,
Arboribus suis horror inest; tum plurima nigris
Fontibus unda cadit, simulacraque mœsta Deorum
Arte carent, cœsisque extant informia truncis,
Ipse situs, putrique facit jam robore pallor
Attonitos: non vulgatis sacrata figuris
Numina sic metuunt, tantum terroribus addit,
Quos timeant non nosse Deos. Jam fama ferebat,
Sæpe cavas motu terræ mugire cavernas
Et procumbentes iterum consurgere taxos
Et non ardentis fulgere incendia silvæ,
Roboraque amplexos circumfluxisse dracones.

¹ This is confirmed by a passage in Valerius Maximus, lib. ii, c. 6: "Vetus ille nos Gallorum occurrit quos memoriæ proditum est, pecunias mutuas quæ his apud inferos redderentur, dare solitos quia persuasum habuerunt, animas hominum immortales esse."

Non illum cultu populi propiore frequentant,
Sed cessâre Deis. Medio cum Phœbus in axe est,
Aut cœlum nox atra tenet, pavet ipse sacerdos
Accessus, dominumque timet deprendere luci."

Pliny, the naturalist and philosopher, writing from his quiet abode on the shores of Lake Como, could write with wonder at the extent of the influence of Druidism over a great part of the world, and even over the King of kings in Persia; but he could account for the fact by the superstitious anxiety of mankind to be informed of their condition and prospects by divine communications from above, while he at the same time congratulated his countrymen upon having abolished rites which could sanction the sacrifice of a man's life, and the eating of his body afterwards. But though Pliny was a philosopher of the closet, he could take the command of the fleet at Misenum; and was one of the early martyrs of science when, to take a nearer view of the great eruption of Mount Vesuvius, he was overwhelmed in that volcanic shower which entombed two whole cities with their inhabitants.

C. Plinii Secundi *Nat. Hist.*, xvi, 95.—"Non est omittenda in eâ re et Galliarum admiratio. Nihil habent Druidæ (ita suos appellant magos) visco et arbore, in qua gignatur (si modo sit robur) sacratius. Jam per se roborum eligunt lucos, nec ulla sacra sine eâ fronde faciunt, ut inde appellati quoque interpretatione Græcâ possint Druidæ videri. Enimvero quicquid annascatur illis, e cœlo missum putant, signumque esse electæ ab ipso Deo arboris. Est autem id rarum admodum inventu, et repertum magnâ religione petitur: et ante omnia sextâ lunâ, quæ principia mensium annorumque his facit, et sæculi post tricesimum annum, quia jam virium abunde habeat, nec sit sui dimidia. Omnia sanantem appellantes suo vocabulo, sacrificiis epulisque rite sub arbore comparatis, duos admovent candidi coloris tauros, quorum cornua tunc primum vinciantur. Sacerdos candidâ veste cultus arborem scandit: falce aurâ demetit: candido id excipitur sago. Tum deinde victimas immolant, precantes ut suum donum Deus prosperum faciat his quibus dederit. Fecunditatem eo poto dari cuicumque animalium sterili arbitrantur: contra venena omnia esse remedio. Tanta gentium in rebus frivolis plerumque religio est."

xxiv, 6.—"Viscum e robore præcipuum diximus haberi, et quo conficeretur modo. . . . Quidam id religione efficacius fieri putant, primâ lunâ collectum e robore sine ferro. Si terram non attigit comitialibus mederi."

62.—"Similis herbæ huic sabrinæ est selago appellata. Legitur sine ferro dextrâ manu per tunicam, qua sinistrâ exiit velut a furante, candidâ veste vestito, pureque lotis nudis pedibus, sacro facto priusquam legatur, pane vinoque. Fertur in mappâ novâ. Hanc contra omnem perniciem habendam prodidere Druidæ Gallorum, et contra omnia oculorum vitia fenum ejus prodesse."



63.—“Idem samolom herbam nominavere nascentem in humidis: et hanc sinistrâ mann legi a jejunis contra morbos suum boumque, nec respicere legentem: nec alibi quam in canali, deponere, ibique conterere poturis.”

xxix, 12.—“Præterea est ovorum genus in magnâ Galliarum famâ, omissum Græcis. Angues innumeri æstate convoluti salivis faucium corporumque spumis artifice complexu glomerantur, anguinum appellatur. Druidæ sibilis id dicunt in sublime jactari, sagoque oportere intercipi, ne tellurem attingat. Profugere raptorem equo: serpentes enim insequi, donec arceantur amnis alicujus interventu. Experimentum ejus esse, si contra aquas fluitet vel auro vinctum. Atque, ut est majorum solertia occultandis fraudibus sagax, certâ lunâ capiendum censent, tanquam congruere operationem eam serpentium, humani sit arbitrii. Vidi equidem id ovum mali orbiculati modici magnitudine, crustâ cartilaginis, velut acetabulis brachiorum polypi crebris, insigne Druidis.

xxx.—“Auctoritatem ei (sc. arti magicæ) maximam fuisse nemo miretur, quandoquidem sola artium tres alias imperiosissimas humanæ mentis complexa in unam se redegit. Natam primum e medicinâ nemo dubitat, ac specie salutari irrepsisse velut altiolem sanctioremque medicinam: ita blandissimis desideratissimisque promissis addidisse vires religionis, ad quas maxime etiamnum caligat humanum genus. Atque ut hoc quoque suggesserit, miscuisse artes mathematicas, nullo non avido futura de sese sciendi, atque ea e cœlo verissime peti credente. Ita possessis hominum sensibus triplici vinculo, in tantum fastigii adolevit, ut hodieque etiam in magnâ parte gentium prævaleat, et in Oriente regum regibus imperet.”

2.—“Sine dubio illic orta in Perside a Zoroastre, ut inter auctores convenit. Sed unus hic fuerit, an postea et alius, non satis constat.”

4.—“Gallias utique possedit, et quidem ad nostram memoriam. Namque Tiberii Cæsaris principatus sustulit Druidas eorum, et hoc genus vatium medicorumque. Sed quid ego hæc commemorem in arte oceanum quoque transgressa, et ad naturæ inane pervecta? Britannia hodieque eam attonite celebrat tantis cærimoniis, ut deditisse Persis videri possit. Adeo ista toto mundo consensere, quanquam discordi et sibi ignoto. Nec satis æstimari potest, quantum Romanis debeatur, qui sustulere monstra, in quibus hominem occidere religiosissimum erat, mandî vero etiam saluberrimum.”

5.—“Ut narravit Osthanes, species ejus plures sunt. Namque et aquâ et sphaeris, et aere, et stellis, et lucernis ac pelvibus, securibusque, et multis aliis modis divina promittit: præterea umbrarum, Inferorumque colloquia: quæ omnia ætate nostrâ princeps Nero vana falsaque comperit: quippe non citharæ tragicique cantus libido illi major fuit, fortunâ rerum humanarum summa gestiente in profundis animi vitiis.”

Tacitus, the polished historian of the times, when his father-in-law Vespasian, as Emperor of Rome, ruled the Britain he had been the means of subduing in person, must be read by us with more than ordinary interest. The second passage quoted below from his work in which he refers to the Druids, is illustrative also of the superstitious fear existing in Rome of an invasion by the many nations who

surrounded and threatened the wide frontier of the empire. The first passage relates to the invasion and subjection of Anglesey, the stronghold of the Druids. Female Druids have also been incidentally mentioned elsewhere as practising the arts of divination. (*Annal.* xiv, 30.)

“Stabat pro littore diversa acies, densa armis virisque, intercurrentibus feminis in modum Furiarum, quæ veste ferali, crinibus dejectis, faces præferebant. Druidæque circum, preces diras, sublati ad cælum manibus, fundentes, novitate aspectus perculere milites; ut quasi hærentibus membris, immobile corpus vulneribus præberent. Dein, cohortationibus ducis, et se ipsi stimulantibus ne muliebri et fanaticum agmen pavescerent, inferiunt signa sternuntque obvios, et igni suo involvunt. Præsidium posthac impositum victis, exeisque luci, sævis superstitionibus sacri, nam cruore captivo adolere aras et hominum fibris consulere deos fas habebant.”

Histor., iv, 54.—“Vulgato rumore a Sarmatis Dacisque Mæcica ac Pannonica hiberna circumsederi: paria de Britannia fingebantur. Sed nihil æque, quam incendium Capitoli, ut finem imperio adesse crederent, impulerat. Captam olim a Gallis urbem; sed integrâ Jovis sede, mansisse imperium. Fatali nunc igne, signum cælestis iræ datum, et possessionem rerum humanarum Transalpinis gentibus portendi superstitione vanâ Druidæ caneant.”

The secretary of Hadrian and biographer of the Cæsars, Caius Suetonius Tranquillus, tells us only of the extinction of the Druids. He writes their name *Dryudes*, and in an old edition of Pliny it is so written. Ammianus Marcellinus writes it *Drysidæ*, and Aurelius Victor *Drysudæ*. (Suetonius in *vita Claudii Cæs.*, lib. v.)

“Dryndarum religionem apud Gallos diræ immanitatis, et tantum civibus sub Augusto interdictam, penitus [Claudius] abolevit.”

Ammianus Marcellinus, in the reigns of Constantius and Julian, attended the latter emperor in his campaign against the Persians, and was present at Antioch in A.D. 371. He gives the following information in speaking of the early occupiers of Gaul, xv, 9.

“Alii Dorienses, antiquiorem sequutos Herculem, Oceani locos, inhabitasse confines. Drysidæ memorant revera fuisse populi partem indigenam; sed alios quoque ab insulis extimis confluisse et tractibus transrhenanis, crebritate bellorum et alluvione fervidi maris sedibus suis expulsos.

“Per hæc loca hominibus paulatim exultis, viguere studia laudabilium doctinarum inchoata per Bardos et Euhages et Druidas. Et Bardi quidem fortia virorum illustrium facta heroicis composita versibus cum dulcibus lyræ modulis cantitarunt; Euhages vero scrutantes seriem et sublimia naturæ pandere conebantur. Inter hos Druidæ

ingeniis celsiores, ut auctoritas Pythagoræ decrevit, sodalieiis adstrieti consortiis, quæstionibus occultarum rerum altorumque erecti sunt, et despectantes humana pronuntiarunt animos immortales."

I have now cited the authors in chronological order, who during a period of four hundred years from Cæsar to Ammianus Marcellinus have given us some account of the Druidical religion and priesthood, but I have not quoted every author who may merely have mentioned the name of Druid. The whole of those quoted may have drawn their information in a great measure from Cæsar's account, as his authority as an accurate and experienced writer was great with the ancient authors.¹

Aurelius Victor (*De Cæsaribus*, iv, 2) refers to Druidism as an extinct superstition, but one of celebrity in its day. He says: "Denique bonis auctoribus compressa per eum (Claudium) vitia, ac per Galliam Drysudarum famosæ superstitiones."

The accounts referred to applied chiefly to Gaul, and it was in Gaul where the Romans laboured hard to extinguish the religion with the nationality of the tribes; the old Celtic names even of their towns were altered, but in Britain the religion of the natives was probably not much regarded when the Romans had established their military organisation and fortifications through the country. The creed and practices of the Druids must then have continued in full force in the outlying countries of Scotland, Ireland, and part of Wales, but the progress and duration of Druidism must be sought for in other sources of evidence than such as the Roman authors can supply. Traces of it must be looked for in traditionary customs, names of places, stone memorials, and any incidental allusion to it among the written documents of France or of the northern nations; but we must be very careful to treat the subject chronologically and not to confound either the works or the customs of races separated from each other in time by hundreds and even thousands of years.

¹ Notwithstanding Pollio's somewhat sharp criticism on Cæsar's *Commentaries*, which, he says, were "parum diligenter, parumque integrâ veritate compositos, quum Cæsar pleraque et quæ per alios erant gesta temere crediderit, et quæ per se, vel consulto, vel etiam memoriâ lapsus, perperam ediderit." (C. Suetonii *C. J. Cæsar*, lvi.)



THE TOWN AND OLD PARISH CHURCH OF SHEFFIELD.

BY THE REV. ALFRED GATTY, D.D., VICAR OF ECCLESFIELD
AND SUBDEAN OF YORK.

A LEARNED society, such as this which I am about to address, might fairly look for a deeply archæological treatment of the subject chosen, of which indeed it is highly susceptible ; but I have reckoned that the members, at the close of a studious day, and in the presence of ladies and a general audience, would be satisfied if I take a somewhat popular survey of the ground to be traversed, and so allow Apollo's bow to remain unstrung.

The town of Sheffield is peculiarly interesting from the double fact that its history includes times and personages teeming with romantic incident ; whilst there is the second era of long and laborious effort in the workshop, terminating at last in a brilliant success.

There can be no doubt of a Roman occupation of the neighbourhood ; their earthworks, solid as the natural hills, still attest the former presence of that vigorous people ; but I scarcely think that the term *Campo Lane* gives countenance to the tradition that there was a Roman camp on the site of the old churchyard. If the derivation be Latin, the name would rather refer to the *field* in which de Lovetot placed his church ; and where trees may have been *felled* to give room for the structure. However, in several parts of the town pots of Roman coins have been dug up, which testify that they were secreted for some purpose, and possibly by the Roman soldier who intended to exhume them again. It is also said that urns, with burnt ashes, have been discovered here, and if so, we have indubitable traces of the Roman.

One interesting point, about which some obscurity continues to hang, is the date when Sheffield became the capital of Hallamshire, by having the residence of the lord paramount within its precincts. On this point the entry in Domesday survey is so brief and general that it leaves only conjecture as to its meaning, inasmuch as no other historical authorities of the same date allude to the presence of

Earl Waltheof in Hallamshire. He was Earl of Northampton and Huntingdon at the time of the conquest, also Earl of Northumberland, in right of his mother Elfreda, whose ancestors had held that earldom, and he was also Lord of Hallamshire, or at least he was one of three Saxon lords, who owned the four manors which now form the parish of Sheffield.

In Hallam, says the survey, was the *aula*, or mansion of Waltheof. Whether this was at Sheffield, as being demesne land, inland of Hallam, as it is described ; or whether the hall of the earl stood somewhere in Rivelin cannot be decidedly said ; but it may be questioned whether he ever personally resided here at all. Why not at Northampton ? which I have seen spoken of as his residence. It seems scarcely credible that the chief's mansion in the district should have been placed on a spot so remote as Rivelin valley, which is difficult of access even now ; and when, too, Sheffield, protected by hills and where the rivers are confluent, claimed at once to be the site of the great lord's home, whenever he became resident.

The life of Waltheof is only imperfectly known. Who can even tell whether he fought against the conqueror at Hastings ? We learn that he submitted at the conquest and was taken to Normandy as a hostage by the king in December 1067. Did he settle down in Hallamshire after his return ? who can tell ? We only know that he rebelled, and joined Atheling and the fugitives from Scotland, when they came back in the summer of 1069, with Danish allies, to expel the Normans from the north country ; and that in the second attack upon York, which they took, Waltheof was the great hero in the fight.

Then followed the dreadful vengeance of the king, who made a waste of all Yorkshire and Durham by fire and sword, and the land in Hallamshire lost five-sixths of its previous value. But Waltheof appeared in person before the conqueror, and was again pardoned, and was raised to higher honours than he had ever before enjoyed. Probably it was in 1070 that he was married to Judith, the king's niece, all Hallamshire was then given to him, and in 1072 the government of Northumberland, a most important trust, was placed in his charge when Gospatric was deprived.¹

¹ Siward, Waltheof's father, died at York in 1056-57, when his son was

That the conqueror watched him and kept him about his person, as opportunity offered, there can, I think, be little doubt; and so it would happen that he became intimate with those who formed the king's court, and had his confidence. Hence his implication in the treachery of Earls Ralph and Roger, and his hurrying over to Normandy to confess once more his fault to his master. Though seemingly pardoned again, his wife, the Countess Judith, urged her royal uncle against him, and he was beheaded at Winchester on May 31, 1076.

I have tried to identify this remarkable man with a residence in Hallamshire, but my present impression is, that his personal abode here is doubtful. He had other property before the conquest better adapted for the habitation of a great nobleman. After his submission he was taken to Normandy by the king, and soon after his return he was in rebellion. The harrying and waste which followed this outbreak must have made these parts uninhabitable; and when Waltheof rose, after being pardoned, under the patronage of the conqueror to be almost next to him in influence and rank, he would not be likely to make his home, with the Countess Judith as his wife, in the depths of Hallam.

Is it not possible that the *aula* of Domesday may have been little more than the *aula baronis* of later times; the place at which the representative of the owner settled all matters connected with the property; that the great dignity of the last English nobleman and his unique death (for William does not appear to have punished any other conspirator by judicial death) may have caused its mention in the Survey; and that our great local historian, Mr. Hunter, with involuntary partiality for his own birthplace, may have given to the term *aula* rather more definite meaning than it was intended to express? I offer this conjecture with submission to those who are better informed.

From the time of the de Lovetots Sheffield has been the acknowledged capital, and what they did at once for the town and district shows what a desolate place it was when they came to reside. Their castle was built in the angle which is formed by the junction of the river Don with the

declared to be "too young to govern". The earldom of Northumberland was then given to Tosti, Harold's brother, who was slain in 1066, at the battle of Stamford Bridge, when Gospatric succeeded to the earldom.

Sheaf ; and their piety and beneficence were soon displayed with a zeal becoming the residential proprietors. They founded the parish church of Sheffield, and charged its services on their own Priory of Worksop ; they built a bridge over the Don, the Lady's Bridge ; they erected a hospital on Spital Hill, and a mill for the use of their tenantry outside the castle walls ; and I am persuaded that what is still called "The Town Mill," at Millsands, which used to be turned by the waters of a goit cut from the river, stands on the very site of the original mill of de Lovetot. In three generations this amiable family ended in an heiress, who married a Crusader, Gerard Furnival.

A different character appertains to this succeeding race. The Furnivals were not quiet and domestic, building church and hospital, mill and bridge, for the use of their dependents as their predecessors had done ; but they were engaged in war, both at home and abroad, and one of them at least was slain in battle.

Thomas de Furnival rebuilt the castle after it was destroyed in the wars of the barons against the king ; and his successor, of the same name, was a great benefactor to the town. He granted lands to his free tenants, released them from vassalage, and made them owners of property ; and both the church, burgess and town trusts are the offspring of his bounty at the present day. This family also ended in an heiress, who married the illustrious John Talbot, the founder of the Shrewsbury peerage. Then came a line of nobility, who for wealth, station, and honour, were second to none in the kingdom, and the highest trusts were confided to them by the successive sovereigns in whose reigns they lived.

As is well known in connection with Sheffield manor, which was built by George, fourth Earl of Shrewsbury, in the reign of Henry VIII, this fine mansion was made for eighteen days the resting place of Cardinal Wolsey, when he was summoned by his royal master to London to answer for his pride and contumacy. There the earl entertained the broken prelate, until the Governor of the Tower arrived with a guard to conduct him on his way. There too, about forty years afterwards, was the unfortunate Queen Mary of Scotland occasionally taken by George, the sixth earl, when her apartments in the castle required cleaning, or the state

of her health needed change, during the fourteen years of her captivity at Sheffield. Nor can I, in naming this sad episode in the history of Sheffield, withhold the expression of my thanks (shared, I am sure, by every one here present) to our noble President for rescuing, as I believe, the very portion of the old mansion house from utter decay, in which the captive queen was detained in her occasional visits. The original doorway has been opened from behind a thick coating of plaster, and we have the narrow entrance exposed through which the prisoner had no sooner gone than the bottom step of the spiral staircase met her foot, and up this she had to climb to her apartment, which was some eighteen feet by thirteen in size. In the walls of this small chamber are the very nails yet fixed on which the tapestry of her own working was probably suspended; and the ceiling above, richly embossed with heraldic ornaments, is being carefully preserved in the state in which Mary knew it. The preservation of a relic so interesting to every intelligent person is a good work for which the town will feel deeply grateful to the Duke of Norfolk.

An heiress again ended the line of the Earls of Shrewsbury, and to the Lady Alethea Talbot's marriage with Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel, we owe the honour that we have his grace, the present lord of Hallamshire, presiding over this congress.

Lord Arundel was the most accomplished nobleman of his time, and whilst he was in possession of the estate the civil war broke out, and Sheffield Castle was held by the Royalists and underwent a siege. The incident of great interest in this event was that the governor's wife, Lady Savile, who for six months had been a widow, but remained in the Castle, owing to the disturbed state of the country, courageously exhorted the garrison to hold out, although she was herself on the point of becoming a mother. In consideration for her condition the defenders at length yielded; but honourable terms were granted by the conquerors. The castle was then razed to the ground; the manor house was soon afterwards dismantled, and henceforth the lord of Hallamshire resided elsewhere.

It is now of the Sheffield cutler that I would briefly speak, for he becomes the chief actor on the stage as the historic nobility pass away. Through all time the smith has been an im-

portant member of society. Never was King Saul in a greater strait than when it was said of his people, "Now there was no smith found in all the land of Israel." The Israelites had been subdued by the Philistines, who had taken from them the men who could forge swords and spears, and this rendered them powerless to release themselves from their enemy. Sheffield, throughout the middle ages, and afterwards, was a settlement of smiths. They made, no doubt, the common arms of the soldiery. For arrow-heads they were famous; but their crowning achievement was the whittle,—the common knife,—which served for every purpose except making pens, which few besides the clergy could use in those days. Chaucer could not have written, five hundred years ago, of the Sheffield whittle in the Cambridge miller's hose, if it had not been the instrument everywhere carried; nor would Lord Shrewsbury, in Queen Elizabeth's reign, have presented a set of Sheffield knives to Lord Burghley, and boasted that there was "fame thereof throughout the realm", unless the Sheffield cutler had been a first-rate craftsman. Still the extraordinary fact remains indisputable, that up to about the middle of the last century, the town of Sheffield continued to be a mere settlement of forgers and grinders of steel. The man with £100 a year was in the first grade of the local society; and the honest cutler retired from business, perhaps to cultivate a bit of land, when he had amassed a fortune of £500. The lord of the manor worked what coal was got, and at an earlier period he held the forges in his own hands by deputy. The restrictions imposed by the regulations of the Cutlers' Guild kept all down to one mean level. But in those simpler days, to ride in one's own carriage was not the Rubicon which had to be passed before gentility was attained; nor was a man measured by what he had, but by what he was. If respected, he was made churchwarden, or collector of the town burglary rents, or elected to the highest dignity of Master Cutler for the year; and I have a strong persuasion that, under the three-cornered hat and wig, broad-tailed coat, breeches, and buckled shoes, which formed the dress of the old cutler on Sundays, when he led his leather-breeched apprentices to the Parish Church, there was often as much honour, intelligence, and old-fashioned courtesy of manner, as will be found at the present time of more remunerative trade.

Prior to the Reformation these horny-handed burgesses had maintained their own three priests to assist the vicar; and the very fund which, from the time of Queen Mary, has supported three chaplains at the Parish Church, is, in great measure, a result of the pious gifts and legacies of the needy knife-grinders. Nor were they without education. There was a school at Sheffield before good Thomas Smith founded the Grammar School in 1604; and accounts show that, prior to this date, a poor scholar was helped to the University of Cambridge out of the purse of the Church Burgess Trust. Moreover, the stringent rules of the Cutlers' Company, which stifled competition, and inhibited the stranger from importing a little capital into the trade, were so careful to exclude that prime article in the pedler's pack, "a razor made to sell and not to cut"; the cutlers themselves were so scrupulously particular about the quality of their steel, and the fineness of the edge, that I almost wonder we do not find some of their genuine blades in use even at the present day. The life of the old cutler was hard and thrifty, for though an employer, he earned less money than the wages which are sometimes paid for labour now; but I am convinced, after a close study of the social history of Sheffield, that the existing generation may safely look back with pride on the integrity and respectability of their rude forefathers.

What *opportunity* will do for a locality like this, which abounds in coal and iron, with plenty of water, may be estimated from the fact that, instead of the cutler with his journeyman and two apprentices, we have a limited company employing 7,000 men and boys, and paying £8,000 a week in wages! This is the great commercial change which has been wrought in Sheffield by industry, perseverance, and sagacious venture, operating on local capabilities; and it has all been accomplished within a quarter of a century.

I turn now to the old Parish Church. In foundation it is old, but in fabric it is modern. The present exterior is, in great measure, a casing which is not a century old. It seems probable that William de Lovetot, the founder of Worksop Priory, and builder of the Priory Church, built also the Parish Church of Sheffield about 1103: at any rate his grandson, of the same name, gave the Church of Sheffield, with one-third of the tithe, to the monks of Worksop, whom he also charged with supplying the services; so that up to

the Reformation the vicars of Sheffield were *fratres*, or canons regular, of that religious house. It was dedicated to St. Peter, and was sometimes called the Church of St. Peter and St. Paul; but at the Reformation, objection being taken to the precedence which had been accorded to St. Peter, it commonly, for a time, went by the name of Holy Trinity.

The existing Priory Church at Worksop gives us the model of what was the style of building de Lovetot erected. Not a trace of this remains except a single stone which had been buried in the rubble wall of the tower, and in 1867 was exposed, when making a hole on the north side for admitting a dial of the new clock. This ancient relic retains the indented chevron moulding, which marks its age; and the form of it shows that it belonged to an arch of the original Norman tower. Very possibly the church perished with the castle, when John D'Eyville and his rebel followers burnt the town, and massacred many of the inhabitants; if so, and it was rebuilt by Thomas de Furnival about 1270, this may account for the early Decorated style of tracery in the windows at the east end, and in those of the tower, reproduced in the more modern repairs.

The church, besides the high altar, had altars in the two endowed chantries of the Blessed Virgin and St. Catherine; and in the Shrewsbury chapel there was an altar for a short while. They were all removed in 1560, but the rood loft and churchyard cross remained until 1570. The tower appears to be the oldest portion of the building, and may include some portion of what we assumed that Thomas de Furnival erected; the spire, which is crocketed like that of Rotherham Church, and well proportioned, is probably of the date of Archbishop Rotherham's church, the end of the fifteenth century. It may be inferred, from the prevalence of Perpendicular work in the nave, that considerable external rebuilding took place in Henry VII's reign, which was a great period of church restoration. Churchwardens' accounts show that there was a clock in 1559, and there was an organ at quite as early a date; this, however, was silenced by the Puritans during the Commonwealth, and the church remained without an organ until the beginning of the present century. Excluding the monument of George, fourth Earl of Shrewsbury and his wives, there is no furniture left

in the church of ante-reformation date, except the handsomely carved oaken sedilia of the three priests, who were supported by the inhabitants from a very early period to assist the vicar, and to whom the chaplains (in their turn about to be extinguished) succeeded, and have hitherto, since Queen Mary's reign, been paid by the church burgesses. The oldest bell, dated 1588, succeeded to the *sanc-tus* of the Roman church, and I hope it is still in existence. The peal was recast about 1752, and consisted of ten bells to which two have been recently added.

In 1703 the chancel was much injured by a storm and underwent complete and substantial repair at the cost of the lay rector, the lord of Hallamshire, when, no doubt, the Shrewsbury chapel would also undergo any necessary restoration. The building of this chapel first impaired the cruciform outline of the church, and when, in 1777, the vestry and burgesses' room were erected on the north side of the chancel, the cross shape of a mediæval church was effectually destroyed. In 1790 the south porch was removed, and four years afterwards the older masonry at the west end was taken down. But in 1800 a sweeping change was ordered. There had been so much patchwork going on internally as well as outside that the parishioners were incommodiously seated, the Archbishop's attention was drawn to the fact, and under a commission appointed by him the whole nave was rebuilt from the ground, the galleries were erected, and the floor was pewed, as we now see. The arches leading to the chancel were bricked up, but this great mistake was afterwards rectified.

It need hardly be added that church architecture was a lost science from the Reformation to, I may almost say, the time of Pugin, some thirty years ago. The parish churches had foolishly been considered to suffice for the growing population, or they had galleries erected in them, often to the complete destruction of their original symmetry and beauty. When the nave of Sheffield Church was rebuilt, the walls were heightened so that the clerestory windows no longer appear above the battlements, and in an architectural point of view it cannot be doubted that the edifice has grievously suffered. But the old parish church remains a solemn rectangular structure, impressive from its solidity and heaven-pointing spire, to be respected for its long past associations,

and loved for its present use ; but it is in reality no more the church of de Lovetot's foundation than were Sir John Cutler's stockings *silk* after they had been darned into *worsted*. Still "the earth is the Lord's," and from that consecrated and enclosed spot of ground, for nearly eight hundred years past, the prayers and praises of Christian worshippers have been ascending to the ear of our Almighty Father, and about two hundred and thirty generations of Sheffield families must have been buried around the parish church. Whilst, therefore, the very site of the castle has been obliterated, and not a structure remains within the actual town that can be said to bear the stamp of mediæval antiquity, let us be thankful that the house of God has been spared in revolutions and changes so vast as to have brought a new life and world upon Sheffield ; and let us accept the venerable pile as it stands, a bulwark and testimony of the continuous and unshaken faith of our forefathers in the unseen Ruler and Redeemer of mankind.

THE
PRIORY AND PARISH CHURCH OF WORKSOP
OR RADFORD, NOTTINGHAMSHIRE.

BY THE REV J. STACYE, M.A.

WHEN the members of the British Archæological Association visited Worksop, during their Congress at Sheffield in August 1873, a paper was read on the spot upon the Priory of that place. This, from the shortness of the time on that occasion at command, was necessarily of a rather cursory and superficial kind. As, however, it is desired that the subject shall appear in a more permanent form, it seems proper that the paper should be somewhat enlarged, and the history of the place more minutely detailed.

We learn, then, from the great survey of William the Conqueror, the *Domesday Book*, that before the Norman invasion one Elsi held Worksop, where he had three carucates of land rated to the tax ; the land being, however, sufficient for eight ploughs. Here, at the time of the survey, Roger de Busli had one carucate in demesne ; and twenty-

two sochmen held twelve bovates of the land ; and there were twenty-four villans and eight boars having twenty-two ploughs. There were seven acres of meadow, pasturable wood, two "leuæ" long and three "quarentins" broad. The value of the manor in the time of King Edward the Confessor was £8, at the time of the survey, £7.

We further learn, from what may be called the general preface to the survey of the county (also a part of *Domesday*), that this Elsi, Saxon proprietor of Worksop, was the son of Cuschin ; and that he was evidently a person of distinction, as is shown by the manorial rights which he held here, namely, "sac and soc, and toll and thean," together with the king's customs of 2*d.* on all pleas and fines within his manor.

It seems probable that he had a residence or hall at Worksop, though none is recorded in the survey ; for the manorial privileges with which he was invested may imply this ; and it is, moreover, observable that a considerable portion of the eastern side of the park here, as we learn from a survey of the estate made by John Harrison for the Earl of Arundel, the lord of the soil, in 1636, was called "*The Hall Closes*" or "*Old Hall Closes*"; and as we have no notice of any subsequent hall here, we may suppose that a Saxon hall stood somewhere in that neighbourhood,—not improbably near the head of the Market Place, where, in present memory, an old, dilapidated Moot Hall stood, which was, perhaps, the successor of Elsi's residence. The Conquest, however, as we have seen, made a change here as elsewhere, in the proprietorship of this manor, when Roger de Busli or Buili, one of the great followers and a connection of the Conqueror, became possessed of it together with many other manors in the county of Nottingham, besides those which he held elsewhere, and among them Sheffield and Hallam. The head of his fee was at first at Blyth : hence it was originally, as we find it in the early charter of this Priory, called the *honour of Blyth* ; but afterwards, when he had founded his Priory there, and given the lands at that place to his Monastery, he removed his residence to Tickhill, where he built a castle, his fee was designated the *honour of Tickhill* ; though for some time, even after the removal, it is observable that the original name was retained, and the Castle of Tickhill was at first called the Castle of Blyth (i. e.,



the Castle of the *honour*, not of the town of Blyth), a want of attention to which fact has caused some confusion and mistake.

It seems probable that Roger may have occasionally resided at Worksop, for it is a remarkable fact that of all his numerous manors in this county, a small portion of this is the only place that still retains his name. Allusion is here made to the meadows which lie to the left of the bridge at the entrance to the town from the north, which to this day bears the name of "The Buslings", *i. e.*, Busli's "ings" or meadows, or, as it is Latinised in the charters of the Priory to which they were given, "Buslini Prata." As regards the history of Roger de Busli, great and powerful person as he was, it is remarkable that we know very little. It seems probable that he did not take any very active part in public affairs, but rather owed his great fortune to his affinity to the Conqueror, and especially to the favour of the Queen, from whom he not only received the manor of Sandford, Devon, with his wife, but also an extensive donation of land at Clifford, Gloucestershire, which he conferred upon the Abbey of St. Peter, Gloucester. (See *Domesday, Mon. Angl.*, vol. i, p. 545.) Roger died about 1099, and was succeeded by a son, of whom we know even less. It is evident, however, that his possession of the property must have been of very short duration, for we find his estates soon fell into other hands.

As regards Worksop, we have clear evidence that about the beginning of the reign of Henry I (A.D. 1100), William de Lovetot had become its possessor, though not on the same footing as the De Buslis, namely as immediate tenants of the crown, but as subinfeudatory of the honour of Tickhill. Lovetot held many other manors in Nottinghamshire, in all of which he succeeded to one Roger, spoken of in *Domesday* as the "homo", or tenant, of De Busli; and this circumstance, when taken together with the way in which his wife is mentioned by him in his foundation-charter of Worksop Priory, which he is said to have founded "*concessionem et considerationem Emmæ uxoris*", as also the fact of her having in her widowhood endowed the Priory with considerable property both in this parish and in others of her husband's Nottinghamshire manors, certainly gives countenance to the conjecture of the great historian of the county,

Thoroton, that Lovetot obtained these Nottinghamshire manors by marriage with the daughter and heiress of De Busli's tenant. Mr. Hunter, indeed, is not inclined to admit this, for he observes justly that the Roger mentioned in *Domesday* as holding Worksop was not the tenant, but De Busli himself. Still it is by no means improbable that in the interval between the survey and Lovetot's coming into possession, the great lord may have granted this manor also to his "homo".

But besides these Nottinghamshire manors William de Lovetot became about the same time, or perhaps somewhat earlier, possessor of Sheffield and much other property in Hallamshire; and not only so, but also of several manors lying between Sheffield and Worksop, as Whiston with its dependence in Handsworth, Treeton, Ulley, Brampton, Aston, Todwick, and part of Wales. These latter, amounting to five knights' fees, he held of the honour of Hooton, as subinfeudatory of the Paganel, the successors of Richard de Surdeval, the tenant of Robert Earl of Mortain.

In Huntingdonshire, moreover, William de Lovetot held large estates, in which he succeeded one Eustachius, mentioned in *Domesday* as the *vicecomes* or sheriff of the county, but whose surname is not there given. Leland, Camden, and Tanner, however, call him *Lovetot*, and if so, there can be little doubt he was the first of that family settled in England, and probably the father of William de Lovetot. At Huntingdon Eustachius refounded a Priory, which shortly came under the patronage of William de Lovetot, to whom its confirmation charter by Henry I is addressed.

We will now proceed to consider William de Lovetot's connection with Worksop and one of its most important results, his foundation of the Priory there. This foundation is stated from the register of the House to have taken place in A.D. 1103, the third year of the reign of Henry I. But, as Mr. Hunter justly observes, the foundation *charter* of William de Lovetot could scarcely have been of so early a date, as he could not have had sons then of an age to give the consent which is then asserted.

It is to be observed, too, that this charter is addressed to T., Archbishop of York; now this could not be Thomas, the first of that name, for he died in A.D. 1100. It must,

therefore, have been either Thomas the second, or Thurston, the former of whom was elected archbishop in 1109, the latter in 1119. By Thurston, in conjunction with Alexander, Bishop of Lincoln, the confirmation charter of Henry I of Lovetot's foundation was certainly witnessed (see Thoroton); which places the date of that document between the years 1123-1139, when those two prelates were presiding over their sees together. The fact seems to be, as intimated by Thoroton, that de Lovetot first founded the Priory *verbally* in 1103, and afterwards confirmed his gifts, as he expresses it "per breve" by a written instrument, probably when his sons had attained an age to give their consent. Lovetot's foundation charter runs thus :—

"Notum sit T. Archiepiscopo Eboracensi et Archidiacono de Nottingham et omnibus Baronibus clericis ac laicis, Francis et Anglicis, totius Angliæ et de Nottinghamshira quod W. Lovetot concessione et consideratione uxoris suæ et filiorum suorum, concedit et confirmat per breve suum donum quod fecit Deo et sanctæ Ecclesiæ et Canonicis sancti Cuthberti de Wirkesop in perpetuam elemosinam. Imprimis totam Capellariam totius domus suæ, cum decimis et oblationibus : deinde, Ecclesiam de Wirkesop in quâ Canonici sunt, cum terris et decimis et omnibus rebus ad ecclesiam eandem pertinentibus, et vivarium et molendinum, quod est juxta Ecclesiam de Wirkesop, et pratum quod est juxta molendinum, et vivarium : et præterea omnem decimam denariorum de redditibus suis constitutis, tam in Normaniâ quam in Angliâ. In campo de Wirkesop unam carucatam terræ in Mnara, et pratum suum de Catela : et omnes ecclesias suas de dominio suo de Honore de Blida : scilicet ecclesiam de Gungelai, et ecclesiam de Missetona, et ecclesiam de Walcherghama, et ecclesiam de Normanton, et ecclesiam de Colestona, et ecclesiam de Wylgeby, et ecclesiam de Wyshou, et partem suam de ecclesiâ de Tyreswelle, cum omnibus terris, decimis et rebus ad præfatas ecclesias pertinentibus : Similiter et decimam de pannagio suo, et de melle, et de venatione, et de piscibus, et de volucribus, et de braseo, et de molendinis suis, et de omnibus rebus suis de quibus decima dari solet vel dari debet. Et vult et firmiter concedit, quod prædicti Canonici hæc omnia teneant benè et in pace, liberè et honorificè cum omnibus libertatibus, et liberis consuetudinibus, cum quibus ipse melius et liberior tenet. Testibus Egero sacerdote, Wulveto sacerdote, Ilberto scriptore, Rogero de Lincolnia, Edone dapifero, Erturo Præposito, Wigero de Sancti Albino, Cont. de Shefeld, Gilberto de Gaytef., Rogero de Sayendale."

We may gather from this charter that a parish church already existed at Worksop, which one might well infer from the considerable population which evidently existed there in the time of the *Domesday Survey*, though none is named in that document, such omission being by no means conclusive of its not being there. And in this church it

would seem Lovetot placed a body of regular canons, who would shortly after become subject to the rule of St. Augustine.

These, it is probable, were mostly drawn from the Priory of Huntingdon, of which he was also patron, at least such appears to have been the case with respect to the first prior of Worksop, who, as we learn from Leland (*Itin.*, vol. v, 103, Hearne's edit., 1769), was William de Huntingdon. We know little more with certainty of the history of William de Lovetot, except that he appears to have endowed with lands at Ecclesfield, near Sheffield, the Abbey of St. Wandrille, at Fontenelle, in Normady, the site of which was near to Lovetot, the cradle of his family. He was living in 5 Stephen, A.D. 1140, as appears from a Pipe Roll of that date, which records that he was then implicated respecting the farm of Blyth and certain other matters. He was buried in the church of the monastery, which he had founded, by the lowest step leading to the high altar, the usual position of a founder's tomb. This we learn from a rhyming chronicle of one Pigot, a brother of this house, who lived in the reign of Edward IV. This is preserved in the *Mon. Angl.* and gives us much information respecting the descent of the founder's family and their monuments, of which there was formerly a goodly array. His words are :

“Sir William dicest and was tumulate
In the said church, on the north side,
On the nederest gree, for his hye estate,
Tendyng to the hye Awter, and there doth abide.”

Sir William de Lovetot was succeeded in his Worksop and other Nottinghamshire estates, north of the Trent, as also in his Hallamshire manors, and those lying to the east of these latter, by his eldest son Richard, while the Huntingdonshire fees, which formed the “Barony of Lovetot,” and those in Notts to the south of the Trent, fell to his second son Nigel and his descendants. Richard confirmed the gifts of his father to Worksop or Radford Priory, as it was also called, adding his part of the Church of Claverburgh and “two bovats of land in Herthewick (Hardwick) at Utwar and in Worksop, the land which was Wulvet the priest's and Hugh his brother's; to wit, that between the way of Park and Impecroft, to make a holt for twigs (virgultum). He confirmed also his own proper gift which he

had made to the church after the death of his father, viz., the whole site of the town of Worksop near the church, as it is shut in by the great ditch unto the meadow of Bersbrigg, and without the ditch the seat of a mill, with one dwelling-house and the meadow of Buslin, which is between the holt of the church and the water. But on the other side of the water, towards the north, the meadow and land by the bound of Kilton, from the water into the way under the gallows towards the south, and by the crosses, which he himself and William his son erected with their own hands, unto the moor, that is, the miry and moist plain; the land also towards the south from the head of the causey beyond the plain, as it is girt by a ditch to the water. In Manton the mill and fish-pond, and all Sloswick."

He confirmed also the gift of his mother, Emma, which she gave, by his concession, to the Church of St. Cuthbert, viz., the mill of Bolum, of the demesne of Gringley, to purchase wine for the masses, together with the essart or clearing of Asaleya for oblations. In Shireoaks the mill, with one messuage, and in the same will one bovat of land which was Anry's, the son of Birxi, with its messuage, also property in Gringley, Hayton, Normanton, Tuxford, Car-Coleston, with the church there, etc. He also granted them common pasture in Worksop and pasture for their own swine in Rumwode, as well as for those of their tenants in Worksop and Sloswicke. He, moreover, granted that the same canons should have two wains going about his park of Worksop for dry wood, whatever they should find lying there, except green and timber (*viride et materie*). He confirmed also the land of Thorpe, of the gift of Walter de Hayer, and the grant of Roger his son. This deed of confirmation he made by the consent of his son William, who offered it together with him at the altar for the souls of his father and mother, for himself and his said son William, also for all his parents, as well living as dead. The witnesses to this charter were Robert de Mesnill and Robert his son, Leonius de Maleverer (rather "de Malnuers", Thoroton) and Michael his son, Henry de Lovetot, Robert de Sumerville and Robert his son, Ralph de Lovetot, Jordan de Revenell and Thomas his son, Ralph de Tortesmains, Fale de Traitona, Odo de Estone and Matthew his son, and Nigel, the son of Godard. (*Mon. Angl.*)

Cecilia, the wife of Richard de Lovetot, gave to this Priory the Church of Dinesley, in Herefordshire. It is not known when Richard died, he was, however, living in A.D. 1161. He was buried in the Church of Worksop beneath his father, as we learn from Pigot. "Sir Richard," says he

"Which beryed was beneth him under a white stone,
The left side of Thomas Nevill, and thereon gone."

He was succeeded by his son William, the last male heir of the elder branch of this house. On the day of his father's burial he gave and confirmed to God, St. Mary, and St. Cuthbert, and the Canons of Radeford the tithe of all his rents which he had or ever should have, and wheresoever on this side or beyond the sea (Thoroton ex Regist. de Worksop). He survived his father no great length of time, for Ralph Murdoe, the sheriff, 27th H. 2 (A.D. 1176), gave account of £42 12s. 10d. of the issues of his lands. He was buried at Worksop.

Richard left an only child, a daughter, named Matilda or Maud, who thus became heiress of the great inheritance of her father. She was only seven years old at the time of his death. She was given in marriage by King Richard I to a young Norman, named Gerard de Furnival, the son of one of that monarch's crusading companions, who had been with him at Acre. Thus the younger Furnival through her became possessed of, and transmitted to his posterity, the manor of Worksop, with the other great estates which had belonged to the elder branch of the House of Lovetot. It appears, however, that his title to the inheritance was contested by Nigellus de Lovetot, the representative of the male line of that family, for we learn from *Pipe*, 9 John, that Gerard de Furnival gave account at that time to the king of £1,000 and fifteen palfreys, for having peace of the lands which Nigellus de Lovetot claimed against him, and besides he quit-claimed to the king the town of Nieuport, and restored the charter which he had concerning the same town. (Thoroton.)

This Gerard, at the request of his wife, Matilda de Lovetot, granted to God and the Church of St. Mary, and St. Cuthbert of Radeford, and to the canons there, for the health of his soul and his said wife's soul, and of his ancestors and successors; pasture for forty cattle in the park of Worksop

every year from the close of Easter till the feast of St. Michael. He made other considerable gifts to the Priory, as lands in Shircoaks, also four marks out of his mill at Worksop, to maintain the wax lights in the church here ; he gave, moreover, in Worksop all the land which had belonged to Henry de Lovetot to find wax lights at the mass of the Virgin, which was yearly celebrated in this church, and also that which had belonged to Arnold, the fool, in the same town. These gifts and others were confirmed and increased by Matilda de Lovetot in her widowhood, and among them may be mentioned her confirmation of the gift of her ancestors of that portion of the Church of Sheffield which Ralph and William, the priests, held, viz., the third part of the tithes pertaining to the said church, with lands thereto belonging, also the oblations and offerings of the altar. She also gave one bovatc of land with its appurtenances at Bolaknol, in the field of Stan-nington (near Sheffield), and pasturage for forty cows, with their calves of three years old, in her forest of Riveling for ever.

Gerard de Furnival had attached himself to the cause of King John, after whose death he joined in one of the crusades, and died in Palestine A.D. 1219. His body was brought back and buried in Evrard, a small village between Dieppe and St. Valery in Normandy on his inheritance of Fournival (see Pigot). Maud de Lovetot survived her husband more than a quarter of a century, for we find her exercising manorial rights after the death of her son William, which took place in the year 1264, where he is spoken of in the Fine Rolls of that date as "nuper defunctus ;" and we learn from an entry in the *Fœdera* that he was living and with his brother released from prison, after the battle of Lewes, which took place on 13th May, 1264. It has been thought desirable to dwell for a moment on this point because it appears to have escaped the attention of the great historian of Hallamshire, Mr. Hunter, who places the death of this William de Furnival before 1259-60, having been misled, as it would seem, by a translator and abridger of Dodsworth. (See *Hallamshire*, p. 47, Gatty's edit.)

During her widowhood, Maud de Lovetot had great suits and controversies with Walter the prior and the Convent of Worksop. These, however, were happily terminated by

a charter of hers, in which she quit-claims to the Priory all suits whatsoever. (See *Mon. Angl.*) This great lady evidently attained to the extraordinary age of about ninety years, for, as we have seen, she was seven years old at the time of her father's death in 1176, and was living in 1264. It seems probable that she died shortly after this latter date, and it would seem, notwithstanding the disputes she had with them, in the odour of sanctity, with the brethren of the Priory, for she was buried with honour before the high altar of their church, as we learn from the chronicler Pigot, who says :

“ Good Molde, was beryed most principall
Above Sir Thomas Nevill, afore the hye autere :
For a good doer, most worthie of all
That indued this place, and her husband in fere,
To rehearse what she did, dyvers things sere,
As expressed is afore, it would take long space,
Bot in heven, therefore, we trust there is place.”

Gerard de Furnival and Maud had three sons, of whom the eldest, Thomas, following the example of his fathers, went to the crusades and was slain in Palestine, where he was also buried ; but his mother, being grieved that he should lie among infidels, desired his brother Gerard, who had attended him on his expedition and had brought back the tidings of his death, to return to the Holy Land and bring home his remains. This accordingly he did, and Thomas was buried here in Worksop Priory Church, as we learn from Pigot, who says :

“ Then tumulate here in Nottinghamshire,
At Wyrksoppe, the north side of this Mynster,
With his helme on his hede, will enquire
With precious stones sometyme that were set sere,
And a noble carbuncle on him doth he bere
On his hede, to see they may who so will,
Of my writing witness for to fulfill.”

The third brother was named William, who, being the youngest, was evidently the favourite with his mother. She endowed him with considerable property, as, for instance, with the manor of Whiston, near Sheffield, with the advowson of the church there, together with the homage and service of her tenants of the neighbouring manors of Treeton, Aston, and Todwick, on payment of a pound of cummin seed, on the octave of Easter yearly to her and her

heirs at Worksop, where it would hence appear was her residence. (See *Deed*, new edit., Hallamsh.) She also gave him property in Gungley on the Hill, Notts. William, together with his brother Gerard, were active partisans of Simon de Montford in the wars against Henry III, and were both taken prisoners, as we learn from Reshanger's chronicle (*Camden So. Pub.*, p. 124-5), at the battle of Northampton, April 5, 1264, when they were consigned to prison respectively in the castles of Windsor and Norwich. From this captivity they were released, after the battle of Lewes, in the same year, when Henry and his gallant son Edward fell into the hands of de Montford. William de Furnival, as before intimated, did not long survive his release; but of the time of the death of his brother Gerard we have no information. They were, however, both buried at Worksop, the memory of the former being specially recorded with reverence by Pigot who says :

“Sir Gerard on the south side, under a marbill stone,
 Next St. Peter's Chappell, is buryed also ;
 And Sir William ther brother, both flesh and bone,
 In our Lady Chappell was buryed, even tho'
 In the midst of the Chappell, good Mold a little fro',
 Wyfe to first Sir John Furnivall that was,¹
 Which foresaid Sir Will. was greatly endued with grace,
 For five candells perpetuall in that Chappell
 He ordered to brynne afore our Lady.
 And mych more he ordeyned, as we herd tell,
 As his auncestrie afore had done worthily.
 And here lyeth tumulate, full worshipfull,
 All in freestone, and on him is write
 These verses here that thus are indite.”

“Me memorans palle : simili cursas quia calle ;
 De Fournivalle pro Willelmo rogo psalle.”

These words, written in Longobardic characters, at the time of Gough's visiting Worksop appeared round the margin of a stone which lay then before the door of the schoolmaster's house. When last heard of, the slab formed the *sinkstone* of a neighbouring house. “To what base uses we may return, Horatio !”

It seems unnecessary to follow step by step the descent of the house of Furnival, since, as far as we are aware, they appear not to have been, to any great extent, benefactors

¹ Sir John Talbot, first Lord Furnival of that family.

to the Priory here. We may make mention, however, of Thomas surnamed "the Hasty." He was a warrior of distinction, and was present at the battle of Cressy. He died in 1366, without issue, and was buried on the north side of the church of this Priory, to which he had, as we learn from Pigot, been a considerable benefactor, but in what way he does not specify. His words are :

"Thomas, sterne and right hasty man,
The Hasty Fournivall; but he was good founder
To the place of Wyrksoppe in his time than :
Which aforesaid Thomas on the north side is layde
In a tomb of alabaster above the hye quere."

It is probable that one of the remaining fragments of monumental effigies still lying in the church represents this Thomas.

His brother William, the last male heir of his house, who died April 12, 1383, was buried opposite to him, on the south side of the same quire. (Pigot.) He left an only daughter and heiress, Joan, who was married to Sir Thomas Nevil, brother to Ralph Earl of Westmoreland. This Thomas was a man of great eminence. He embraced the cause of Bolingbroke, and was employed by him when king in several offices of great responsibility and trust. He seems to have been no less confided in by the representatives of the people, for when Parliament granted to Henry IV, in the fifth year of his reign, two fifteenths, they appointed that Sir Thomas Nevil should receive it, and lay it out in the King's wars; and so well did he execute this trust, that two years later he was made Lord Treasurer of England. (See Pipe Roll, 7 Henry IV.) He made his will March 12, 1406, in which he bequeaths his body to be buried in the church of the Priory of Worksop "without any great pomp". He gives his best gold cup, with a cover, to the King; to the fabric of the steeple at Worksop, £40; and appointed that his feoffees of certain lands at Worksop should cause his obits to be solemnly kept every year in the Priory Church of Worksop, with "*Placebo*" and "*Dirige*", and mass of "*Requiem*" by note, on the morrow. He died the same year, and was buried here, in the midst of the quire, where a noble monument in alabaster was erected to his memory. Pigot says :

"Sir Thomas Nevil, Treasurer of England,
Aboven the quere is tumulate : his tomb is to see
In the middes, for most royal there it doth stand."

Joan de Furnival died long before her husband, probably in early life. She was buried at Worksop, where her tomb, with an effigy in alabaster, was placed at the right hand of her husband, but not, it would seem, on the same tomb. This Pigot tells us :

“ Dame Johana is buried aboven the hye quere,
 Next Thomas Nevil that was her husband.
 In alabaster an ymage Sir Thomas right nere,
 As he is tumulate, on his right hand.”

A portion of the effigy of Sir Thomas Nevil still remains in the church, as is shown by the arms on the jupon,—a saltire with a martlet for difference ; and it is a remarkable fact that the very slab of Joan de Furnival, as there is every reason to believe, in a much more perfect state, representing a female figure in relief, still exists in the parish church of Barlborough, Derbyshire, distant about eight miles from Worksop. There is an inscription round the margin, only partly legible, but sufficient remains to identify it. Bassano, a herald-painter, who made notes of this kind, described it in 1707, and gave the words then legible : “ Hic jacet Johanna fil her Willelmi Furnival Tho.”; but he seems not to have copied it very correctly. He tells us also that in the dexter chief corner was a saltire, the arms of Nevil, and in the sinister those of Furnival, while at the feet the two coats were impaled on an escutcheon supported by two talbots collared and belled. The shield remains, but the arms, except a slight trace of those of Furnival in the sinister corner, are gone. Probably the conjecture of Mr. Hunter as to the way in which this slab got to Barlborough may be correct, namely that it was removed there by Judge Rodes, the owner of the estate, as he was seneschal to the Earl of Shrewsbury in the time of Queen Elizabeth.

Sir T. Nevil took a second wife, Ankeret, daughter of John Lord Strange, and widow of Richard Lord Talbot, and thus paved the way for an alliance of Maud, the only child of his first marriage, with John Talbot, the son of his second wife. John Talbot was of a very ancient and eminent family, and became himself the hero of his race. His name is well known in history and has been so celebrated by our immortal bard, that it is needless to dwell upon his life and character. For his great deeds he was created Earl of Shrewsbury. He was slain near Bordeaux 20th July, 1453,

and buried at Whitchurch in Shropshire.¹ He was so much engaged in public and foreign employments, even from his early youth, that it can hardly be supposed that he would take much interest in the affairs of Worksop or its Priory, or leave any mark of his personal superintendence there. By the daughter of Sir T. Nevil he left a son of the same name as himself, who continued the descent of these manors in that noble family. John Talbot, the second Earl of Salop, was slain fighting on behalf of King Henry VI at the battle of Northampton, together with his brother Sir Christopher of Treton. The earl was buried at Worksop, as Pigot informs us, "in our Lady Quere," in July, 1460, where a Latin inscription both in prose and verse appeared on his monument. (Hunter, *Hallamshire*, from Dugdale's *Baronage*.)

He, again, was succeeded by a son of the same name, who died in the flower of his age, and was interred in the same chapel, being the last of his race who found sepulture here, his son George, the fourth earl, having erected a sepulchral chapel in the parish church of Sheffield where the family for the future were buried. There is nothing to relate respecting the connection of this great family with the Priory except that Francis the fifth earl, who was in great favour with Henry VIII, had a grant of the site and precincts of the Priory, with much of its houses and lands, in exchange for the manor of Farnham, to hold to him and his heirs of the king *in capite*, by the service of the tenth part of a knight's fee, and also by the royal service of finding the king a right hand glove at his coronation, and to support his right arm that day as long as he should hold the sceptre in his hand, paying yearly £23 8s. 0½*d.* By this grant, as it would appear from the survey of John Harrison already alluded to, made about a century after it was conferred, the earl acquired of the Priory lands in the parish of Worksop no less than 2,333 a. 2 r. 19 p.

At the time of the dissolution the Priory was possessed, according to the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* of Henry VIII, of a clear year's income of £239 15s. 5*d.* At this time there were a prior and sixteen canons in the house, who received pensions of various annual sums, that of the prior being

¹ The skeleton of this great Earl, with the skull bearing marks of having been cloven by a battle-axe, is supposed to have been found in the place of his burial, Whitchurch, March, 1874.

£50 per annum, a very fair allowance in those days, equal to at least £500 of our money.

Among the donations, as we have seen, of William de Lovetot to the Priory was that of the Church of Worksop, in which the canons were, with its lands, tithes, and all other things pertaining to the said church. This grant would convey the entire revenues of the benefice, under the condition of the canons providing for the spiritual wants of the parish, which in the first instance they would do by the services of members of their own body, according to their convenience. This arrangement was, however, soon found to be very unsatisfactory, and parishes appropriated to monastic bodies were much neglected. It was, therefore, decreed that a permanent vicar should be appointed, with a stated income, to take the charge of souls in these parishes.

The catalogue of vicars of Worksop begins in the year 1276; when Alan de London was instituted. The old vicarage house was a straggling, dilapidated building abutting upon the east side of the Priory Gate House. This was pulled down about seventy years ago and the present one built.

(To be continued.)

ON TWO SEALS OF THE ANCIENT EARLS OF DEVON.

BY W. DE G. BIRCH, ESQ., F.R.S.L., HON. PALÆOGRAPHER.

THE wood block of an ancient seal, exhibited by Mr. E. Levien, at the evening meeting on the 25th March, was, I find, originally prepared for Caley, Ellis, and Bandinel's new edition of Sir William Dugdale's *Monasticon Anglicanum*. Impressions of it are given in vol. v, p. 106, where it appears appended to the foundation charter of St. James' Priory, near Exeter. The text of the charter, which is stated to be extant in the library of King's College, Cambridge, is as follows :

“Venerabili domino et patri Roberto, Dei gratia Exoniensi episcopo, omnibusque sanctis dei ecclesiæ filiis, Baldewinus, comes Devonie, salutem in Domino. Noverit universitas vestra quod ego divinæ pietatis intuitu, assentiente Ricardo filio meo, totam terram quæ dicitur Cotelega cum toto bosco et omnibus pertinentiis suis monasterio beati Jacobi apostoli quod extra muros civitatis Exoniæ devote constitui, et monachis Cluniacensibus ibidem Deo et sancto Jacobo servientibus, pro remedio animæ meæ et filiorum filiarumque mearum et omnium

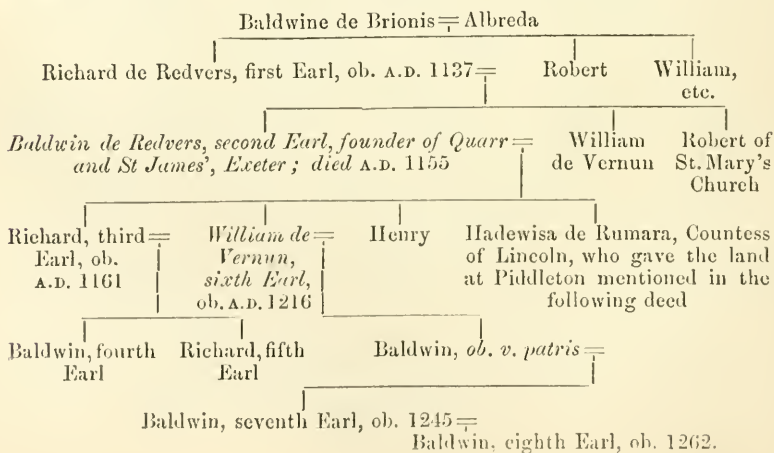
parentum et amicorum meorum per manum domini Roberti Exoniensis episcopi in die qua cimiterium monasterii dedicavit in perpetuam Dei elemosinam, cum eadem libertate et liberis consuetudinibus quibus manerium meum de Exeministre tenui et habui. Præterea donavi ipsis monachis medietatem decinæ de piscaria mea de Toppeshama. Ex donatione autem et rogatu Aviciæ de Sancto Leonardo, confirmavi ipsis duas acras terræ in quibus conductus aquæ molendini eorum factus est, et occupationem aquæ redundantis in terram ipsius Aviciæ. Concessi etiam præfatis monachis, ut nova molendina faciant in terra sua ubi voluerint, amotis molendinis meis de Toppesham; ita quod de cætero nec mihi, nec heredibus meis, nec alicui infra Scutebrocam et Toppesham aliquod molendinum facere licebit. Hoc quidem concessum est assensu et voluntate predictæ Aviciæ de Sancto Leonardo. Hæc itaque omnia ex intimi cordis affectu et ex voti debito ad prædictorum monachorum sustentationem donavi, supplicans attentius hæredibus meis ne super his aliquam molestiam fratribus inferre præsumant, immo potius paternæ devocionis memores quod pie actum est fovere et manutenere dignarentur. Quod ut ratum permaneat imposterum, sigilli mei impressione cum testium subnotacione corroboravi. Hiis testibus, Huberto de Vaus, Stephano de Mandevill, Radulfo Patrich, Ricardo filio Radulfi, et Willelmo fratre ejus, Willelmo de Hilum, Galfrido de Furnell, Roberto Daco, Galfrido de Spineto, Johelle filio Nigelli, et duobus filiis meis Willelmo et Henrico."



The seal may be described as bearing a representation of a griffin in combat with a dog or other creature of similar character, and in the act of drawing from its opponent's mouth a long scroll or ribbon, while it holds down the vanquished quadruped with its talons. The legend is in Lombardic majuscule and reads : + SIGILLVM BALDWINI COM-[ITIS DE]VONIE.

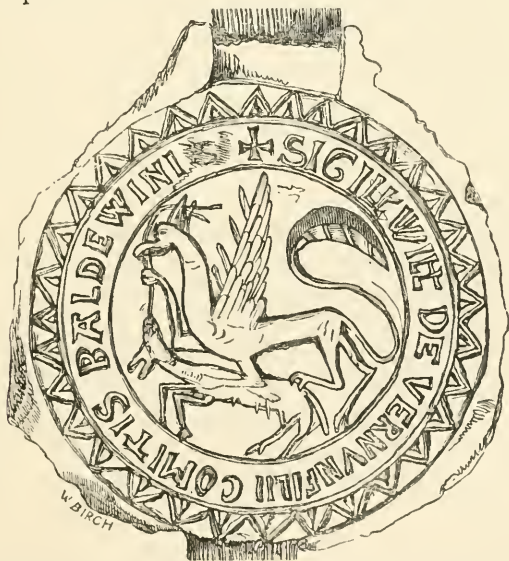
Around the outer edge is a peculiar fringed or laced ornament of an unusual design and excessively rare upon seals, whether of this or any other period. In fact I doubt if, with the exception of this example and that of the son's seal (which I shall presently bring forward for comparison with this of his father), any other seals are extant bearing similar ornamentation. The charter is not dated, but from consideration of the following facts it is most probable that Dugdale was right in attributing the foundation of the Priory of St. James at Exeter to some period shortly before A.D. 1126, for—1, Robert de Chichester occupied the see of Exeter from A.D. 1128 to 1150, and Robert de Warelwast from A.D. 1150 to 1159 ; 2, and Baldwin de Redvers or de Rivers, the grantor of this charter, was second Earl of Devon from A.D. 1137 to 1155, when he was succeeded by his eldest son, Richard, who herein gives his assent to the grant made by his father.

In order to understand more easily the connection between the grantor of the charter just recorded and that of the next deed I shall bring before you, I have compiled the following partial genealogy of the Earls of Devon from Dugdale, Burke, and other channels of biographical history.



For the sake of comparison I append a drawing of the seal of William de Vernun, son of the above Earl Baldwin, and eventually, on the failing of the elder branch, his successor in the earldom. This seal is appended to an original charter in the Harley collection at the British Museum, 55 D. 22, a grant in frank-almoigne by William de Vernon, presumably anterior to his accession to the peerage, of land at Piddletown, co. Dorset, to the monks of Quarr in the Isle of Wight, which, according to Dugdale, was originally given to them by Hadewisa, sister to this William. The tenor of this document, which does not appear to have been printed before, is as follows :

"Willelmus de Vern' filius Comitis Baldewini omnibus amicis et fidelibus suis salutem. Sciatis me pro salute animæ meæ et omnium Antecessorum meorum concessisse et reddidisse deo et Abbatîe Sanctæ Mariæ de Quarraria In perpetuum Elemosinam illam virgatam terræ quam olim habuerunt in manerio de Pideltona monachi de Quarraria. Hanc igitur terram cum omnibus ejus pertinentiis concessi et hac mea Carta confirmavi predictæ Abbatîe liberam solutam et quietam ab omnibus terrenis serviciis, donis, auxiliis, et exactionibus universis. Testibus his: Willelmo priore de Sancta Elena, Gir[aldo] priore de Sancta Cruce, Johanne Capellano, Peuer' de Arg', Willelmo de Arg', Hermel de Arg', Roberto de Rosell', Hugone de Witvill' Ricardo labé, Gust. Ricardo Wall', Willelmo filio Gill[eberti], Giffard' de Evreci, Toma de Camp'II."



The seal shows the same device and is treated in the same style of feeling and art as that already figured on the pre-

ceeding page, but faces in the opposite direction. The legend in Roman capitals is — SIGILLUM WILLELMI DE VERNVN FILII COMITIS BALDEWINI. Here also is to be observed a toothed or indented border running around the outer edge, and to be sought in vain upon other specimens of seals of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The charter itself is not dated, a practice in accordance with the diplomatic principles of the age in which it was issued.

The Priory of St. Elena was an alien Cluniac cell in the Isle of Wight, and this William, its prior, is a new name for the scant history of the house. Girald, prior of St. Cross, another alien priory in the same island, occurs in A.D. 1153. The name of Hugh de Witvill, another witness herein, occurs in Madox's *Formulare Anglicanum*, p. 4, upon a document of the time of King John. From the fact that no title is appended to the name of the grantor it is most probable that the charter was prepared at some time previous to his accession to the earldom in A.D. 1193.

The similar devices upon these two seals afford matter for curious speculation to the herald, for while they are to be referred to a period, if not altogether anterior to the introduction of heraldry, at any rate anterior to the consolidation of heraldic rules and the practice of a regular succession of heraldic bearings descending from father to son, they yet are evidently proofs that particular devices or emblematic representations were employed by certain, if not the greater number, of barons of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and retained by the members of their respective families as carefully and as conventionally as the true heraldic bearings of the following century, to which period the origin of heraldry must be assigned. Another remarkable fact, in connection with this device of the griffin and dog, is that it does not resolve itself into the badge, coat or crest of the families of Redvers or Vernun, and would therefore rather seem to be connected with the fanciful and emblematic devices so common on seals of the late twelfth and of the thirteenth century, but for its successive use by father and son, two powerful feudatories of the English Crown.

ON THE
MONUMENTS IN THE SHREWSBURY CHAPEL
IN PARISH CHURCH, SHEFFIELD.

BY REV. JOHN STACYE, M.A.

AT the Congress of the British Archaeological Association assembled at Sheffield on the 18th of August, 1873, the first object which the members inspected was the monumental Chapel of the Earls of Shrewsbury in the Parish Church. Dr. Sale, the much esteemed vicar of the parish, who received them there with that heartiness and readiness which ever characterised him, entered into the views of the Society, whilst disclaiming archaeological ability, and kindly pointed out to them the interesting objects there presented to view. Alas! a little more than a month had elapsed when that venerated and beloved spirit fled, and the mortal remains of Dr. Sale were committed to the tomb amid a scene of general lamentation not equalled even by that for the great ones whose monumental remains he had so recently illustrated. At the request of the Association I have here produced the substance of what was said on the occasion of that visit, and have added a few suggestions which have further presented themselves.

This sepulchral Chapel of the Shrewsbury family was erected by George the fourth Earl, it is probable, shortly after the death of his first wife, Ann, daughter of William Lord Hastings, which took place about the year 1520. It is situated on the south side of the chancel, and is of the following dimensions, 25 feet by 17 feet. It contains only three monuments, but these are of more than ordinary interest and importance. The first in point of date is that of the founder and his two wives. This is placed under a flat-topped arch, opened for the purpose, between the chancel and the Chapel. The arch is enriched with panelled and crocketed buttresses and a floriated cornice, having the arms of the Earl at each angle. Under this is a large altar-tomb which has spiral shafts at its angles, each of its sides being divided into three panels with two similar ones at each end.



These contain deeply sunk quatrefoils, of which each formerly contained a brass engraved with armorial bearings; but all these, with the exception of two, have disappeared. Upon the tomb rest the effigies of the Earl and his two Countesses. These are of marble, and of extraordinary beauty as works of art, and are happily in an excellent state of preservation. The Earl is represented in armour, and, agreeably to the direction of his will, in his mantle of the Garter, with the collar and other distinctions of that noble order. He wears a coronet; his surcoat is enriched with his arms; his hands joined as in prayer, and his feet rest upon a talbot. The ladies are richly apparelled, wearing coronets, their mantles presenting their armorial bearings, their heads resting on rich cushions, their feet being supported by angels. The grace, beauty, and repose of these figures called forth much admiration from the members of the Association, and it was remarked that they formed a pleasing contrast to the somewhat pretentious monument on the opposite side of the Chapel, though the latter is very fine of its kind. Round the verge of the tomb is a brass band containing the following inscription:

“Hic situs est illustris vir Georgius Comes Salopie, Westfordie et Waterfordie Dominus Talbot, Fornivalle, Verdon ac Strange, atq’ etiam Primarius Architriclin’¹ Regie Dom’ invictissimi Regis Henrici Octavi, et Miles nobilissimi illius’ ordinis de Gartero. Hic quoq’ jacent corpora Domine An’ e et Elizabethe uxoru’, quarum quidem illa nata fuit Domini Hastyngs prefectus² cubiel’ primarii serenissimo reg’ Edward’ quarto. Hec vero filia fuit D. Ricard’ Walden Militis. D. ille Georgius obiit xxvi die Julii Anno Domini mccccxviii.”

We have here a remarkable instance of the little credit to be attached to statements, even of facts, which appear on tombs, since the second Countess, who long survived her husband, was not, as stated, buried *here*, but at Erith in Kent, the place of sepulture of her family.

Two plates of arms still remain on the south side of the tomb, one in the centre containing six great quarterings of the Earl, namely, Montgomery, Talbot, Nevil, Furnival, Verdon, and Strange. In the quatrefoil to the left of this, the same impaling Hastings; while on the right, as we learn from Hunter, was the same impaling Waldon. This, however, has disappeared.

In the middle of the Chapel is a lofty altar-tomb which

¹ High Steward of the King’s household.

² *Sic.*

has given ground for much conjecture as regards the person to whose memory it was erected, as it is without effigy or inscription. The shields of arms, however, with which it is profusely adorned, may perhaps enable us to solve this difficulty. It is divided into six compartments by fluted pilaster-buttresses; on each side two, with one at each end. These contain the following shields of arms:

At the west end one of sixteen quarterings, viz., 1, Talbot, a lion rampant within a border engrailed; 2, Montgomery, a lion rampant within a plain border; 3, old Talbot, bendy of ten; 4, Comyn, three garbs within a tressure fleurie, counterfleurie; 5, Valance, barry of ten, an orle of martlets; 6, for Monchensy, vairy, two bars (incorrect); 7, Marshall, ... a bend lozengy; 8, Strongbow, on a chief three crosses pattée fitchée; 9, Mac Murrough, three garbs; 10, Strange, two lions passant in pale; 11, Nevil, a saltire with a martlet for difference; 12, Furnival, a bend between six martlets; 13, Verdon, a fret; 14, Lacy, a fess; 15, Lovetot, a lion rampant; 16, ditto. The whole within a garter, with two talbots as supporters. Crest, lion statant on chapeau. Motto, "*Prest d'accomplir.*"

On a shield at the east end: Talbot quartering Furnival, Verdon, Strange; and impaling Manners, two bars, a chief quarterly, 1 and 4, two fleurs-de-lis; 2 and 3, a lion passant guardant. These are the arms of George the sixth Earl of Shrewsbury, and his first wife, Gertrude Manners, daughter of Thomas Earl of Rutland.

In the side compartments are the arms of their four sons, three of these having the impalements of their wives.

1. On north side, west end, Talbot quartering as above, with label of three points, impaling party per pale three lions rampant within a border compond, a crescent for difference (Herbert). This is for Francis Talbot, eldest son, and his wife, Ann, daughter of William Earl of Pembroke. Francis died before his father, in 1582.

2. Same, with mullet for difference; impaling quarterly, 1 and 4, a fess between three crescents (Ogle); 2 and 3, an escutcheon surmounted by another, meant for the orle of Bertram, a quartering of the Ogles. For Edward, third son, and his wife, Joan, daughter of Cuthbert Lord Ogle.

South side. 1. West end. The same, with crescents for difference, impaling three bucks' heads caboshed (Caven-

dish). For Gilbert, second son, afterwards seventh Earl, and Mary, daughter of Sir W. Cavendish, his wife.

2. Same, with martlet for difference, impaling a blank shield. For Henry, fourth son, then unmarried.

The middle pilasters have each also had a shield. That on the north has gone. On the south we have remaining only one of three bucks' heads, with crescent for difference (Cavendish), impaling Talbot, for Grace, third daughter of the Earl, who married Henry, elder son and heir of Sir W. Cavendish.

We learn from a note in Hunter's *Hallamshire*, Gatty's edit., p. 258, that the author was informed by the late Mr. Samuel Mitchell, who had seen the accounts, that this monument was "the work of Roseymond, the Burgundian, in the years 1584 and 1585, and that the artist was paid for it £20 by George, sixth Earl of Salop." It would appear, from the coats of arms which it presents, that it was erected by the earl, mainly in memory of his first wife, the mother of his children; and it has been intimated, it is to be feared with no great improbability, that it was placed here with no very amiable feeling towards his second countess, the celebrated "Bess of Hardwick," who is thereon, as well as on the remaining monument about to be described, utterly ignored, and with whom it is known that the earl during the latter part of his life was on very unhappy terms. It may be, the earl designed it also as a memorial of himself, but if such was the case he very shortly changed his mind upon that point, for within about three years he built in his own honour the grand but somewhat pretentious monument to which we will now turn our attention. This is erected against the south wall of the chapel, nearly filling up the whole of that side and obscuring a window, its height reaching almost to the roof. Here on a lofty tomb rests a fine effigy of the earl. He is represented in armour, not as his grandfather in the attitude of prayer, but reclining on his side as a warrior at rest after the labours of the field. Over him is a lofty canopy supported by Corinthian columns, at the back of which, on a tablet, is a highly panegyric epigraph. This, as we learn from Hunter, is from the pen of John Fox, the martyrologist, in whose handwriting, with his own corrections, it still remains among his papers in the Harleian library (MSS. 374, 3). It is too long for inser-

tion here, but it may be stated that after setting forth the earl's dignities and family descent, as also his early military services, it especially dwells upon his unshaken fidelity to the Crown, as chiefly shown in the matter of the Queen of Scots, who had so long been under his custody, and whose execution had taken place under his superintendence. The allusion to this latter fact is to be particularly observed, as enabling us with great exactness to fix the date of the erection of this monument. For the execution of Mary took place on February 8, 1587, and Fox, the author of the inscription, died before the end of that year. Around the inscription, interspersed with military trophies, are sixteen shields of arms, the remarkable character of which seems not previously to have attracted attention; these with the exception of those at the corners which bear the arms of old Talbot, are those of Talbot either with a blank empalement, or with that of Butler, Earl of Ormond, viz. *or*, a chief indented *ar*.... At first sight it is not perhaps easy to account for the great prominence here given to that coat, as the Ormond connection was some generations removed, and the quartering was not adopted either by the father or grandfather of this earl, nor as a general rule, it would seem, by himself, neither by his son the next Earl, Gilbert. If, however, we consider the time and circumstances of the case, we shall, it is believed, find the true solution of the phenomenon. The fact is that the earl was descended, as was also Queen Elizabeth herself, through her mother Ann Boleyn, from James the fourth Earl of Ormond, whose daughter John, the second Earl of Shrewsbury, had married. By putting forth the arms of Ormond so prominently, no doubt, the earl wished most solemnly to declare that he would be found faithful even unto death to his sovereign, to whom he was bound not only by his allegiance but also by the ties of blood. The time, moreover, when he takes occasion thus to declare his fidelity is very observable, and one which specially gave occasion for such a declaration, viz., at the very period when the Spanish armada was threatening the coasts of England, professedly to avenge the blood of Mary, and to depose Elizabeth from her throne.

And here it may be observed that this same quartering of Ormond holds a conspicuous place on the shield of arms

of the same earl, which is found over the fireplace in the detached tower at Sheffield Manor, also visited by the members of the Association, and the fact seems to give considerable support to the hypothesis that the building which contains it, and the room especially to which this fireplace belongs was designed as a place of safe keeping for the Queen of Scots, on such occasions as she was permitted to retire thither from her durance in the Castle of Sheffield. For though the achievements of this shield are found to be identical with those of the garter plate of this earl, still preserved in the College of Arms ; yet, as already observed, they were not those which he usually adopted, and one can scarcely doubt must have been placed there for a special purpose. And what more probable one than to impress upon Mary the strong ties he had of fidelity to his sovereign, even on that very point which the captive queen and her adherents sought most to invalidate, namely, the connection of Henry VIII with Anne Boleyn.

The upper part of the monument contains within a garter a shield of twelve quarterings, but, as before stated, not including the Ormond bearing. They are those of Talbot, old Talbot, Comyn, Valence, Monchensy, Montgomery, Strange, Nevil, Furnival, Lovetot, Verdon, and Lacy, with usual crest, supporters, and motto, the whole surmounted by a lion sejant, affronté.

We learn from Hunter that in the east window of this chapel there formerly appeared a grand shield of the arms and quarterings of the founder, surrounded by a garter, viz., 1, Montgomery ; 2, Talbot ; 3, old Talbot ; 4, Valence ; 5, Nevil ; 6, Furnival ; 7, Verdon ; 8, Strange ; 9, Lovetot ; and on each side two smaller shields with the arms of his two wives, viz., Hastings *arg.*, a maunch, *sab.*; Walden, *or* on a bend *gules* cotised *az.* between six martlets *of the second*, three wings *arg.*

The glass containing these had long perished, and their place is now occupied somewhat incongruously by a memorial window in commemoration of a gentleman, well deserving of such note as a munificent charitable benefactor to the town, the late Mr. George Hounsfield. It is, however, to be regretted, in an archæological point of view, that another site could not have been found for such memorial, and that the original shields of arms were not restored to their place,

which would have greatly added to the heraldic unity, splendour, and interest of this chapel.

The following persons were interred in the vault beneath the chapel, and for this corrected list we are indebted to Mr. W. Swift, who formed it from personal inspection of the contents of the vault, together with careful examination of the parish registers :

- . Ann, Countess of Shrewsbury, dau. of Lord Hastings.
- 1538. Mary Lady Talbot, first wife of Francis Earl of Shrewsbury.
- 1538. George, fourth Earl of Shrewsbury.
- . William Talbot, Marshal of Ireland, his fifth son.
- 1566. Francis, Earl of Shrewsbury.
- 1565. Thomas Talbot, an infant son of the sixth earl.
- 1566. Gertrude, Countess of Shrewsbury.
- 1572. Mary, Countess of Northumberland.
- 1573. George Pierrepont, an infant.
- 1577. Geo. Talbot, an infant son of Gilbert, afterwards Earl.
- 1581. Elizabeth, Countess of Lenox.
- 1582. Francis Lord Talbot, eldest son of George, sixth earl.
- 1590. George, sixth Earl of Shrewsbury.
- 1594. Charles, son of Sir Charles Cavendish.
- 1595. Henry Talbot, brother of Gilbert, Earl of Shrewsbury.
- 1616. Gilbert, Earl of Shrewsbury.
- 1632. Mary, Countess of Shrewsbury.
- 1787. Henry Howard, Esq., father of Bernard, Duke of Norfolk.

ON WATERING-POTS.

BY EDWARD ROBERTS, ESQ., F.S.A., HON. SEC.

AUTHORS of every age and country, both sacred and profane, whether poets, historians, or novelists, have sung the praises of flowers and gardens; and the sense of luxury arising from an appreciation and enjoyment of the results of the artificial culture of plants has been a constant theme for writers' pens even from the earliest period of civilization.

In the East, nature did more for its denizens than for those of the cooler atmospheres of the West; but what was lost in Europe in colour and grandeur, was, perhaps, more than compensated by fragrance. We know little of the

gardens of the East in early days; China has them probably in the same manner as she has had them for centuries past. India still cultivates by irrigation, and in Asia little rills of water are still artificially made and turned from root to root of trees¹ as in scriptural times. We have verses in the Old Testament descriptive of the benefits arising from rivers. "As the valleys are spread forth, as gardens by the river side, as the trees of lign aloes which the Lord hath planted, and as Cedar trees beside the waters. He shall pour the water out of his buckets," etc.²

And again,³ "God bringeth them into a good land, a land of brooks of water, of fountains and depths that spring out of valleys and hills, a land of wheat and barley, and vines and fig trees and pomegranates; a land of oil olive, and honey."

We have also in Jeremiah,⁴ "And the Lord shall guide thee continually and satisfy thy soul in drought, and make fat thy bones: and thou shalt be like a watered garden"; and in another part,⁵ "And their soul shall be as a watered garden."

In the New Testament we find similar references, such as, "Neither is he that planteth anything, neither he that watereth, but God that giveth the increase."⁶

There are many other extracts that might be given, but it is not necessary to multiply examples from these well-known books.⁷ From these at least we learn that the prime human means were then, as now, the artificial supply of moisture to reinvigorate the exhausted plants; and that at least one of the means was the supply by vessels, rendered in English by "buckets," but probably really pitchers or vases. The precise form of these, however, we are ignorant of, unless the vessels were those in ordinary use for all purposes. Gardens were highly esteemed, and floriculture practised, both by the Greeks and Romans, although the flowers they possessed were but few in comparison with the great variety in modern days;⁸ but refer-

¹ Ezekiel, xxxi, 4: "The waters made him great, the deep set him up on high, with her rivers running round about his plants, and sent out her little rivers unto all the trees of the field."

² Numbers, xxiv, 6, 7.

³ Deuteronomy, viii, 7, 8.

⁴ Iviii, 2.

⁵ Ibid., xxxi, 12.

⁶ Corinthians, iii, 7.

⁷ Vide Isaiah, lv, 20; Jeremiah, xvii, 8; Ezekiel, xix, 10.

⁸ See Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, sub voc. "Hortus".

ences to roses, violets, lilies, and myrtle, are very frequent in the writings of the classic poets. There is as much difficulty in assigning any form to the vessels used by the Romans for garden-watering, as there is in the case of earlier nations. Littleton gives the word *harpagium* for watering-pot, as distinct from *hydria*, a mere water vessel. Vitruvius is silent on the subject, and Ducange has only the word "*arrodoma*, a species of vase." It is possible that the French word for the watering-pot, *arrosoir*, is derived from *arrodoma*, or from *irrigo** or *ros*, although I think it may have been a coined word of mediæval date, in consequence of the use to which the newly-invented percolating water-pot was applied. We know that the French from the earliest mediæval times successfully cultivated the rose; and if these pots were principally used for that flower it is not straining a point to suppose that ar-ros-oir might be applied to the watering vessel in reference to the chief flower for which it was used. Whether this was so or not, the "rose" of the latest form of watering-pot, as well as the half-covered top, has a resemblance in form to the large French flower.

Several French writers refer to the extensive cultivation of the rose. Thus Viollet le Duc says: "The love of gardens and flowers has always been very prevalent among the population of the north of France. The ancient tales and romances are full of descriptions of these private promenades. To the chateau the garden was a necessary appendage; it was always composed of a grass-plat with a fountain, when possible; a bower of vines, parterres of flowers, principally of roses, much valued during the middle ages; an orchard and a kitchen garden. If it were possible to have some water they placed swans and fish in it.¹ Peacocks enlivened the green sward, and aviaries were the favourite amusement of the ladies. The stewards of Charlemagne were compelled to encourage peacocks on their estates.².....

"In the country the gardens were surrounded by hedges or pales, sometimes by walls; the alleys were already in the fifteenth century edged with box. The remains of these gardens bear in their plans much resemblance to those

¹ *De Ornatu Mundi*. Poem by Hildebert.

² *Capitularia*, i, ch. 337.

which we see reproduced in the works of Du Cerceau,¹ that is to say, they are only composed of borders separated by alleys, and quadrangular grass plots surrounded by trees or shady vine-arbours. Abbays possessed magnificent gardens with orchards, which were often a source of considerable profit to these religious establishments. The monks executed important works, by bringing water for moistening them by means of little canals of either masonry or wood."

The *rose*, however, is not a novelty in form, though it might have been in its application, for in the Castellani Collection in the British Museum (case No. 26) is a strainer of the same form (see fig. 1 below) as half a mediæval costrel, but with a rose depending from it similar to those I shall presently refer to, but far more delicate.

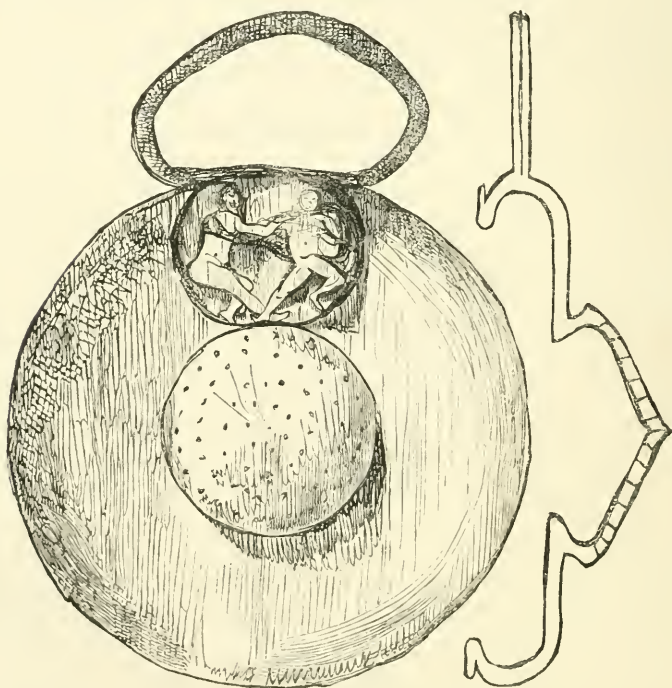


Fig. 1.

There are innumerable strainers in metal prior to the Roman period; but none, so far as I know, of fictile ware earlier than the Roman era. In the Nineveh sculptures at

¹ *Des plus excellens Bastimens de France.*

the British Museum, Nos. 51 and 52, entitled "Sennacherib superintending the movement of a colossal bull, and the erection of a mound," are represented amongst other instructive things, two men on a short tower dipping water out of a river by means of conical buckets (fig. 2) with handles, and ropes attached, in precisely the same manner as sailors at this time dip water from the sea. It is not quite clear to what purpose these buckets full of water were to be applied, but probably this was the method for all watering purposes, whether animal or vegetable. In the same marbles we have representations of plantations always beside rivers (see the sculptures numbered 25, 54, 55, 56, and others).

That the pouring out from urns was continued to a very late period is evidenced by MS. illuminations. In some Anglo-Saxon specimens in the British Museum, *Aquarius* is represented *pouring* a stream of water from an every-day pitcher (fig. 3).¹

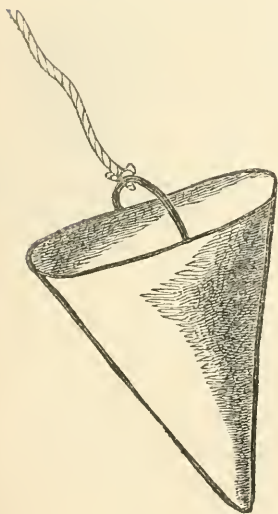


Fig. 2.

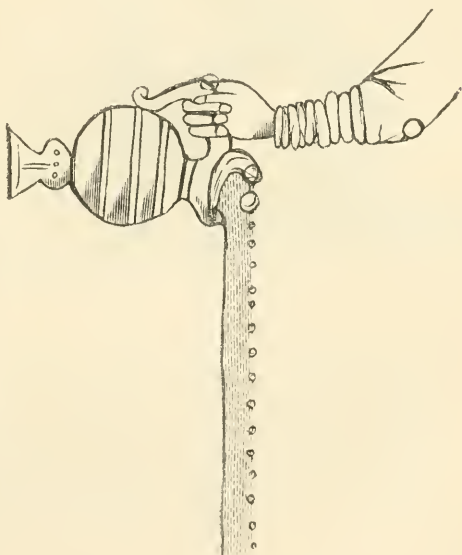


Fig. 3.

In another illumination a classical figure represents *Aquarius* reclining and pouring also a stream from a large-

¹ Cott. MSS., Tiberius B. v, fo. 36. This is of the eleventh century. *Aquarius* is a youth dressed *à la mode*.

mouthed urn (fig. 4).¹ This is of the ninth century. Another of the twelfth century² has the vase upturned (fig. 5) and the water voluminous.³ A curious illumination occurs in the Life of the Virgin in one of the show-cases. It is of the end of the fourteenth century.⁴ Christ is reuniting broken pottery, and a figure stands receiving water from a fountain into the mouth of a pan-like vessel, the water flowing out beneath in several streams. Whether this is intended to pourtray a broken vessel, or a sieve or strainer, it is difficult to say. All the other numerous vessels are manifestly injured, and it will not be fair to draw a decided inference to the contrary, because this one vessel does not show itself as broken.

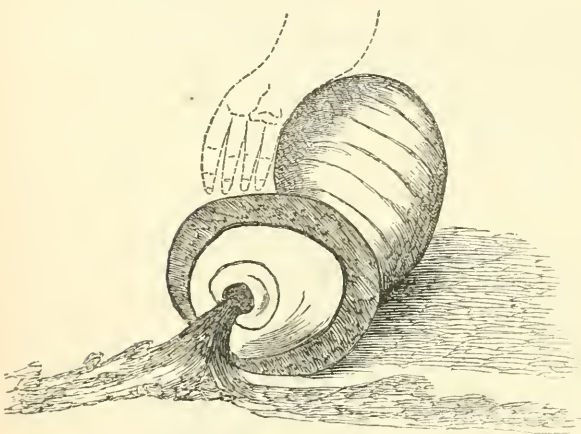


Fig. 4.



Fig. 5.

In order to endeavour to make this part of my subject complete, I reproduce a straining vessel of Roman manufacture, formerly exhibited by me,⁵ found at Cirencester. The *strainer* or *colum* of the Romans shows that they were fully alive to its advantages; our own word *colander* is derived from it, as well as the word *percolate*.

¹ Harl. MS. No. 647, fo. 9B.

² Cott. MS., Nero C. iv, fo. 40.

³ I am aware that it proves very little to show that a sign of the Zodiac is not represented with a common watering-pot. Even in the present day we should be entering on the mock heroic to do so. But if there had been in existence elegant vessels to throw a shower, I think in mediæval times Aquarius would have been so depicted as to show that method of delivering water instead of by the mere vase.

⁴ Varro *De Re Rusticâ*. Life of the Virgin.

⁵ See vol. xxv, p. 177.



FIG. 1.



FIG. 2.



FIG. 3.



FIG. 4.

It is not until the thirteenth or fourteenth century that specimens are found which may safely be attributed solely to gardening purposes. Their form is that of an elongated hemisphere with a vent in the neck and a series of holes pricked through the bottom. I exhibit four specimens of these, three having each a handle. In the fifth volume of our *Journal*, pp. 344, is figured a somewhat similar vessel, found in Union Street, Southwark.¹ Another was found in King's Arms Yard,² Moorgate Street: both of these were in the possession of our associate, Mr. C. Roach Smith, but are now in the British Museum (case 117), where by the kindness of Mr. Franks I have examined them, as well as one other specimen, those three being all I could discover in that or any other collection.

The first is more elongated than my specimens, and is without a handle. It is marked with white stripes in curved forms down the sides, and not around as in my specimen (Plate 7, fig. 1); they appear to be of similar paste and age. The second and third are of browner ware and partly glazed.

It will be perceived that these vessels must when used have been plunged into the water, and when filled, the thumb stopping the vent, carried to the spot required, and on removing the thumb the water was discharged through the perforations in the bottom. In vol. v, p. 345, is figured a similar vessel dropping water, and some remarks by Mr. Guilt will be found there. With these appliances gardens must have become more acceptable and agreeable; we read in Chaucer of those charms and of the cultivation of decorative flowers, thus

“ And in the gardyn at the sunne upriste
Sche walketh up and down wher as hire liste,
Sche gadereth floures, partye white and reede
To make a sotel gerland for hire heede.”³

In the prologue to the *Canterbury Tales* he gives a more direct reference to the mode of watering to be desired,

“ Whan that Aprille with his showres swoote
The drought of March hath pierced to the roote,
And bathed every veyne in swich licour,
Of which virtúe engendered is the flour.”

¹ Figured also *Gent. Mag.* for 1849.

² Figured vol. v, p. 346.

³ Knight's Tale.

Shakespere makes still more precise allusion to the new usage of watering in *Lear* :

“Who being so heightened
He watered his new plants with dews of flattery.”¹

And again in *Coriolanus* :

“Why, this would make a man a man of salt,
To use his eyes for garden waterpots
Ay, and for laying autumn’s dust.”²

The probable form of garden water-pots that Shakespere spoke of is that represented by the six specimens in Plate 8, which are of the sixteenth century. These have all been found in Moorfields during the last twelve months. The only reference I have discovered to earthen water-pots of this form is in Hone’s *Year Book*, where one is figured corresponding to my specimen, fig. 10.³ He states that it was in use within his memory, and he had since seen only the modern tin watering-pots. He supposed that the top had been closed and was accidentally broken, but we can see, on comparing this cut with the specimens exhibited (figs. 6 to 10), that the half-covered top was its proper form, pressed into the shape of rose leaves. He mentions that a similar one was found at St. Katherine’s Docks, 30 ft. below the surface, “where it had probably lain two or three centuries.” No one can doubt that the modern metal watering-pot is the natural result and successor of these uncouth articles, examples of which are shown in the accompanying plates.

The earliest specimen is of the bell-shaped kind, of the fourteenth century, without a handle. The neck is gracefully formed, and the thumb-vent small (Plate 7, fig. 1). It is 9 in. in height, the bottom flat, and pierced with twenty-nine irregularly placed holes. It is 8 in. greatest diameter. The white spiral line around it has already been referred to. The paste is brownish red.

Plate 7, fig. 2, is of the fifteenth century and of the same

¹ Act V, scene 5.

² Act IV, scene 6.

³ Hone’s *Year-Book* for 1838, p. 754: “I remember to have seen at some old almshouses, when I was a boy, an aged, feeble widow tottering with one of these earthen vessels slowly dribbling the water, etc.; since when I have only seen the usual painted tin watering-pots, etc. Those garden-vessels were of brown pottery; top closed, with rather larger perforations in it for the water to enter through to fill than the rose. One found at St. Katherine’s Docks. It lay thirty feet below, and probably was there for two or three centuries. The deficiency at top caused by a fracture. These now as rare in England as barbers’ pewter basins.”





FIG. 5.



FIG. 6.



FIG. 7.



FIG. 8.



FIG. 9.



FIG. 10.

outline as the former, but more dumpy and less elegant, with a short thick neck and larger vent. This specimen has a handle. It is 10 in. high and $8\frac{3}{4}$ in. diameter. The paste is red, with a yellow surface, and a faint and partial green glaze.

Fig. 3 has a large vent and a handle. Its height is 11 in. diameter $8\frac{3}{4}$. The paste is a crimson red and is partially glazed with a brown glaze.

Fig. 4 has no handle, its height is 13 in. and diameter 8 in. The perforated bottom is so rounded that it will not stand erect. The paste is a pale reddish brown, and partly glazed with a green glaze. The outline is elegant and the handle terminates in a trefoil. It is reclined to show the perforations.

Fig. 5 is of the later form, sixteenth century, with a projecting rose and banded neck, the aperture half covered by a hooded form of cover with pinched marks all over it, like that figured by Hone. Its height is 12 in., greatest diameter $9\frac{1}{4}$ in. The paste is red, and is brown-glazed nearly all over.

Fig. 6 has a flattish rose and is less ornamented. Height $12\frac{1}{4}$ in., diameter 8 in. It is of a bright red paste, brown glazed on the front portion. The lower edge is indented or scalloped.

Fig. 7 has a very flat rose : its height, broken, is $10\frac{1}{2}$ in., but we must assume it was 12 or 13, and covered as the others are ; the diameter $8\frac{5}{8}$. The paste is red but less bright than the last, and brown-glazed on the front half. The lower edge is scalloped.

Fig. 8 has a very prominent rose, the height $11\frac{1}{2}$ in., diameter $8\frac{1}{8}$ in. The paste is reddish, with only a spot of glaze.

Fig. 9 has a cover deeply indented, the rose is flattish and uncouth. The paste is reddish yellow, slightly glazed on the rose and cover ; it is 12 in. high and 8 in. diameter.

Fig. 10 is one precisely similar to Hone's woodcut, taller perhaps and slightly less rotund ; it is $13\frac{1}{4}$ in. high and $7\frac{1}{4}$ in. diameter, of red ware and dark brown glaze all over the rose and the front part.

In the foregoing an endeavour has been made to follow the order of production. It is not discoverable whether a manufactory existed on the site where these have been now exhumed. We must presume, therefore, that they

were used in the gardens which in the middle of the sixteenth century are shown by all the maps of the period to have existed between the "dogge hous" and Bishopsgate Street, and, indeed, considerably northward from the walls of London, wherever the morass had been drained,¹ and continued for at least a century afterwards.² However much we may be in doubt about the cause of the interment of these articles we cannot, I think, have any hesitation in congratulating ourselves that modern improvement has fortunately carried us beyond the necessity for the use of this clumsy device.

¹ Pennant, p. 250, edit. 1791.

² *Archæologia*, xii, pp. 181 et seq.

Proceedings of the Association.

MARCH 11.

REV. W. SPARROW SIMPSON, D.D., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

THANKS were returned for the following presents :

To the Society of Antiquaries for *Archæologia*, vol. 43, Part II; and vol. 44, Part I. 4to. London, 1873.

Mr. E. Levien read the following letter from Miss Mary Eliza Rogers, author of *Domestic Life in Palestine*, etc. :

"21, Coborn Street, Bow. E.
March 2, 1874.

"SIR,—The report 'On Ancient Remains found at Maiden Castle, Dorsetshire,' read by Mr. H. Syer Cuming at a meeting of your Association in March 1872 (and which I read a few days ago at the British Museum by chance), has interested me very much; and there is one point discussed in it on which I am able to throw light.

"I have had the advantage of spending many years in the East with my brother, Mr. E. T. Rogers, formerly H.M. Consul at Damascus, and now at Cairo. During my sojourn, first in Palestine, and at a more recent time in Syria, I always took great pleasure in visiting the workshops of native art workmen, and sketching the interiors with the men at work, and making careful drawings of their best productions and their tools, etc. The jewellers', bookbinders', stonemasons', and woodcarvers' shops, etc., furnished me with very interesting subjects; but the potteries especially attracted me. I find that the primitive work of the potters of the present day, in the unchanging East, illustrates and explains how the ancient pottery found in this country and in other parts of Europe must have been made. The tools used by our ancestors are similar to those which I have seen in the hands of the Syrian potters.

"Mr. H. Syer Cuming shewed some drawings of bone instruments which he called '*combs*', and he speculated upon their probable use. These combs are of precisely the size and form of instruments *made of tin* which I have seen used at the potteries near Beirût, for embellishing water-jars. At the potteries near to Damascus an instrument made of a lump of clay, with six, seven, or eight needle-points firmly fixed in it, in a line, is used for the same purpose. Wavy or zigzag lines, or straight bars, are scored in the damp clay with these primitive tools and a very good effect is quickly produced.

"I am now writing a series of articles for the *Art-Journal* on 'Art-Work in Syria and Palestine,' very fully illustrated. This month's *Journal* contains an article on jewellery; but in April, 'Pottery: Part I,' will appear. I shall be happy to shew you the illustrations, which I have drawn on wood, for this Part, especially as they include one from a sketch which I made at the Salihîyeh potteries, of an artist engaged in ornamenting a jar, as described above, and a boy piercing the diaphragm of another water-jar with a long iron skewer. I have some singular and rare specimens of Eastern pottery which might be interesting to your members inasmuch as they tend to throw light upon the simple but really beautiful work of the hand-potters of England in the olden time.

"I am, Sir, yours faithfully,

"MARY ELIZA ROGERS.

"To Edward Leven, Esq., M.A."

Mr. Cuming said that similar combs were used by the Esquimaux for cleaning the skins of animals, and he had himself indicated the various ideas which had been held respecting them, including that mentioned by Miss Rogers in the "report" to which she had referred. (See *Journal*, xxviii, p. 43.)

Mr. Hills exhibited a buckhorn powder-horn sent by Mr. Joseph Warren of Ixworth, bearing the letters G. S. M. S. A. End of sixteenth century.

Mr. Birch thought these letters might be the initials of some well known Biblical text.

The Chairman suggested that they might possibly be the initials of the words of a short prayer, as "*Gesu Sis Mihi Sanctum (or Semper) Auxilium.*"

Mr. Henfrey read a letter he had received from Sir T. Hardy, one of the Royal Commissioners on Historical MSS., stating the intention of the Commissioners to examine the ancient papers and MSS. which were lying in a state of neglect at Mendlesham Church, as pointed out by Mr. Cuming at the last meeting. (See p. 93 *ante*.)

Mr. Baily sent for exhibition a rare type of snuffer-stand of the early part of the seventeenth century. It is of bright steel, 6 inches in height, and may be described as consisting of three members, viz., the foot, revolving stem, and rests. The foot is circular with ornamental edge, and made in three low stages. From its centre rises the baluster-like stem, which has a little flat-faced handle projecting from one side of its bulbous portion, and an acorn at its apex. Fixed midway up this stem is a short cross-bar with arched side-branches, each terminating with a depending acorn. On the top of either branch, and placed $3\frac{1}{2}$ ins. apart, is a scroll-shaped rest; that to receive the box of the snuffers being $1\frac{3}{4}$ in. wide; that for the support of the arms, three quarters of an inch. This light and elegant little piece of table furniture is probably of German fabric.

Mr. H. Syer Cuming remarked that the silence of English lexicographers regarding anything analogous to our snuffer-tray, might, without due inquiry, lead future generations to believe that such an utensil was of later date even than the publication of Webster's *Dictionary* in 1848, and that until the nineteenth century was far spent we permitted the candle-snuffers to stand on the table without anything to hold them. In all probability the snuffer-tray grew out of the pans provided for the reception of the cinder twisted from the wick with the fork, or severed by the shears, before box-snuffers came into vogue. That snuff-dishes count an antiquity of upwards of thirty centuries is proved by their distinct mention in the Book of Exodus (xxxvii, 23); and that they continued to be used down to the sixteenth century is equally certified by the curious example of a boat-shaped one of iron, recovered from the Witham, and engraved in the *Archæologia* (xiv, Plate 54). This singular relic is mounted on three legs, and has in its centre a pricket and nozzles for candles.

The introduction of box-snuffers in the fifteenth or first years of the sixteenth century must have soon led to some device for holding the instrument, though it is uncertain what form it first took. The steel snuffer-stand submitted by Mrs. Baily is at once light and convenient in construction; its stem revolving, so that a person seated, whichever side of the table they might be, could with facility obtain possession of the bows of the pruner. In this fine and rare specimen the snuffers lie horizontally, as they do in our day; but at one period it was the fashion to place them in a perpendicular position, in a socket attached to the candlestick, or in a distinct piece of furniture.

The snuffers, stand, and extinguisher, presented to the Pendrell family by Charles II, have already been noticed in our *Journal* (xxv, p. 77). This stand consists of a hexangular pyramidal base supporting an oblong, square socket into which the snuffers are dropped perpendicularly. At the end of the socket is a loop-handle, and on one side hangs the extinguisher; all three members of this rare and beautiful group being composed of brass inlaid with plaques of coloured porcelain.

No one has yet told us when the snuffer tray, dish, or pan, as it was formerly called, made its *début*; but it is mentioned as early as 1699 in Boyer's *French and English Dictionary*, where we read, "snuffers-pan, *assiette à mouchettes, porte-mouchettes*." An old, if not the oldest, form of snuffer-tray was a pointed oval with nearly upright sides, generally solid, but sometimes pierced like basketwork. This type of tray occurs in silver and in the famous old Pontypool ware, well preserved specimens of which are now regarded as art-treasures by the collector.

Mr. E. Roberts exhibited about twenty specimens of bronze wire and latten ornaments, in continuation of those exhibited at the last

meeting. One of the pieces of latten is ornamented with embossing of canopy-work of the thirteenth century, probably part of the covering of a shrine. From the same excavations he now produced about one hundred and twenty knives, shears, and other cutting implements, many of them being Anglo-Saxon. Nearly fifty of these knives have flat handles with wood or leather slips riveted on each side. One small example has a bronze rim round, so that the wood-slips were bound by it at the edges. Of the knives with tangs driven into handles, five are of the Jacobean period; the others are all early, and with wooden handles. There are sword-blades and daggers; a hammer with a chisel end; four saws, three being Anglo-Saxon. A dozen specimens of shears and scissors dating from the fourth to the eighteenth centuries, complete this branch of articles from Blackfriars.

Mr. H. Syer Cuming read a paper "On Picture-Board Dummies," which is printed at pp. 66-71 *ante*.

Mr. Brock mentioned the fact that, besides the examples referred to by Mr. Cuming, there were two "dummies" in a fine state of preservation at the County Hotel, Carlisle; and Mr. Hillary Davies said that there were four in a tea-garden at Shoreham.

The Rev. W. Sparrow Simpson, D.D., V.P., read a paper "On the Pilgrimage to Bromholm," which is printed at pp. 52-61 *ante*.

25 MARCH.

H. SYER CUMING, ESQ., F.S.A., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

The election of the following members was announced:

John Taylor, Librarian of the Bristol Museum.

Bertram Ogle, Esq., Coll Brae, Lanrie Park, Penge.

Thanks were returned for the following presents:

To the Society, Royal Historical and Archæological Association of Ireland, for vol. ii, Fourth Series, No. 16. 8vo. Dublin, 1873.

" " Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire, for vol. xiii, New Series. 8vo. Liverpool, 1873.

Mr. E. Roberts announced that the Annual Congress would be held at Bristol, under the presidency of Kirkman Hodgson, Esq., M.P., commencing on Tuesday, 4th August, and continuing till Monday the 10th.

Mr. E. Levien, Hon. Sec., in the absence of the Honorary Treasurer, read the following communication received by him, accompanied by the newspaper slip to which it refers:

“ St. Edmundsbury. 23rd March, 1874.

“ DEAR SIR,—You inquired of me respecting the contents of the tumuli I have examined here. I send you a slip from a local newspaper. The yield of the one described was a little over the average in the experience of Canon Greenwell and myself. The unsatisfactory point is that little or no trace of the primary interment, *where unburnt*, can be found, and no accompanying relics, such as flint or bronze implements, etc., have in any case been met with. Pottery, indeed, is very rare, except in mere fragments. I do not intend giving up, however, yet, remembering that a tumulus in Norfolk yielded, amongst other things, a gorget of gold.

“ Yours very truly,

HENRY PRIGG.”

“ G. M. Hills, Esq.”

“ *The Icklingham Tumuli.*—During Thursday and the two following days of last week the westernmost tumulus of the group at Upper Berners was examined by Mr. Henry Prigg, jun., of Bury St. Edmund's, who, it may be remembered, at this time last year explored the two adjacent ones of the series. The tumulus, situated in a field in the occupation of Mr. Womack, was of large size, measuring over 90 ft. in diameter by about 4 ft. in height. It was made up *wholly of sand*. The examination was commenced from the east side, and resulted in the finding of two small urns, and the remains of five burnt bodies. The deposition in the tumulus was as follows:—At 26 ft. south-east of centre, a cinerary urn of small size, ornamented about the rim with horizontal and vertical scorings. It lay covered with a quantity of charcoal, the remains of the funeral fire. This urn had yielded to the weight of the super-imposed earth, and was unfortunately much crushed. At 21 ft. east by south-east of centre, in a basin-shaped depression, the site of the funeral pyre, was a burnt body. Between and below the urn and the above deposit was another heap of calcined human bones, which had been carefully gathered up and placed in a shallow hole in the original surface of the ground. At 24 ft. south by south-east of centre, another burnt body, and similar deposits were found, 20 ft. due south of the centre, and at 20 ft. south by south-west. Near the last were the lower jaw and shoulder-blade of some herbivorous animal. Near the centre of the tumulus, and beneath the old surface, there were indications of a grave, but nothing could be found in or near it, although the ground was explored to a depth of 9½ ft. At 13 ft. due north of the centre was a small plain ‘drinking cup’ of red earth, which may have accompanied the interment of a body, long since decayed. Besides the above nothing was found in the tumulus but a round scraper, a hammer-stone of flint, and a large quartzose pebble, that had been used as a flint flaker.”—*Bury and Norwich Post*, Sept. 17, 1872.

Mr. Levien said that the great point in Mr. Prigg's communication

was his announcement of his intention to continue his researches, and it was to be hoped that the discoveries he had made two years ago would lead to equally or perhaps more important results hereafter.

Mr. Roberts laid on the table sketches in Bermuda and on the Middle Rhine, executed by Major-General R. J. Nelson (late R. E.), and kindly forwarded by that gentleman for exhibition. They comprised *inter alia* views of the Remager Gateway, drawings of Aztek (?) pipe bowls and other objects, many of them being of a "hideo-grotesque" character, to illustrate which the Major also sent a volume of photographs, having reference to the mythology and worship of the Kabiri.

Mr. E. Leven exhibited a wood-block of the seal of Baldwin de Redvers, one of the early Earls of Devon. As there were several of these who bore the same name, it was impossible to determine the precise Earl whose seal this was, but it was probably one of those who held the title between 1216 and 1262. Mr. Leven said that Mr. Birch had promised to make some remarks upon this seal, and also upon one of William de Redvers, called "De Vernon," an ancestor of this Baldwin, which is in the British Museum, as both of them presented a feature which was very remarkable in the art of seal engraving; and those remarks would be found embodied in a short paper which Mr. Birch had since prepared upon the subject, and which is printed at pp. 170-174 *ante*.

Mr. Loftus E. P. Brock exhibited two encaustic paving tiles, the first representing a crowned head, with the hands of the figure upraised, was from Cumnor Church, Oxfordshire; the architecture of which dates from *circa* 1320. The second was found in Lombard Street in 1870. It forms one of a pattern made up of eight tiles of very elegant design, almost Italian in character. The outline is of blue lines on a white ground, filled in by dark blue, green, and yellow.

Mr. W. S. Horner likewise exhibited six encaustic paving tiles, fourteenth century, and two Dutch tiles, all found in the City; also a medal of Queen Mary II, and a pewter dish which the chairman thought was an alms dish, although there was at the bottom a species of cross tau, which might be a merchant's mark.

Miss Mary Eliza Rogers exhibited drawings of thirteen ancient and mediæval encaustic tiles; and one of a Limoges crucifix of the thirteenth century; all beautifully executed by her brother, the late Wm. Harry Rogers.

Mr. W. H. Cope exhibited a Chinese tea-pot made up of representations of various fruits; a similar one is described in a previous volume of the *Journal* (vol. xviii, p. 398).

Mr. S. Rayson exhibited a partly enamelled brick from the summer palace of Pekin.

Remarks were made upon the various exhibitions by Messrs. Brock, Brent, W. H. Cope, and G. R. Wright.

Mrs. Baily and Mr. H. Syer Cuming exhibited examples of the pikes employed in the Irish rebellion of 1798.

Mr. Cuming said that rebel weapons were frequently of so abnormal and nondescript a character that when the passions which called them into existence were quelled it was no easy matter to assign them to their true and respective eras. It is pretty certain, from corroborative circumstances, that the rude glaive exhumed in Smithfield in 1865, and described in this *Journal* (xxix., 206) was borne by one of the ruffian followers of Wat Tyler, 1381. And there may be seen in the Tower of London a portion of a scythe blade, mounted on a pole, which was employed in the unfortunate rising in favour of the Duke of Monmouth in 1685. Both of these weapons were hastily got up at a short notice for sudden, and in some degree local, turmoils, and are exceedingly inartistic in make, but when an insurrection is deep laid, wide spread, and well organised, the better, as experience has shown, will be the weapons provided for it. This was eminently the case in the Irish rebellion under the direction of Lord Edward Fitzgerald in 1798. The weapons forged for this terrible rising are of a very remarkable character, and though few of them probably were manufactured before 1795, and consequently have as yet scarcely reached an age of ninety years, they present certain features of considerable interest to the archaeologist, as their forms seem in some measure to have been copied from ancient types. The daggers were made entirely of iron, the hilt and blade being one solid piece of metal, and bearing strong resemblance to archaic weapons, and those still in vogue in some eastern countries, and stranger still to the daggers of the natives of Port Mulgrave, as may be seen by reference to Dixon's *Voyages*. They were about 18 inches in length, the grip having concave sides; the pomel (if it may so be called) of a conic contour, and the broad double-edged blade tapering to a sharp point. Many of the Fitzgerald daggers were stamped with numbers, one in the Meyrick collection being 819. The pikes with which the Irish rebels were armed seem to display a reminiscence of mediæval weapons and ideas gathered from the Voulge, Glaives, and Gisarnes of the fifteenth century. The Irish pike has a strong two-edged blade with slightly convex faces, and beneath it on one side a powerful hook-shaped knife or bridle cutter, sharp on its inner curve, and on the opposite side an axe blade. There are two varieties of stems, one socketed for the reception of the staff, the other having a pointed tang to be driven into the wood and secured by a transverse pin. The pike lent by Mrs. Baily is close on 21 inches in length, and nearly 8 in. across from the point of the bridle cutter to the edge of the axe, and has a socket $1\frac{2}{3}$ in. diameter at its mouth.

The other specimen submitted is of less massive fabric, measuring but $13\frac{1}{2}$ in. in length, and in place of a socket has a tang nearly 4 in. long. The axe blade has been broken off in fight. In the *Gentleman's Magazine* for July 1798 is a very indifferent engraving of "an Irish pike 8 feet long." The frightful havoc performed with such implements proves too surely how well adapted they were for intestine warfare.

The weapons of the Welsh Chartists who attacked Newport in 1840 were as formidable and, generally speaking, as well finished as were those of the insurgents under the command of Lord Fitzgerald; as may be judged by various examples preserved in the Museum of the United Service Institution. Were the direct and positive history of these and similar specimens lost it would be a hard matter to assign them to their proper era, the pikes and halberts being so mediæval in form, and yet lacking any epochal characteristics. The Welsh Chartists, like the Irish rebels, indulged in bridle-cutters.

Never, perhaps, did any insurrection so confound the weapons of divers countries and periods as did the Hungarian outbreak in 1848. The arms then surrendered by the rebels, extending in date from the fifteenth to the nineteenth century, were purchased of the Austrian Government by a Mr. W. J. Grazebrook of Liverpool, who in March 1860 sold a portion of his bargain in King Street, Covent Garden. The weapons got up specially for the Kossuth rebellion set all chronological unity and order at defiance; sword and dagger blades of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries being fitted with hilts of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and in innumerable instances the choice cutlery of Bilbao, Toledo, Passau, and Damascus were mounted in simple grips of wood, such as a mop-stick and broom-handle would furnish. The discord which is the constant and inevitable concomitant of rebellion is as distinctly manifested in insurrectionary weapons as it is in aught else begot of anarchy.

Mr. T. Morgan read a paper "On Vernal Festivals in ancient Rome and elsewhere," which will be printed hereafter.

Mr. E. Roberts said that he thought the meeting should not separate without expressing the regret that must be felt by all members of the Association at the announcement of the death of Mr. Albert Way, M.A., F.S.A., which took place at Cannes on the 22nd inst., in the sixty-eighth year of his age. It was true that unfortunate differences had, as they all knew, occurred many years ago, which had led to an estrangement between those who had previously been friends and fellow labourers in the same field. To these differences, however, he would not now advert, but would only remind those who heard him of the signal services which had been rendered to archaeology by the late Mr. Way, and he was sure that he was only expressing the sense of the meeting in saying that they, one and all, deeply deplored the loss of so distinguished an antiquarian.

The Chairman said that he fully endorsed all that had fallen from their Hon. Secretary, and for himself he would state that although personally Mr. Way had been unknown to him, he had nevertheless felt under great obligations to him for much valuable information upon various archaeological subjects, and no one had a higher appreciation of his talents than he had. He, therefore, quite agreed with the Hon. Secretary in thinking that they should record the sense of the loss they had sustained as archæologists by the death of Mr. Way, and felt convinced that every one present would share in those sentiments which has been so well expressed by Mr. Roberts on the occasion.

8TH APRIL.

GORDON M. HILLS, ESQ., HON. TREASURER, IN THE CHAIR.

The Rev. S. M. Mayhew, M.A., F.S.A., etc., exhibited the following objects :

1. A pair of massive silver spurs beautifully chased, and of old Spanish work, brought from the Rio Plata. Such heirlooms are not uncommon amongst the descendants of the conquerors of Mexico and first colonists of South America. These spurs, there is good reason for believing, were brought, in the seventeenth century, from Spain, and of manufacture assigned to the time of Charles V.

Mr. Cuming said spurs such as these were introduced into England by Philip on his marriage with Mary, but never became popular or fashionable.

2. A Roman "thumb-pot" about 7 ins. high, of an olive coloured earthenware, excavated by Mr. Mayhew in the New Forest.

3. A massive Roman key of bronze, with double wards.

4. A Roman lamp, probably funereal, powdered with bronze.

5. A Roman pestle of bronze, 8 ins. in length, and finely moulded.

6. An *authepsa* of about the capacity of one pint ; a tripod in Roman bronze.

7. A pin and netting instrument of wood, Saxon, and ornamented with rude carvings.

8. A bronze instrument of undetermined use.

9. Two early Norman jugs : the first in form of a feathered owl ; the second, bi-facial. From the site of St. Katherine's Hospital.

10. A very perfect example of a jug of the thirteenth century, with a partial green glaze.

11. Top of a bag of tortoiseshell enriched with *piqué* work in silver, representing the sun breaking through clouds, and a Cupid having a tree, with the motto, "*Peu au peu*." Found, with the objects preceding, in London.

12. A seal in bronze with engraved shield, and the legend, + S : RAY-
NALDI : GVARNE : MIL'TIS. The seal, of which a
wood-engraving is annexed, is an inch and a
half in diameter, deeply chased, and was found,
with a ring, on the site of the old Palace of
Bridewell.



13. An enamelled cup or salt-cellar of old
Venetian opalised glass, bearing interiorly the
figure of the Holy Bambino. It is believed to
have been used in the administration of the
sacrament of baptism. The form of this vessel was remarked as being
rarely seen. Mr. Mayhew has in his collection two others of glass, one
having been exhumed in London in a perfect state.

In continuation of the exhibitions of objects exhumed at Blackfriars,
Mr. E. Roberts produced a number of iron articles consisting of Roman
handles of vessels, book-chains, straps of chests, hasps of locks, bolts
of locks, staples, hooks and eyes, handles of drawers and coffins ; all of
mediæval date. Also an early boat-hook, several nails and small tools,
and pincers, and a candle-holder with a sharp point to be driven into
a wall. He also exhibited, from Moorfields, another specimen of the
mysterious bone implements. This was tinged with bronze-stain, and
is tapered and notched at both ends instead of having the joint of the
bone at one end. He thought that this specimen proved, at least, that
they were not waste bones.

Mrs. Baily sent for exhibition two examples of late Roman *claves* or
keys of rare character. They are of iron with solid stems, each having
a bit or web at either end, placed in opposite directions, and designed
to fit locks with but few wards. One of these keys ($7\frac{1}{4}$ ins. in length)
was exhumed in Sermon Lane, Doctors' Commons, April, 1869 ; the
other ($7\frac{1}{4}$ ins. long) was found on the site of Messrs. Olivers' new
warehouse, Wapping, January, 1871.

Mr. H. Syer Cuming said that the specimens now produced were
convincing evidence of the employment of duplex *claves* by the Roman
denizens of London ; and yet it is a common notion that such things
are of quite recent invention. He had seen a few ancient keys of
similar fashion, wrought of bronze and iron ; but it was not till we
arrive at modern times that double-webbed stems became familiar
objects. He held in his hand a highly finished duplex key, once the
property of King George IV, and said to have belonged to old Carlton
House. It is of polished steel, $5\frac{5}{16}$ ins. long ; the sides and ends of
the webs, and the whole of the stem, being richly engraved. The let-
ters G R, ensigned by a crown, are twice repeated on the last named
portion, and N J cut on the end of one of the webs.

Mr. James Murton forwarded the following notice of the "Buck
Stone" at Silverdale, near Lancaster :

"I send a pencil sketch and also a photograph of a curious monument of a past age, which has not been noticed in any archæological work that I am aware of, and may, perhaps, be considered worth mentioning in our *Journal*. It is known locally as the 'Buck Stone', and the Ordnance surveyors call it 'The Rocking Stone' in their maps. It would probably be unsafe to attempt to make it oscillate; but it may be classed among those mysterious remains of antiquity termed 'logan stones' or 'rocking stones'. It is situated in an open field, on a gentle slope which a few yards lower down becomes more steep. This bank appears to have been originally part of a scar or cliff, from which the rock has been worked away, leaving the 'Buck Stone' isolated in its present position. In a line with this slope, about twenty-five yards distant, the cliff remains, and is about on the same level as the top of the slope. This stone has, no doubt, once formed part of the cliff; and if not actually *in situ*, is nearly so. The rock is a whitish mountain limestone. The drawing and photograph are not taken exactly from the same point of view. The former shows the base at the narrowest point. The stone is about 10 ft. high, 33 ft. 6 ins. in girth horizontally, and probably weighs about thirty-five tons. There are various rude legends connected with this stone, of which the following is one. About three hundred yards distant there is a small, deep lake or tarn called 'Haweswater'; and the story goes, 'that in times past an enormous eel or serpent was wont to come up from the lake, and coil itself round the 'Buck Stone', and that it devoured sheep from that field.' The name 'Buck Stone' suggests that the knoll on which it stands was a resort of the red deer, which formerly were plentiful here, as is evidenced by frequent discoveries of the antlers of these animals in the sand of the estuary and in the peat mosses of the district."

Mr. H. Syer Cuming, in expressing his thanks to Mr. Murton for his interesting account of the Silverdale "Buck Stone", said that this gigantic boulder was unquestionably a *maen-sigl* (logan or rocking stone); but he thought that it owed its local title, not to its being the rendezvous of the red deer, but from its being the gathering-place of the votaries of an ancient divinity whose worship extended far and wide throughout the old world, and who was known by the name of Bog, Baug, Bock, and Puck, and whose history has been wonderfully developed by the late Dr. Wm. Bell in his work entitled *Shakespeare's Puck and his Folkslore*. This deity was of rather Protean character, its chief manifestations, however, being in the form of the goat and the serpent; but Arthur Golding in his (free) translation of Ovid (*Met.*, lib. ix) makes him a compound creature:

"That same Pooke

Hath goatish body, lion's head and brist, and dragon's tayle."

The curious legend spoken of by Mr. Murton clearly connects the

"Buck Stone" with Ophism; and that certain lakes were considered as the abodes of mythic serpents, is dimly shadowed forth by Geoffrey of Monmouth (lib. vi, c. 19) and other writers.

Mr. H. Syer Cuming read a paper "On Canettes", which is printed at pp. 130-135 *ante*.

Mr. Gordon M. Hills read the following paper by the Rev. John Stacey, M.A. :—

"On the true site of the celebrated 'Shireoak,' which stood at the point of convergence of the counties of York, Nottingham, and Derby.

"The site of this once celebrated tree has been of late years much doubted, but it seems now to be pretty generally agreed to place it at the junction of Thorpe and Firbeck commons, considerably to the west of Steetley Chapel, at a point to which a tongue¹ of the Shireoaks estate runs up. And the point of convergence of the counties is so marked in the Ordnance and other modern maps.

"The correctness, however, of this point has not been received with much confidence, and a floating tradition has survived to the present time that a considerable alteration has been made in the parochial and county boundaries in this quarter, and consequently that the true site of the oak must be sought for elsewhere. What that site really was is the object of the present observations to show.

"And first, it may be observed that it is hardly probable that the village of Shireoaks would have derived its name from an oak or group of oaks so far distant from it, the place being about two miles from the supposed site of the tree, having Steetley intervening. But there is direct evidence, which appears to prove most satisfactorily that the 'Shireoak' stood fully a mile to the east of its modern supposed site, and very much nearer to the village to which it gave name.

"From a survey of the Manor of Worksop, including one of the farm of Steetley, made by John Harrison for the Earl of Arundel, the then lord of that property, in the year 1636, we obtain considerable information respecting the county boundaries at this point, and the place where the tree actually stood.

"The survey is unfortunately not accompanied by any map or plan, though one is alluded to as belonging to it; but it describes all the boundaries of the several fields and their dimensions so minutely as to enable us to trace them out with great exactness.

"And first we find the 'Shireoak' spoken of as one of the remarkable things pertaining to the *Manor of Worksop*, which could not be said of a tree on the modern supposed site, this being full a mile from the nearest point of the Worksop manor estate, properly so called, having the Steetley farm intervening, which was a later adjunct to

¹ No such tongue of land is shown on the old maps of Saxton, Speed, or Morden.

that property, separately surveyed by Harrison, and clearly not included by him under the designation of the Manor of Worksop.¹

"The tree is thus mentioned by Harrison, 'Ther is within this manor a great oake very remarkable (called Shire-oake) in regard the branches extends themselves into three shiers, viz., Nottingham-shier, Darby-shier, and York-shier.'

"And in the survey of the Steetley farm the whole of it, on the north side of the Holm-car lane, is expressly said to be bounded on the north by a part of Yorkshire, while the last field towards the east, which runs up to an angle in this direction, is thus described :

"'It'm a close of arable land called Shieroake field lying next unto a pt of Yorkshire towards the north and abutteth upon *Shieroake*² towards the east, and Berkin close aforesaid towards the west and cont. 16 a. 3 r. 21 p.'

"This quotation is surely very conclusive to prove that the point of convergence of the counties, and consequently the true site of the oak, was at the eastern end of the Steetley farm, towards Holm-car, even had the tree not been so expressly mentioned. For that the tree itself is meant by 'Shieroake,' upon which the close abutted, and not merely the estate of Shireoaks, seems evident not only from this field being called Shireoak field, but also from the fact of the field, on the opposite side of the road in the Holm-car farm, to the south and within the Worksop manor estate, bearing the same name, as well as the one in Shireoaks Park, which adjoins this Steetley land.

"We may, therefore, it is believed, without hesitation fix upon the site of the once celebrated 'Shireoak' as having been at the point where the termination of the Steetley farm eastward touches upon the present Shireoaks Park wall, at the place where the old road to the village of Shireoaks joined the Holm-car lane.

"The fullest notice which we have of the Shireoak is contained in the *Silva* of John Evelyn, which as it may appear slightly to differ from the above account, as to the land on which the celebrated tree stood, may be here cited. He says, 'Shireoak is a tree standing in the ground late Sir Thomas Hewet's, about a mile from Worksop Park, which drops into three shires, viz., York, Nottingham, and Derby, and the distance from boughend to boughend is 90 feet. This circumference will contain near 707 square yards, sufficient to shade 235 horses.' It does not appear that Evelyn had any personal knowledge of the tree or its site, but that he derived his information from Mr. John Halton, whose accuracy he specially commends. And as Halton was

¹ Harrison speaks of the farm of Steetley as "situated in the county of Darbey, *adjoining* unto certain lands belonging unto the mannor of Workesop."

² It is observable that both Harrison and Evelyn never speak of the tree as "the Shireoak", but simply as "Shircoak".

auditor of the Duke of Norfolk, the owner of the Worksop manor estate at that time, there cannot be any reasonable doubt that his report was correct. In the above account it will be observed the tree is spoken of as 'standing in the ground late Sir T. Hewet's,' *i. e.*, in the Shireoak's Hall estate; but in Harrison's survey it is said to be 'within the Manor of Worksop.' May we not reconcile this seeming discrepancy by supposing that the oak stood on the waste (which would belong to the lord of the manor of Worksop), at the junction of the Holm-car and Shireoaks roads, at the time of Harrison's survey; while before the time of Evelyn's publication of the *Silva*, about thirty years later, in 1674, it had, by some means or other, got inclosed within the Shireoaks Park wall. At any rate, there appears nothing in Evelyn's account to militate against the assumption that the 'Shireoak' stood at the spot which has already been fixed, *viz.*, at the corner of Shireoaks Park wall, near the Steetley and Holm-car Lane, and that here, and not at the point fixed by the modern maps, is the true point of convergence of the three counties of York, Nottingham, and Derby."

APRIL 22.

REV. S. M. MAYHEW, M.A., F.S.A., IN THE CHAIR.

The election of the following members was announced: C. J. Knight, Esq., F.S.A., 14, Argyll Street, W.; Edward Lake Walker, Esq., 1, Regent Street, Waterloo Place, S.W.

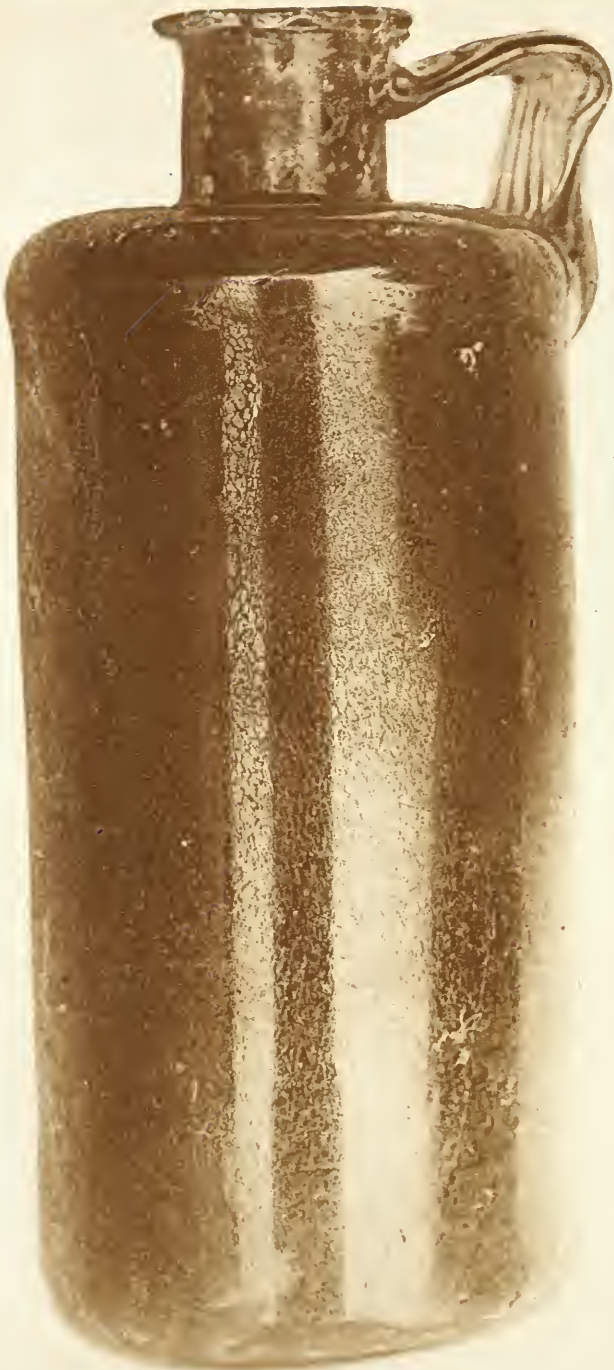
Mr. E. Roberts exhibited various specimens of Wedgwood ware, dragon china, Dutch ware derived from Chinese models, and several Fulham teapots and red lids; a marble inkstand, and a group of antiquities from Blackfriars.

The Rev. S. M. Mayhew said, "I am able at length to identify the locality of one of the old Venetian glass houses, established in London, and to lay before you some specimens of its art, found *in situ*, *viz.*, a tall wineglass on an ornamental foot, a square scent-bottle, a ribbed fountain inkstand, a handle of opalised glass, a stem of white flagee, and two bottles of a light green tint. Strype describes the glass-house of James Howell (the author of *Familiar Letters*) as situated in Broad Street. The structure became, in after years, Pinner's Hall, and the ground being lately excavated for a railway hotel, these fragments of glass were unearthed.

"I also exhibit, as a still further proof of the unrivalled excellence of Venetian art in the seventeenth century, a large octagonal bottle, most accurately representing in colour and peculiar formation, the red Egyptian jasper. Nothing but closest observation and study, together with deftest hand-craft, could have produced such a specimen of art.

"I may also call attention to the Roman glass on the table, as forming



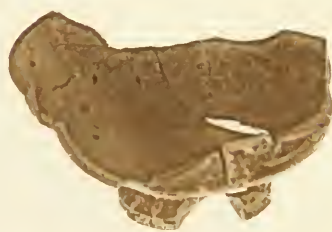




WEST & CO.]

[205, EDGWARE ROAD.

Plate XI.



a portion of one of the most remarkable London finds. During the great heats of last summer, the clay in a deep excavation cracking, disclosed the remains of a decayed cyst, and, as they were placed nearly eighteen hundred years ago, the vessels of a Roman sepulture. They consist of—

“1st. A vase of light green glass, accurate and beautiful in form, containing burnt bones and sand, $8\frac{1}{2}$ in. high, 24 in. in circumference.

“2nd. A tall cylindrical cut bottle, with expanded and ribbed handle, 13 inches high. (Plate 9.)

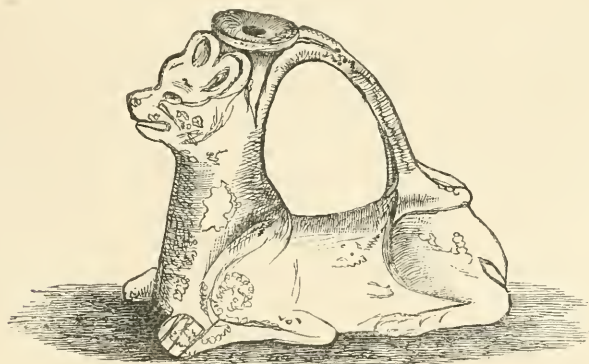
“3rd. A square moulded bottle, containing nearly half a pint of a once aromatic solution. (Plate 10.)

“4th. An exquisitely shaped alabastron of green-tinted glass, about 7 inches long, and beautifully iridescent. (Plate 10.)

“5th. A Samian cup, potter’s mark, M.BACCL., found within the urn in a fragmentary state.

“The date assigned for this burial is not later than the first century.”

Mrs. Baily contributed a fictile alabastron of which a wood block is annexed, representing a panther *sejant*, the mouth of the vessel being



towards the back of its head; an arching handle springing from it and resting on the haunches of the animal. This most curious unguent bottle is cleverly modeled in dull buff-coloured paste, well fired. It is $2\frac{3}{4}$ in. in height, and full $3\frac{1}{4}$ in. in length, and is in excellent preservation. It was exhumed in 1866, together with other Roman remains, at the south-east corner of Lombard Street, and is considered unique as a London find.

Mr. H. Syer Cuming made the following observations on Alabastra.

“Strictly speaking alabastra ought to be wrought of the calcareous deposit designated *alabaster*, or *calc sinter*, but the Greeks and Romans applied the name indiscriminately to all toilet vessels employed for perfumes and unguents, whether they were fabricated of stone, metal, terra-cotta, or glass. I produce what may be termed a true alabas-

tron, *i.e.*, one fashioned out of a piece of calc sinter, and of the earliest type of this kind of vessel with which we are acquainted. It is $4\frac{3}{4}$ inches high, the bursa-shaped body being surmounted by a short cylindrical neck capped by a flat rim. It is of Egyptian make, but was discovered by Signor Campanari in an Etruscan tomb at Vulci.

"Dennis, in his *Etruria*, vol. i, p. c, has engraved an alabastron, found at Chiusi, the upper part of which is wrought as a bifacial bust, the orifice being in the top of the head.

"More *bizarre* forms are met with among the Greek and Roman *vasa unguentaria* than in any other class of ancient vessels.

"Micali (*Ant. Pop. Ital.*, tav. ci) has delineated seven varieties of alabastra. One is bursa-shaped, with an Egyptian face sculptured on the body. Another represents an Egyptian figure in kneeling posture, resting her hands on a jar placed in front. Then there are two bottles of very archaic fabric in the shape of spotted apes, one holding an olla-like vase before it. A fourth example represents a lady's head with long hair arranged in separate locks, the mouth of the vessel rising up in a cone. This is followed by the model of a human leg, with a band just above the knee, which might pass for a garter, embroidered with the key pattern. The last alabastron given in Micali's plate is a miniature copy of the *askos* or wine skin, with a sort of spout at either end, and a handle arching from one to the other.

"A number of fine examples of Iconic alabastra may be seen among the Hellenic fictilia in the British Museum, some of the earliest being representations of the Græco-Phœnician Aphrodite, others resemble ducks, and several are little *aski*.

"I place before you an alabastron in form of a deer *lodged*, as the heralds would say, all its legs being folded beneath the body. The orifice was in the head, but this member of the Icon is unfortunately broken off. This singular toilet bottle, like the apes in Micali's work, is of the so-called Tyrrheno-Phœnician-ware, which is believed to have been manufactured between six hundred and twenty and five hundred and sixty years before the Christian era. The paste is fine and compact, of a pale buff hue, with an exceedingly smooth surface, the neck and body of the animal being thickly powdered with black spots, and the short tail is of the same complexion.

"To this archaic alabastron I add one referable to the Macedonian era, and made probably from two hundred to three hundred years before Christ. It is a diminutive *askos*, the round compressed body supported on a low foot; and its upper surface embossed in low relief with a medallion or *emblema*, representing a nude figure riding on a goat. It has a single neck or spout with annulated mouth, from which springs a handle stretching to the opposite side of the vessel and resting on its shoulder. This beautiful little specimen is composed of reddish-

coloured paste, and, with exception of the base, is entirely covered with a lustrous black varnish, like that seen on the vases discovered at Nola in Campania.

"The panther-shaped alabastron submitted by Mrs. Baily is a type of great rarity, and is vastly superior in design and fabric to the fictilia usually met with in the *débris* of Roman London. It is in all probability of foreign and rather early origin, and brought hither by some opulent Italian as a choice example of the potter's art.

"The Romans did not indulge so much as the Greeks did in quaintly formed alabastera, but still there is no lack of proof that their toilet-tables were supplied with vessels of fanciful design. Some of the Roman alabastera of glass represent human heads, the necks of the bottles looking somewhat like the *calathus* on the head of Jupiter Serapis.

"A reminiscence of the curiously shaped toilet vessels of the ancients seems to be preserved in some of the Eau de Cologne bottles and many other similar vessels of modern times."

Mr. H. S. Cuming read the following paper:

WHY IS THE NINE OF DIAMONDS CALLED THE CURSE OF SCOTLAND?

"The reason of the nine of diamonds being nicknamed the 'curse of Scotland' involves one of those historic doubts which have puzzled many a brain, and moved the pens of busy writers to such an extent that were the literature of the subject to appear in a collected form it would fill a goodly volume. But though the scribblers be legion, their suggestions as to the origin of the soubriquet are much fewer than might at first be supposed, for the same idea ever and anon surges up as a new thought, albeit it has been repeated a score of times before.

"We have unfortunately no very definite evidence as to the period when the title of Curse of Scotland was first bestowed on the nine of diamonds, for whilst some would place it as far back as the sixteenth century, if not further, others would bring it down to near the middle of the eighteenth century.

"The story goes, that in ancient days the court jeweller was commanded by the Scottish monarch to adorn his diadem with ten brilliants, but could find only nine for the purpose, and that the curse he bestowed on them in his anger passed by way of joke to the ninth card in the suit of diamonds.

"The next theory still links the origin of the name of the card with kingship, but in no very complimentary manner. It sets forth that as diamonds are supposed to be emblematic of royalty, and as according to popular belief every ninth sovereign of North Britain was a tyrant and a curse to the country, the nine of diamonds got the appellation of the curse of Scotland, as being typical of these hateful rulers; and a

correspondent in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, August 1788, p. 731, states that he had heard the card in question called 'Moll Hepburn', doubtless in allusion to Mary Queen of Scots, who had for her third husband James Hepburn, Earl of Bothwell, the murderer of her second spouse.¹

"Q. E. D.' thus expresses himself in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, February 1787, p. 130. 'The Curse of Scotland must be something which that nation hate and detest; but the Scots held in the utmost detestation the Pope; at the game of Pope Joan the nine of diamonds is Pope, therefore the nine of diamonds is the curse of Scotland.'

"In Chambers's *Book of Days*, i, 74, mention is made of a caricature of the date of October 21, 1745, representing the young chevalier attempting to lead a herd of bulls, laden with papal curses, excommunications, etc., across the Tweed, with the nine of diamonds lying before them. In this instance the card would seem to represent his holiness, as in the game just referred to, though the reason of its introduction and position is somewhat obscure, unless, indeed, it implied that the gallant prince had even at this time cast off the Romish faith, as he certainly did renounce it a few years afterwards in the Church of St. Mary le Strand.²

"Pope Joan may remind us of another game which is reputed to have occasioned the nine of diamonds to be called the curse of Scotland, but whether in the sixteenth or the seventeenth century is a matter of dispute. Let us hear two versions of the same tale given by two correspondents of the *Gentleman's Magazine*, in the year 1786. 'P. C.' says in the November part, p. 968, 'The nine of diamonds is called the curse of Scotland, because it is the great winning card at Comette, which was a game introduced into Scotland by the French attendants of Mary Lorraine, Queen of James V, to the ruin of many Scottish families.' This communication seems to have been sent as a sort of corrective to one which appeared in the July part of the *Magazine*, p. 538, which affirmed that 'When the Duke of York (a little before his succession to the Crown) came to Scotland, he and his suite introduced a new game there called Comet, where the nine of diamonds is an important card. The Scots, who were to learn the game, felt it to their cost; and from that circumstance the nine of diamonds was nicknamed the curse of Scotland.'³

¹ Following the order of Scottish sovereigns given in Haydn's *Dictionary of Dates*, the title of *curse* to their country would fall to the lot of Josina, Caractacus, Donald I, Romachus, Goranus, Ferchard II, Fergus III, Eth, Constantine IV, Alexander I, David Bruce, Mary Stuart; and, if Cromwell be counted in among the monarchs after the union of the kingdoms in 1603, George I must be added to this list.

² See Jesse's *Memoirs of the Pretenders*, p. 356. The prince's father was in his heart an Anglican, and employed Protestants to educate his children. For the latter fact see *Memoirs of Baron de Pollnitz*, ii, p. 125.

³ An account of the game of *comette* is given in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, December, 1786, p. 1122.

"The Comette theory has, I believe, few supporters, the great majority of writers on this *veraxa questio* seeking a solution of the reason of the evil name attaching to the nine of diamonds within the bounds of heraldry, one individual after another being pointed out as a curse to Scotland, and a resemblance, near or remote, discovered between his armorial bearings and the red pips on the card.

"Turning again to the *Gentleman's Magazine*, April 1786, p. 301, we find a correspondent delivering himself thus, 'Looking lately over a book of heraldry I found nine diamonds or lozenges conjoined, or in the heraldic language *gules*, a cross of lozenges, to be the arms of Packer. Colonel Packer appears to have been one of the persons who was on the scaffold when Charles I was beheaded, and afterwards commanded in Scotland, and is recorded to have acted in his command with considerable severity. It is possible that his arms might, by a very easy metonymy, be called the curse of Scotland, and the nine of diamonds at cards being very similar in figure to them, might have ever since retained the appellation.' This is the only mention of Colonel Packer I remember meeting with in the curse of Scotland controversy.

"We read the following in Pulleyn's *Etymological Compendium* (London, 1830, p. 312), "The nine of diamonds, being termed the curse of Scotland, originates from a Scotch member, whose family arms is the nine of diamonds, voting for the introduction of the malt tax in Scotland.' Why did not the writer favour us with the name of this delinquent?"

"Grose in his *Classical Dictionary of the Vulgar Tongue*, London, 1796, after mentioning the nine tyrant story of the origin of the title of our famous card, goes on to tell us that 'others say it is from its similarity to the arms of Argyle; the Duke of Argyle having been very instrumental in bringing about the union, which, by some Scotch patriots, has been considered as detrimental to their country.' The arms of Argyle are:—Gyronny of eight *or* and *sable*, and it is therefore only by a violent stretch of fancy that any likeness can be seen between them and the nine of diamonds; otherwise the nickname of the card would well befit the Campbells, who from their traitorous vacillation, and their sanguinary atrocity at Glencoe and Culloden, have rendered themselves worthy to be hailed as the curse of Scotland.

"Should we fail, however, in finding the sought for curse among the Campbells we have a crop of Dalrymples all ready at hand to supply the deficiency. A few of the crimes of this race are hinted at in Chambers's *Book of Days*, i, 74. After speaking of James Dalrymple, Viscount Stair, the President of the Sessions in Scotland, the writer passes on to his son John Dalrymple, first Earl of Stair, who 'was one of three persons of importance chosen to offer the crown of Scotland to William and Mary at the revolution. As Secretary of State for

Scotland he was the prime instrument in causing the massacre of Glencoe, which covered his name with infamy. He was greatly instrumental in bringing about the union of Scotland with England, though he did not live to see it effected (he died in 1707). His son, the second earl, as ambassador to France in the time of the regency of Orleans, was of immense service in defeating the intrigues of the Stuarts, and preserving the crown for the Hanover dynasty.' And it is added that it appears to have been with reference to the Dalrymples 'that the nine of diamonds got the name of the curse of Scotland, this card bearing a resemblance to the nine lozenges, or, arranged saltirewise on their armorial coat.' And then after enumerating some of the various notions respecting the title of the card, the writer goes on to declare 'all of them most lame and unsatisfactory suggestions, in comparison with the simple and obvious idea of a witty reference to a set of detested but powerful statesmen, through the medium of their coat of arms.'

"If these hard hits at the Dalrymples carry not conviction to every mind there is yet another theory respecting the curse of Scotland to be offered for acceptance, and one which is held in high favour by the Jacobite party. It is said that on the night preceding the fatal battle of Culloden, the Duke of Cumberland sent orders to General Campbell to give no quarter to the soldiers of Prince Charles Edward, and that his royal highness, being in great haste to dispatch his commands, and no paper being at hand, snatched up the nine of diamonds and wrote his fiendish behest on its back, and from this circumstance the card has henceforth been known as the curse of Scotland. And we must not omit to mention that a correspondent of the *Gentleman's Magazine*, January 1789, p. 39, says, that 'after the battle of Culloden, in 1746, the same card was usually called 'the Duke of Cumberland'. These two statements, pointing to the same event, bring us to the prime motive of this communication, viz., the exhibition of a folding political card, one of the outer faces of which displays the nine of diamonds, and one of the inner surfaces a view of the field of Culloden,—a convincing proof that within a month after the event, this fearful fight and the curse of Scotland were linked together in the popular mind. As this curious card is of singular rarity and historic interest, it may be well to devote a little time to its examination, although it be not an object of much antiquity. As just stated the front of this card bears the nine red lozenges, and on the back is the following title, if it may so be called, '*The Victory, or the New C—t Th—ksq—g* Card II.'

'Of old, things like these were done at St. P—.

Now our praises resound at H—y M—rk—t Balls.

'New F— of P—r.

'Sold at May's Buildings, Covent Garden, May 15, 1746.'

“On opening the card we see on the dexter side the field of Culloden, the most conspicuous figure being of course the Duke of Cumberland, mounted on a charger and pointing with his baton to the thick of the fight. The adherents of Prince Charles are easily distinguished by their Tartan garb, and most noticeable among them is a group of females armed with swords, one of them being booted and spurred. On the opposite or sinister side of the card are the following lines, which have more of a Jacobite than Hanoverian air about them :

‘Lady Anne makes her compliments on ye occasion
Of our martial young hero’s deliv’ring the nation
From Irish and Scotch, non-jurors and papists,
All parties and sects save free-thinkers and atheists,
And begs in th’ evening you’ll not fail to come
T’ an assembly so proper at this time—a drum.
She ’s engaged ev’ry officer now about town,
What m—mb—rs she can, and the smarts of the gown ;
And some from the city before never seen,
With squires ne’er at court since the reign of the Queen.
The windows enlight’ned, the fireworks prepar’d,
And a swinging large bonfire to blaze in the yard.
Be precise, then, at nine ; she ’ll take no denial,
For who ’s sober to-night can never be loyal.’

“Vain would it be to attempt to guess at the authorship of this sarcastic doggerel, penned evidently by no ardent lover of the court, but by one who delighted to show up the irreligious doings of its partisans. Lady Anne no doubt was a well known personage when this card was published, and might perhaps be identified by rummaging over the newspapers of the period. But neither the hopeless obscurity of the writer of the rhymes, nor the uncertainty attending the lady, effects in the slightest degree the value of the light which the card sheds on the origin of the title of the curse of Scotland for the nine of diamonds.

“But in spite of all that has been adduced, some may say that the matter is left in much the same position in which we found it. But to this I must demur, for I think after analysing the various theories advanced we may, without much compunction, reject most of them as far-fetched and untenable, and thus materially narrow the question at issue.

“Surely the stories of the lack of a jewel for the royal diadem, and the diamonds being emblematic of the curse-bringing monarchs of Scotland, may both be cast aside, and with them the notion respecting the game of Comette, as far too fanciful for the required purpose. And without wishing to dispute the assertion that Colonel Packer, and the Campbells, and the Dalrymples were, one and all, curses to Scotland, we have not sufficient warrant for admitting that the armorial bearings of either of them suggested the nickname of the nine of diamonds.



own idea is that this card may have, in the first instance, been called the curse of Scotland from its being the representative of his triple-crowned holiness in the game of Pope Joan, and that this name was accepted as doubly appropriate after the Duke of Cumberland had written his ferocious no-quarter order on its back. The political card I have produced establishes, beyond all doubt and cavil, a strict and strong connection between the fatal battle of Culloden and the curse of Scotland. And I speak with authority when I state that many Jacobites firmly believe that this battle, or rather the sanguinary order which preceded it, was the real and sole origin of a title which has rendered the nine of diamonds the most renowned member in a pack of cards, and evoked controversies which at times have been waged with a heat and acrimony more befitting the field of war than the calm and philosophic arena of historic inquiry."

Mr. W. de Grey Birch read his paper "On two Seals of the ancient Earls of Devon" (see pp. 170-174 *ante*).

Mr. Loftus E. P. Brock read the following notes "On an Anglo-Saxon Interment at Beddington, Surrey."

"In April, 1871, I had the pleasure of reporting to the Association the discovery of traces of a Roman building at Beddington, a plan of which was inserted in the *Journal* for that year.

"Mention was also made of some interments apparently of later date and two cinerary urns of large size, and elaborately ornamented, which were exhibited together with several spear-heads and other relics. These were met with in levelling two slight eminences, which had evidently been tumuli of Saxon date, and a short distance south of the site of the Roman building.

"A silver penny of Athelstane was found in the building, showing most probably its occupation in Saxon times.

"It may be added that the site of these relics is on the low-lying ground bounded by the small stream the Wandle, to the north-east of Beddington Church, on what was recently a portion of Beddington Park, and is now the sewage farm of Croydon.

"Very considerable interest has been occasioned in the neighbourhood within the last few days by the discovery of another interment made during some excavations, and the site has been inspected by a great many persons. I took an early opportunity of paying a visit to the spot, and found that the remains consist of those of a very tall man, one of the thigh bones alone measuring $19\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length, while the jaw bones were of large size and the teeth perfect.

"The head rested on what had evidently been a circular shield, the boss of which, in a fair state of preservation, still remained, but it was unfortunately much injured by removal. This is of iron; and another shield, also with a boss, lay close beside the left arm. A spear-head had

evidently been placed beside the figure on the right side, and the head of the spear, which is $10\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, still remained.

"The socket of a sword and a small portion of the blade was met with quite decayed, and three or four portions of other spear-heads, among which was one remarkably elegantly shaped head in good preservation, the other one being of an ordinary shape. These may have belonged to other interments, as may also the fragments of a coarse black urn, and of a white drinking cup, glazed with bright clean glazing. Some fragments of charred wood were found, showing that the tumulus had been used for interments by cremation also.

"It may be added that, from the position, this interment must have been beneath one of the two bevelled tumuli.

"A reference to a plan made in 1871 places this beyond doubt, that the head was placed towards the centre, while the feet radiated towards the north-east.

"Care was taken by Mr. Horsley, the manager of the farm, to provide for the re-interment of the bones; but the metal implements, which are all of iron, have been retained and will be shown on application, but they will ultimately be deposited in the museum now being formed at Croydon."

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING.

13TH MAY.

J. P. PLANCHÉ, ESQ., SOMERSET HERALD, V. P., IN THE CHAIR.

In the absence of Gordon M. Hills, Esq., Hon. Treasurer, Mr. E. Levien, M.A., F.S.A., Hon. Secretary, read the Treasurer's Report for 1873:

"I have to announce that the balance sheet for the past year shows that from the first source of our income, viz., the annual subscriptions, we have received £265:11:10, whereas if strict punctuality had been observed by all the associates, it should have amounted to £320.

"The second source of our income, viz., that accruing from the congress held at Sheffield shows a considerable increase resulting from our visit to that town and neighbourhood; and the residents there not only made the receipts exceptionally large, but they extended to the members of the Association a courtesy, kindness, and hospitality, which cannot be too heartily or gratefully acknowledged.

"The third source of income arising from the sale of the publications is subject to little variation. It is greatly to be regretted that the Society has sustained in this respect a serious loss, owing to the destruc-

tion at the Pantehnicon fire of the stock of books, including nearly all that we possessed of vols. 2 to 10 inclusive. The books were packed and stored in twelve deal packing cases. I find it very difficult to estimate the exact number of volumes lost, and I am not able to say more than that I think it considerably exceeds one thousand volumes.

"With regard to our expenditure the council has very wisely pledged us to an outlay of £25 for an index of the first thirty volumes. I learn from our hon. palaeographer, Mr. W. de G. Birch, to whom the superintendence of this work has been entrusted that considerable progress has been made in it, and he hopes that before the end of the year the MS. will be completed."

GORDON M. HILLS, Hon. Treasurer.

The adoption of the report and balance-sheet having been moved and carried, Mr. Levien laid before the meeting the biographical memoirs he had prepared of the members deceased during the year 1873. He regretted to say that the list was a long one and included several names of men distinguished in literature and art, among them being Bishop Wilberforce, Lord Lytton, the Rev. Principal Barclay, John Brodrib Bergne, Joseph S. Wyon, and one whose loss the Association would especially feel, viz., John Walker Baily, Esq. Mr. Levien said that these melancholy notices were necessarily somewhat more lengthy than usual, and he would not detain the meeting by reading them on the present occasion as they would appear in their proper place in the September number of the *Journal*.

The ballot for the officers and council for the ensuing year was then taken, and the following noblemen and gentlemen were declared to be duly elected.

President.

KIRKMAN D. HODGSON, Esq., M.P.

Vice-Presidents.

[*Ex officio*—THE DUKE OF NORFOLK, E.M.; THE DUKE OF CLEVELAND, K.G.; THE EARL OF CARMARVON; THE EARL BATHURST; THE EARL OF DARTMOUTH; THE LORD HOUGHTON, D.C.L.; SIR CHAS. H. ROUSE BOURTON, BART.; SIR W. C. MEDLYCOTT, BART., D.C.L.; JAMES HEYWOOD, F.R.S., F.S.A.; GEORGE TOMLINE, F.S.A.]

THE EARL OF EFFINGHAM
SIR J. G. WILKINSON, D.C.L., F.R.S.
H. SYER CUMING, F.S.A. SCOT.
JOHN EVANS, F.R.S., F.S.A.
GEORGE GODWIN, F.R.S., F.S.A.

R. N. PHILIPPS, LL.B., F.S.A.
J. R. PLANCHÉ, *Somerset Herald*
REV. PREBENDARY SCARTH, M.A.
REV. W. SPARROW SIMPSON, D.D., F.S.A.
THOMAS WRIGHT, M.A., F.S.A.

Treasurer.

GORDON M. HILLS.

Secretaries.

E. LEVIEN, M.A., F.S.A.

E. ROBERTS, F.S.A.

Secretary for Foreign Correspondence.

THOMAS WRIGHT, M.A., F.S.A.

Palaeographer.

W. DE GRAY BIRCH, F.R.S.L.

Curator and Librarian.

GEORGE R. WRIGHT, F.S.A.

Draughtsman.

G. F. TENISWOOD, F.S.A.

Council.

GEORGE G. ADAMS, F.S.A.

GEORGE ADE

THOMAS BLASHILL

WILLIAM BRAGGE, F.S.A.

CECIL BRENT, F.S.A.

GEORGE E. COCKAYNE, M.A., F.S.A.,

Lancaster Herald

WILLIAM HENRY COPE

R. NORMAN FISHER

JOHN H. FOLEY, R.A.

JOHN GRAY, Q.C.

J. W. GROVER

H. W. HENFREY

REV. S. M. MAYHEW, M.A., F.S.A.,

F.R.G.S.

THOMAS MORGAN

J. S. PHENÉ, F.S.A.

J. W. PREVITÉ

S. ISAACSON TUCKER, *Rouge Croix*.

Auditors.

LOFTUS E. P. BROCK

F. A. WAITE, M.A., F.S.A.

The following resolutions were then put from the chair and carried unanimously:

1. That the best thanks of the Association be given to his Grace the Duke of Norfolk for having filled the office of President for the past year, and for his kind treatment of the members at the Congress at Sheffield. Proposed by Mr. W. de G. Birch, seconded by Mr. R. N. Philipps.

2. That the thanks of this meeting be given to the several vice-presidents for their valuable services during the past year. Proposed by Mr. T. Blashill, seconded by Mr. E. Levien.

3. That thanks be cordially returned to the Treasurer, Secretaries, and other officers of the Association, for their valuable honorary services during the year. Proposed by Mr. T. Morgan, seconded by Mr. G. Ogle.

4. That thanks be returned to the council for the past year for their continuous services and attention to the business of the Association. Proposed by Mr. Henry W. Henfrey, seconded by Mr. R. Fitch.

5. That a vote of thanks be passed to the Auditors for their valuable services. Proposed by Mr. G. Ade, seconded by Mr. G. R. Wright.

6. That the thanks of the Association be given to the Right Hon. the Lord Mayor and the Corporation of the City of London for their kindness in lending a valuable collection of antiquities for the congress of the Association held at Sheffield in August, 1873. Moved by Mr. E. Roberts, seconded by Mr. Thomas Morgan.

7. That the cordial thanks of the Association be given to the Mayor and Corporation, to the Master Cutler and Corporation of Cutlers, and other public and official bodies of Sheffield for their great courtesy and

kindness shown to the members during the congress held there in August, 1873, and for the zeal and liberality they then displayed in furthering the objects of the Association. Proposed by Mr. E. Roberts, seconded by Mr. W. de G. Birch.

Thanks were also returned to the Earl of Dartmouth, V. P., the Earl Fitz-William, the Earl and Countess of Scarborough, Lord Wharncliffe, T. E. Vickers, Esq., late Mayor of Sheffield; the Mayor of Doncaster; Alderman William Fisher and the members of the Local Committee at Sheffield; and to Thomas Griffiths, Esq., and John D. Webster, Esq., Hon. Local Secretaries, for various valuable services rendered to the Association during the Sheffield Congress. A vote of thanks to the Chairman, proposed by Mr. G. R. Wright, seconded by Mr. E. Leven, and carried with acclamation, brought the proceedings to a close.

British Archaeological Association.

BALANCE SHEET FOR THE YEAR ENDING THE 31st DEC. 1873.

RECEIPTS.

	£	s.	d.
Balance due to the Association at the audit of 1872	50	13	10½
Annual and life-subscriptions and entrance-fees, 1873	265	11	10
Balance of the Sheffield Congress	184	8	4
Sale of publications	25	18	6
Total credit to the Association	£526	12	6½

We have examined the accounts and vouchers connected with the above balance sheet, and have found them correct.

Signed

J. O. PHILLIPES }
HENRY W. HENFREY } *Auditors.*

May 9th, 1874.

EXPENDITURE.

	£	s.	d.
Printing and publishing <i>Journal</i>	213	3	0
Illustrations to the same	66	2	0
Miscellaneous printing	10	13	6
Rent, for 1873, of rooms at Sackville-street, and clerk's salary	64	12	0
Delivery of <i>Journals</i>	15	14	0
Petty expenses, carriage of antiquities, postage stamps, and advertisements	11	7	2
Stationery	3	17	7
Total expenditure	385	9	3
Balance in hands of Treasurer	141	3	3½
	£526	12	6½

Proceedings of the Congress.

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 20TH, 1873.

A MOST attractive programme was provided for the entertainment of the members of the Association, and they assembled in very large numbers, although the weather was unfavourable. The route taken was through the Brinsworth tollbar, and past Canklow Wood, leaving the town of Rotherham and the pretty village of Whiston to the left, to Laughton-en-le-Morthen, which was reached in about two hours, and the party, having been considerably increased by a number of ladies and gentlemen from Rotherham, proceeded to inspect the Saxon Church at Laughton.

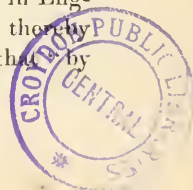
Having assembled within the church, which was nearly filled, the Rev. J. Stacey read an interesting paper on the history of the village and the church. He called attention to the altitude of the situation, and to the popular story that from it the seas both of the east and west coasts of England are visible,—a story not to be realised, in fact, although the place is about midway between the mouth of the Humber and that of the Dee, and the position extraordinarily commanding in extent of prospect. The church, possessing distinct remains of Saxon work, and the ancient fortification adjoining the churchyard on the west, are objects of special antiquarian interest, and were carefully examined by the visitors. Mr. Stacey's paper on them will be printed in a future number of the *Journal*.

In respect to the earthworks Mr. Fairless Barber pointed out that they consisted of an elevated mound at the south-west angle of an enclosed quadrangular space, the enclosure being formed by a deep ditch and considerable bank. The works were evidently constructed with the intention of being permanent, and not merely as an entrenchment which some passing force desired to occupy. He thought their construction might be correctly ascribed to the period after the rights of property had been considerably settled; and probably it was the local habitation of some important person. Such mounds existed in various portions of South Yorkshire, and were not probably constructed for aggressive or defensive purposes, except so far as the people wished to

protect themselves in the same way as was done now by bolts and bars. They belonged to the period between the seventh and tenth centuries.

Again taking their seats in the carriages, the party went on to Roche Abbey, through Letwell and Firbeck. Here the grounds were thrown open by Lord Scarborough, and by the kindness of the Mayor (Mr. J. Fairburn) and the Master Cutler (Mr. T. E. Vickers) of Sheffield, the whole party were entertained at a bountiful luncheon, for which a tent had been erected on the green near to the lodge, and the repast was extremely welcome. During the luncheon rain fell heavily, making shelter all the more acceptable. The cloth having been drawn, Mr. Roberts offered the sincere thanks of the party to the Mayor and Master Cutler.

The programme provided that at the close of the luncheon the party should proceed to inspect the abbey, under the guidance and instruction of Mr. Gordon M. Hills. Rain was still falling very heavily, and Mr. Hills was asked to describe the ruins from the tent, which he most readily consented to do. He regretted, after the members had come so far, that they were not able to examine the ruins, which deserved so much attention. The foundation charter of the abbey bore no date; but it could be shown, from the calculation of the dates of the subscribing witnesses, that the abbey was founded in 1147, by Richard de Busli, a great nobleman in those parts; and in the charter it was stated that he "gave his land for the foundation of the abbey." It appeared, however, that the abbey had two founders, Richard de Busli and Richard Fitz-Turgis, who were the owners of the soil on either side of the stream. They joined their lands with the expressed purpose that the monks might be able to choose a site on whichever side of the stream should be most convenient. They decided on the north of the stream; and, as at Beauchief Abbey, they thereupon turned the domestic offices of the abbey towards the stream, that they might get a due supply of water, and have their sewage carried off in the proper way. The domestic buildings were thus on the south side of the abbey, and therefore most open to the sun. Roche Abbey was the thirty-seventh abbey of the Cistercian order founded in this kingdom. Their first abbey was founded in 1128, and the last erected in this country by them was in 1250. He said the buildings were not erected immediately after the actual foundation of the brotherhood, as was indicated by the style of the part remaining. The date of the buildings was not therefore to be precisely fixed; but it might be very nearly ascertained. Abbot Osmund, the fifth abbot of Roche, who had been cellarer at Fountain's, received the appointment of agent to the Cardinal Legate at Rome in this country of all his profits in England. Vast sums of money passed through his hands, and thereby the abbey was considerably enriched. It is stated expressly that by



means of the munificent conduct of the cardinal, the whole of the monks were greatly benefited in all respects, and the buildings finished." That very well agreed with the nature of the buildings and with the architecture. Abbot Osmund ruled from 1184 to 1223. And besides, there is the charter of Idonea de Vipont, which, it has not been before noticed, was made at the time of the dedication of the church. He directed special attention to the great solidity and majesty of the work, and to its simplicity. There was no fancy or showy architecture in any way, the builders trusting entirely to its actual solidity and goodness. The church was amongst the first of the buildings erected, and the works perhaps concluded with the erection of the gatehouse at the entrance to the grounds, which was a very admirable specimen of architecture of nearly the middle of the thirteenth century. Although the church was begun before 1200, it was many years in building, and its dedication did not take place until about 1227. The monks appeared to have enjoyed a period of quiet prosperity, but after the lapse of a hundred years they began to decline. In conclusion, he indicated the spot which was, in all probability the burying place of the abbots. The rain had by this time considerably abated, and many of the party accompanied Mr. Hills to the ruins, where he gave further explanations respecting them. A visit was also paid to the gateway, about which he gave some particulars.

On the motion of the Rev. J. Stacey, seconded by Dr. Griffiths, a vote of thanks was accorded to Mr. Hills for the valuable information he had given.

Mr. Hills thanked the company for the vote.

The Countess of Scarborough and some members of the family drove into the grounds, and were introduced to several of the members of the Association.

It was now past four o'clock. According to the arrangements the party was to have left the abbey at half-past three for Rotherham, there to see the church and the chapel on the bridge. Under the circumstances some, owing to the unfavourable weather, decided to abandon that part of the programme, and return direct to Sheffield.

Mr. Alderman Guest was to have read a paper descriptive of the church, but as so few were there he was asked to defer doing so until Friday evening. He consented and merely directed the attention of the assembled members to the more important parts of the church.

The members then walked down to the "chapel on the bridge," which the occupier very kindly allowed them to inspect. Mr. Guest gave a description of the building. He said a careful search had failed to find any notice of this Bridge Chapel in any of the records touching ecclesiastical foundations up to the time of Edward VI. Leland, writing in or about 1550, says, "I entered into Rotherham by a fair stone

bridge of iiii arches, and on hit is a chapel of stone well wrought." Camden, or rather Gough, says, "The chapel on the bridge is standing but converted into a dwelling-house for poor people." It was afterwards used as the town gaol, to which purpose it was misappropriated for a great number of years. The local records were totally silent as to its foundation, but not as to the uses to which it has been appropriated. The chapel was probably at first the dwelling of a hermit or anchorite, who would naturally choose such a place that people might visit or at least pass near him, as he was otherwise unable to have any social intercourse with his fellow men. In one of the earliest accounts of the feoffees of common lands appears this entry, "1550, Item: Paid to John Ankered for mending a lok of ye queene in ye chappell at Brigg, 2d." How the feoffees became possessed of a property like that it was difficult to conceive, but such possession seemed not to have been without its peril and penalty, as by an entry under date August, 12, 1682, it was shown that the Sessions Court at Pontefract estreated a sum of money to repair the chapel and bridge. In Bucklers' remarks on wayside chapels it was thus described:—"The chapel at Rotherham approaches nearly in dimensions to that of Wakefield. Their interior admeasurements are respectively 32 feet by 14 feet, and 40 feet by 16 feet 8 inches. The design at the chapel at Rotherham is plain: there have been two windows on each side, one at the east end and one high up and of small size, at the west end over the entrance. The pediments or side parapets are embattled, and terminated with numerous crocketed pinnacles. The mullions and tracery of all the windows have been destroyed, and whatever ornamental features may have graced the interior there is nothing of the kind now visible." The exact measurement differs from the above, being 32 ft. 9 in. in length by 15 ft. 5 in. in width.

Mr. Guest was thanked for his paper, and the party left for Sheffield, where they arrived about eight o'clock, not having accomplished all they wished, but having on the whole enjoyed themselves.

In the evening there was a conversazione at the Cutlers' Hall. A number of objects of great interest to archæologists were shown in the banqueting hall. Many of these were exhibited by Mr. Benjamin Bagshawe, jun., and were a portion of discoveries made in the opening of barrows in Derbyshire. One of these was on the Hazlebadge hills, in the Peak, which was opened in 1865. Twenty-seven bodies were then discovered, and some of the principal skulls were exhibited by Mr. Bagshawe. One of these was a remarkably good specimen of a typical British skull. Evidences of the use of the nursing board were apparent upon it, and there was an unnatural protuberance on the occipital part of the skull, doubtless caused by the flattening of the opposite portion. Then there was the skull of a female, wanting all

the marked characteristics of a British woman. The probability is that the skull is that of a Gaul, or perhaps a follower of the Roman soldiery, who were located at the Roman station at Brough. The excavations rewarded the investigators with a quantity of pottery, some of which Mr. Bagshawe exhibited. One of the specimens was a beautiful food vessel, richly ornamented with twisted thong indentations; the lip also is ornamented. Some drinking cups were likewise shown. The bone of some kind of fish was exhibited. It was found amongst some burnt human ashes, and the supposition is that it was used by the person amongst whose ashes it was discovered. Amongst other things found in the barrow and shown by Mr. Bagshawe, were a bone, supposed to have been a spatula used in the formation of pottery; a fragment of a bracelet made of Kimmeridge coal; several arrow heads of flint, and a bone pin. Mr. Bagshawe also showed a beautiful ornamented drinking cup, found in the barrow near Grindlow, remarkable for being the smallest cup of the kind yet discovered. From the same barrow were shown some rude specimens of flint chippings, the jaw of a wolf or a dog, and an alabaster pebble which may have been used as a sling stone. Fragmentary remains of pottery were also shown by Mr. Bagshawe from the barrow at Lowsley, near Eyam. From the same barrow was an interesting object in the shape of a lead bead, the presence of which in the barrow proves that the ancient Britons were acquainted with the art of smelting lead. Passing over a large engraved copper medallion found in a garden at the Manor, Mr. Bagshawe next exhibited several coins and local traders' tokens found in the Hill Top Mine, Great Hucklow, the dates varying from 1605 to 1680. In connection with this mine, the Great Hucklow Mining Company exhibited several rude mining tools discovered in the working of the mine. These were of the time from 1600 to 1680; they are of very rude workmanship. Amongst the tools are several spades exactly similar in form to some dug up in a Roman mine in Shropshire twenty years ago. This shows that a period of twelve hundred years must have elapsed between the periods when the respective tools were used, and yet during all that time no real improvement was effected in so useful an implement as a spade. From the same mine, Mr. Bagshawe exhibited two loving cups, and a glass wassail bowl of the usual loving cup shape. Brass pins and Roman coins found in the Longstone Edge Mines, Derbyshire, were likewise shown by Mr. Bagshawe, and they were interesting as evidences of the mines in the Peak of Derbyshire having been worked by that nation. Mr. J. S. A. Shuttleworth, Hathersage Hall, exhibited some objects of interest, amongst them being a very fine specimen of a halberd found near Edensor forty years ago. Mr. M. J. Ellison exhibited a most perfect impression of a fern upon a stone discovered in the Granville Road cutting. Mr. J.

D. Webster, Mr. T. Fenton, and Mr. Bagshawe, each exhibited a specimen of a quern—a stone used for the grinding of corn in houses situate a distance from the mill. A number of very interesting old engravings of local and other places were shown by Mr. E. Wilson; and on the walls was a complete series of water colour drawings of the round towers in Ireland, shown by Mr. Gordon M. Hills. Mr. John House, of Watson Walk, exhibited an historical sketch of the art of bookbinding, by means of a number of photographic illustrations. Some curious bells fastened to a collar of leather, were shown by Mr. Peter Furniss of Eyam. They were worn by the first of a drove of “jaggers” horses before the introduction of carts into the peak of Derbyshire. Some beautiful specimens of domestic architecture in this neighbourhood were shown by Mr. J. D. Webster; and drawings of the Manor Lodge were exhibited by Mr. M. E. Hadfield. A very beautiful collection of ancient ironwork, specimens of British skates (pre-Roman), nailed sandals, etc., all found in London, were shown by Mr. E. Roberts, F.S.A. (one of the honorary secretaries), who in the course of the evening gave an admirable description of the principal objects of interest in the room.

At the evening meeting, J. R. Planché, Esq., in the chair, two papers were read in the drawing-room. Mr. R. N. Philipps, LL.D., F.S.A., who was the reader of the first paper, exhibited a large collection of ancient hardware. It included a number of Roman, Early English, and mediæval keys; several Early English and other specimens of locks; Roman and mediæval buckles; Roman stylus for writing on wax; Roman needles; a great variety of ancient spurs; a number of Roman and mediæval knives; Roman axe-heads and chopper; Roman gouge and spatula, and Roman scissors; arrow heads; a shoe worn by a Roman soldier; ornamental shoes made of thongs; and a very curious Roman lock. There were also mediæval specimens of large knives, nails, shears, and a pick-axe head. Portions of the collection belong to the Corporation of the City of London; the Rev. J. M. Mayhew, F.S.A., London; and Mr. A. W. Franks, Director of the Society of Antiquaries of London, keeper of mediæval antiquities at the British Museum, by whom they were entrusted to Mr. Philipps, who then read a paper “On the Manufacture of Hardware by the Celts and Romans.”

In explanation of the exhibition, he began by saying that he had chosen the subject as one which was especially connected with the district in which the congress was now being held. He proceeded to review the process of the manufacture of implements in the earlier ages, producing specimens of ancient stone and bronze weapons, etc., in illustration of his descriptions. He believed that the material for bronze was found first in Britain, that without our tin mines it could not have been made, and that the ironstone of Britain supplied

the iron worked so successfully by the Romans for the then civilised world. These Romans were the men to whom in after ages had succeeded our own ironmasters, who, as Englishmen, had developed this great manufacture in its various branches for the world. Passing from the consideration of the bronze to that of the iron age, he thought it was somewhat extraordinary that ironstone, which abounded so much in this country, should have been so long unused. In many parts it even cropped up on the surface, and its very weight, if not indeed its actual appearance, ought to have suggested a mineral. What, then, was the reason for its non-employment? The difficulty arose from the want of those mechanical contrivances which were now employed for the purpose of smelting the ore. Mr. Philipps then went on to consider the mode of smelting adopted by the Romans; but as this subject has been several times treated of in the *Journal*, and notably in vol. xxix, 1873, page 121, by Mr. J. W. Grover, it is not necessary to pursue it here, though very ably and aptly treated.

The reader next alluded briefly to the position of the iron manufacture at the present day, and argued that the iron of the Romans, produced as it was, unaided by modern inventions and discoveries, possessed in its manufacture a tenacity and an endurance to which the common iron of the present day could in comparison lay but little claim. He enumerated the uses to which iron was applied for domestic purposes amongst the Romans. There was the knife (which even in those days bore cutlers' marks), the scissors, the chisel, etc., and the Roman iron pen or "stylus," specimens of all of which he exhibited. History was thus repeating itself daily. Still it had been by invention and the encouragement of inventions, that the industrial products of that great branch of commerce, the hardware manufacture, which had made Sheffield so prosperous, had contributed so largely, amongst other industries, to cause our own country to become so great and so powerful amongst the nations of the world.

The Chairman called on the meeting to join with him in offering thanks to Mr. Philipps for his paper, which must have been particularly appreciated by their Sheffield friends. The call met with a hearty response.

Mr. T. Morgan read a paper on "The Earliest Tribes of Yorkshire." Commencing with the Roman and Saxon as the known races, he said he intended to refer to some traces of the Romans in Yorkshire at a time when, under its name Eboracum, it might rightly be called *Altera Roma*; and from the early part of the third century of our era go forward through Roman and Saxon times, and then revert to the more hypothetical period which preceded the Romans. After alluding to the brave resistance of the Brigantes, the native tribe of Yorkshire, to the Romans, who used York as a convenient garrison town and head-

quarters of the sixth legion, he spoke of the return of the Emperor Severus to York from his northern campaign, and told an amusing story relative to it. As the Emperor approached the city, he met a negro crowned with cypress, who belonged to the army, and was of a class famous for praising or lampooning their superiors, as the case might be. This was a bad omen; and as the Emperor, struck by his appearance, ordered him out of his sight, the negro, by way of a joke, exclaimed, "Thou hast been everything, and conquered everything; now, thou conqueror, be a god." Advancing further, another sinister omen affrighted the unfortunate Emperor, who wished to sacrifice a thank-offering to the gods. A blundering rustic augur brought him to the Temple of Bellona (outside Bootham), and presented black victims for sacrifice, which the Emperor declined. But this was not all, for by the negligence of the officials, the black animals followed him up to the very door of the palace in York. This palace, which comprised the residence of the Roman Emperor, baths, courts of justice, and other offices, is supposed to have stood on all the ground which extends from Christ-Church, down on the east side of Guthrumgate and to Aldwark. The Emperor Severus died at York A.D. 211, soon after his encounter with the negro, and his body was burned outside the walls of the city. The spot is still called the mound of Severus. Mr. Morgan then referred to the quartering of the ninth legion, which came over with Emperor Claudius, at York, and its almost entire destruction by the forces of Queen Boadicea. The facility of communication by a network of roads between the important military posts in the north was then dilated upon, and it was also averred that traces of Roman roads had been found leading from York to Whitby Fort, and to Filey Bay and Scarborough, as well as a coast road connecting Patrington with the ports of the eastern coast. Having spoken of the transmission of corn, cattle, and provisions for the supply of the Roman army along these roads, he made a general allusion to the dominion of the Romans in Britain during the rule of Constantine and Theodosius, and stated that the Roman legions had to withdraw, or melted away at the beginning of the fifth century. Soon after the palace at York was occupied by the deadly enemies of Rome. Eboracum became Eofer-vic or Eor-vic (written by the Danes, Jorvik); hence we get York. At Coningsburgh or Caer-Conen—city of the King, not far from Doncaster, Hengist, the Saxon, was, as the story goes, after a long and victorious career, captured and beheaded. The *regime* of the Saxons was then described, and the paper proceeded to refer to the indications of the existence of the native races before the invasion of Julius Cæsar, dealing generally with the subject more than locally. Much remained, the reader continued, to be done to clear away the Cimmerian fogs which hung over the primæval races in

Yorkshire as elsewhere ; yet this field of inquiry promised great results in the future. It was disconcerting, however, to be told that the pedigree of our ancestors was to be traced to an ape or a baboon, for if so the less they knew about it the better. Arguments were advanced to prove that primitive man was intuitively religious, honourable, and brave ; and in conclusion it was urged that man in all ages seemed to have been the same, inasmuch as he had always possessed the reasoning powers and other natural qualities with which God had specially endowed him, and which had been denied to the brute creation.

The thanks of the meeting were given to Mr. Morgan for his paper, and the meeting broke up.

THURSDAY, AUGUST 21ST.

The members resumed their labours and pleasures this morning at a quarter to ten o'clock, when a special train conveyed them from the Victoria Station to Shepley, a small station on the line to Huddersfield. The day's programme seemed to be of an attractive character, for the party was a large one, and the number was considerably increased by additions received as the morning advanced. The excursion opened up to most present an almost entirely new district, and the result was that local members of the Association entered into the investigations with all the zest and energy displayed by those who came from a distance. On the train arriving at the Shepley station, the party were met by Mr. Fairless Barber, F.S.A., under whose able guidance much of the work done during the day was performed. Omnibuses and carriages were in waiting, and a pleasant drive of a couple of miles or so brought the party to Kirkburton Church, and when Mr. Fairless Barber commenced his explanation of the characteristics of the church, he found an assemblage which was probably not far short of two hundred. He stated that the Association had come that morning from a part of Yorkshire, whose history was already written, into a part of the same county, the history of which as a whole had yet to be written. In this district they would find no grand historical buildings like those which existed in the East and West Ridings ; they would find no church perhaps so deeply interesting as that of Laughton, which they inspected yesterday ; but in Kirkburton Church there were indications of there having been something connected with the religion of the cross long before the church was erected. For instance, portions of a cross or perhaps of two had been found, which, as far as he knew, were almost unique. When the chancel was pulled down, fragments of the cross were discovered, with the knees of the figure and other excrescences upon it broken off, so as to make the stones suitable for lying in a wall. In the chancel there was a feature which deserved special attention. On

the north side there was a hagioscope, so that any infected person could sit outside the church and yet be able to see the elevation of the host at the altar. This was a very remarkable feature, and one which was but seldom to be met with. Mr. Fairless Barber called particular attention to the ancient seats in the nave and their excellent condition, and in reference to them read an ancient document, dated 1490, being an award by the "Kirkgraves," or churchwardens, as to the rights of certain persons to kneel in a certain place in the church.

"To all true Christian People this our present wrytyng indented saying or heryng; We, Thomas Hynchelyff, Thomas Chapell, Richard Marsh, John Dalton, John Horne, John Pogeson, James Charlysworth, John Stakwod, Thomas Tynker, John Hutchenson, John Charlysworth, John Barnesley, John Lytylwod, and John Wade, yo Kirkgraves of ye Parish Kyrke of Burton send greatyng in our Lord God: Knaue ye all universile yat whereas diverse controversies, and quarells now late wer had and moved & also yett be pendyng betwixt John Jakson on ye one partie, and Richard Wright upon ye other partie, and in especiall for knealyng of yare wyffes & yare menze [families] at a fourem in ye said Kirke of Burton. Whereupon due examynatyon of & in thies premisses afor us all byfor named & ayr now had, thallegements & records of both ye said parties to ye same herd, & by gud deliberation clerlie understand, it is condescended & fullie agreed emonge us by all our Reasones and Myndes afor named, also by ye advice & discretion of many of theldyst & discretyst persones of ye said parysh in forme iusuyng, yat is to witt that ye said John Jakson his wyff and his menze of dutye and ryght ought to knell at ye said fourem lunge in variance next to ye pyllor of ye same, in lykewysse as yare ancestours hath doon without tyme of mynd. And then next unto her & her menze ye wyff of William Morehouse & her menze. And ye wyff of ye said Richard Wryght next to ye stulp of ye said fourem end, if it her pleas, or els her sons wyff or on of her prentices. And soc it hath ben had & used without tyme of mynd as God and all ye said parysh right well knoweth. And for more aceredance herof to be had to yis our wryteyng indented, we ye said Kirkgraves hath set our seals xxii day of October in yer of our Lord God milleeccccxxxx."

The church stands on an eminence near the eastern extremity of the parish, and until some years ago, the two principal entrances were two *Lych gates*, or old covered gateways, where it was customary to place dead bodies brought for interment, while awaiting the arrival of the officiating clergyman. Only one of these gates now remains, that at the south-west corner of the ground, the other having been removed, and a modern gateway substituted.

Under the guidance of Mr. W. S. Barber, under whom the church has been recently restored, the interior of the building was then exa-

mined. With reference to the west door, he observed it was clear that it had at some time or other been removed, viz., when in the reign of Henry VII or Henry VIII the present tower was built. It is of the thirteenth century, and no doubt stood in the original west end of the church, which still has evidence to show that there was no west tower before the end of the fifteenth century. The church is mainly Early English; there are traces of Early English work throughout, and the chancel, he said, was unequalled in this neighbourhood. In carrying out the restorations he had replaced every stone in its original position, and, so far as he was aware, none of them had been re-tooled. The party accompanied Mr. Barber to the chancel, where the cross (alluded to by Mr. Fairless Barber) was placed for their inspection. The hagioscope was also pointed out. Those who followed up their investigation of this interesting feature were shown what was suggested to be the portion of the stone seat fixed in the wall, upon which the leper or other infected person sat. From the position of this stone, it was clear that any person sitting upon it could see the elevation of the host through the hagioscope. The register books, commencing in 1540, were shown in the vestry, as were also some old chained books of the church. Before leaving the church Mr. Walter de Gray Birch, honorary palæographer, took occasion to remonstrate with regard to the ruinous condition of the early register-book, which was as old as the reign of King Henry VIII. The vicar and some active local archæologists acknowledged the propriety of the remonstrance. Without care it would hardly last, Mr. Birch said, to be of interest to many more archæological visitors. It is to be hoped that hints such as this do not pass altogether unnoticed, and that the primary object of the congress in indicating and directing proper objects of care will not pass without doing good. Five pounds properly laid out, will save a book, that can never be replaced and is of unbounded interest to the community at large, from impending destruction.

Leaving the church, the party were driven to Woodsome Hall, a fine old Elizabethan mansion a short distance from Kirkburton. There they received a most cordial welcome from the Earl of Dartmouth, Vice-President, and president of the Association during the last year, who had come from his seat in Staffordshire to give the members a friendly greeting to one of his ancestral halls. They were also met by Major and Lady Katherine Robertson, the occupants of the mansion. His lordship acted as *cicerone*, and with the utmost kindness conducted the visitors in small parties to some interesting remains in parts not usually nor easily accessible. On their return to the fine old hall, refreshments were served. Whilst these were being discussed Mr. Roberts (honorary secretary) with his lordship's permission gave a general description of the building. He observed that it belonged to a period

when timber was beginning to be abandoned as the chief material for constructing houses. The mansion forms a quadrangle, built at different times in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In the rear part of the quadrangle, where the building is now greatly dilapidated, are some highly interesting and ornamental cornices inside, in plaster work in the upstairs rooms. The dining hall is in the principal front of the quadrangle, which, according to a date inscribed above the front entrance, was refronted in the year 1600, while above this is the date 1644, referring to some additions then made. Immediately in front is a paved terrace with an old terrace wall, and a balustrade, leading from the garden. On the right of the entrance is the hall, which is a large and most interesting room. The fireplace at one end is very roomy, and over it is a heavy oaken beam, on which is inscribed in old English characters cut out of the solid oak, "Arthur Kaye, Beatrix Kaye." Attention was called to a portrait, said to be that of the daughter and heiress of the above-named Arthur and Beatrix Kay, who became the wife of Lord Lewisham, the estate by this marriage coming into the possession of the Dartmouth family. The husband's portrait is near that of his wife. There are two paintings on wood, painted on each side, and so arranged as to permit of easy inspection on both sides. The armorial bearings of the Yorkshire families related to the Kays, occupy one side, and they are divided down the middle into two columns, of near thirty each. A portrait of "John Kay," with coats of arms and various devices, occupies the reverse. On the second picture, a portrait of the wife of John Kay, with an inscription, fills one side, and on the reverse is a series of portraits of the descendants of Arthur Kay, the place of honour being given to John Kay, who possibly caused these paintings to be executed. On one side of the fireplace is a curious old-fashioned clock, and arranged round the room are curious matchlocks, swords, pikes, and other warlike implements—many of them of the seventeenth century. On the side of the hall opposite the windows there is an open gallery, and fronting the fireplace at the other end are windows opening from another gallery. In the dining hall they actually saw now a state of things which existed when it was customary for the retainers to dine with their master. The window which overlooked the hall at the end was in all probability that of the mistress of the house, who looked from it to the scene below when the guests became too noisy to permit of ladies being present. Mr. Fairless Barber made a few remarks respecting the probable time when the house was erected. There were many houses, he observed, of a similar class in the district, the most perfect perhaps being Shipley Hall. Woodsome Hall formerly belonged to the Kaye family, and researches into their history would well repay the trouble. Sir John Kaye, who lived in the early part of the last century, was a very



portant man in the West Riding, and the Earl of Dartmouth had documents in his possession showing how he spent each day. He pointed out the motto of the family—"Kynde kyne known keepe"—which meant, when you have kind relatives or friends keep them. Before leaving Woodsome Hall a cordial vote of thanks was given to the Earl of Dartmouth and to Major and Lady Katherine Robertson for their kindness in throwing open the hall to the inspection of the Association.

The party then drove to Almondbury Church. This ancient edifice is now in course of restoration. The visit of the Association seemed to excite considerable interest among the inhabitants, who assembled in large numbers to witness their arrival. The company having assembled within the chancel, the Rev. Canon Hulbert read a paper on the history of the ancient building. The church, he stated, was one of those which paid an annual pension to the Vicar of Dewsbury. There was no record of the foundation of the church, but it was probable that about the year 1150 a church was erected by the Lacy family, who were Lords of the Manor of Almanberie, and as one of that family founded Kirkstall Abbey, it was a fair inference that such munificent supporters of the Church would not neglect the spiritual interests of Almondbury. An opinion now prevailed that what was now termed the chancel, or in more ancient manuscript "The Middle Quire," was the original church. The side chapels or quires, with the rest of the church, appear to have been wholly rebuilt in the reign of Henry VIII, on a scale adapted to so large a parish, consisting of thirteen townships, and now including twenty churches or chapels. In 1399 the manor as part of the Duchy of Lancaster, then as now an appanage of the Crown, came to the Crown, and the rectory was bestowed on the College of Jesus in Rotherham, and a vicarage provided for by a deed still extant, dated 18th June, 1485, at the Chapter House, York; and the college made several appointments to the vicarage. At the dissolution of the college in the first year of Henry VII the rectory reverted to the Crown, and was in the time of Henry VIII valued in the King's books at £20 : 7 : 10. The presentation passed into other hands, and about twenty years ago was purchased by Sir John William Ramsden, Bart., who also owned a greater part of the rectoral tithes. The architecture of the church belonged to the Perpendicular period, and the building was finished in 1552, but the north and south walls were of a ruder and more ancient structure. The ancient doorway had been preserved, and with it the receptacle where the holy water was placed; but the ancient porch and the small belfry where formerly the sanctum bell was hung, had been removed, and the remains of them were in the vicar's garden. Two fragments of an ancient stone coffin, each bearing a cross built upon the north wall, had been found during the

restoration of the building now being made under the direction of Mr. W. H. Crossland. But the greatest curiosity was the inscription in old English verse and character, running round the nave of the church, on the roof plate, in a single line. The verses are as follow:—

“Thou : man : unkynd :
have : in : thy : mynd :
my : bloody : face :
my : wondys : wyde :
on : every : syde :
for : thy : trespas :

“Thou : synner : hard :
turn : heder : ward :
behold : thy : savyor : free :
unkind : thou : art :
from : me : to : dep't :
& : mercy : i : wold : grāt : ye :

“for : love : of : thee :
the : jywss : smear'd : me :
wt : schourguos : kyne : and sharp :
wt : a : crwn : of : thorn :
my : hed : all : to : torn :
wt : a : speyr : they : theyrld : my : hart :

“wyth : naylys : tre :
they : naled : me :
fast : both : foyt : and : hand :
for : thy : trespase :
my : pasyon : was :
to : rede : thee : from : fende :

“penne : cannot : wrytt :
nor : man : indytt :
paynes : that : I : had :
so : thoro : mad :
my : body : bloo :
wt : wonds : both : larg : and : long :

“thou : doys : me : mor : dire :
when : thou : doth : swer :
be : mehere : of : my : body :
than : the : jwyss : did :
that : speyld : my : blod :
on : the : mont : of : caverre :

“Gwurfor : pray : the : thy :
Sweryng : lay : by :
dred : god : afteryn :
yf : thou : wylt : do : so :
to : heuyn : sall : thou : go :
among : angels : to : syng.”

At the west end,—“Geferay : Daystn : was : the : maker : of : th :” meaning, probably, the carver or painter, and not the composer of the verses. At the east end,—“anno : dm : mo : ccccc : xxii : : ihs.” The stones containing the fifth stanza have evidently been misplaced. Mr. Birch said that the poem was in the style of John Skelton, and might possibly have been written by that celebrated poet.

The famous British earthworks at Castle Hill, situate about a mile from Almondbury, were next visited, Mr. Fairless Barber again acting as guide. The ascent of this magnificent hill necessarily occupied some time, the examination of the earthworks, and a debate on the identity or otherwise of the place with Campodunum, and observations on the line of the Roman road some distance to the north, and on the rival claim of Slack (situated on that road) to be Campodunum, filled up the time; whilst, through the hospitality of Mr. Bentley Shaw, champagne *ad libitum* was supplied to all the members of the Congress who chose to partake of it.

From among the valuable mass of information collected by the Huddersfield Archæological and Topographical Association, we here insert an account of the Castle given to them by Thos. Brooke, Esq., F.S.A., and kindly lent to us by Mr. Fairless Barber :

“ALMONDBURY CASTLE.—It was said that King Stephen built a castle on that hill in the early part of his reign, and almost immediately afterwards (*i. e.*, in 1137) made a grant to Henry Lacy. It seemed, however, more probable that the Lacys, who appeared to have regained possession in 1121, after a short dispossession, themselves erected the Castle, very probably before the forfeiture of their property in 1102. They would undoubtedly be attracted by the evident strength of the position, and possibly by the example of the Saxon lords who might have left the traces of fortifications there. The Castle is supposed to have been surrounded by a triple line of defence, the entrance being from the neighbouring town of Almondbury, as was most plainly to be seen even now. The first enclosure had a cross-trench and earthworks just behind the present stables. The next line of defence was more difficult. The largest enclosure must have been where the house now stood; and the citadel, or stronghold, was built on the westernmost side of the hill, having before it, as he had already stated, a threefold line of defence, and must have been a very strong place. The Castle, or a portion of it, was extant in the reign of Edward II, for in his first year a jury was empanelled to inquire into some case of reported cruelty perpetrated in the Castle of Almondbury. In their verdict they said that a stranger was slain in the dungeon of the Castle of Almondbury, having his body worried by worms, birds, and dogs. They also stated that the man was not killed there; but that his body, after death, was thrown into the dungeon, by whom they know not.

This was stated in the Dodsworth MSS. It was quite possible that at the time the dungeon was the only portion left. In the time of Edward III, an inquiry was made into the mesne lordship, and there was no castle then in existence. There was another inquiry in 1425, in the reign of Henry VI; and a third long inquiry into the history of the lordship was again made in 1584, in which, reference being made to the Castle, it was stated that 'it is now of a long time utterly destroyed'. There was mention made of an old grange or farm attached to it. There was ample record of this in the three inquisitions. The farm was at Hall Bower."

After some further remarks, reference was made to the names of the olden times as recorded in early documents, one of them being that of Adam de Castello. The history of the manor was pretty well that of the inhabitants, and was well worth careful study. It came into the possession of the Ramsden family in 1627. In 1272, in the reign of Edward I, a charter was granted for a market to be held in Almondbury. In Stanhope's *Survey* it is stated that the Castle stood on the west end of the hill, and there was also mentioned a house belonging to St. Nicholas.

In his interesting and important account, Mr. Brooke did not touch on the theory started by Camden, that this place was the *Campodunum* of the fifth Antonine *iter*, nor on the numerous theories which have found other locations for it since. It was now contended by Mr. Fairless Barber that the name should be claimed for Slack, some four or five miles to the north-west. In order to appreciate his arguments, a paper by him on this subject, contributed to the Institute Meeting at Hull, in July 1867, should be referred to. Mr. Barber's theory was not universally accepted by those now present.

As Slack could not be visited on the present occasion, Mr. Thomas Brooke had most handsomely caused all the chief Roman relics found at Slack to be brought down from the Huddersfield Museum to his house at Armitage Bridge, to which the Association now adjourned.

A magnificent cold collation was served in a marquee at the back of his house. At the close of the repast Mr. Brooke gave the members of the Association a cordial welcome to his house, and expressed the pleasure it had given him to entertain them. The thanks of the Association were tendered to Mr. Brooke, on the motion of Mr. R. N. Philipps. Some very valuable manuscripts were shown by Mr. Brooke to the members, the most important being a chartulary of Selby Abbey, of the end of the thirteenth century, a volume of Norman French and early English poems, several service books, and two or three volumes of letters relating to Thoresby, Hunter, and other Yorkshire worthies. A few minutes walk from Armitage Bridge brought the party to the Berry Brow Station, whence they were conveyed by special

train to Sheffield. Before leaving Berry Brow Mr Fairless Barber was cordially thanked for the information he had afforded during the day.

The evening meeting was again held in the old banqueting room at the Cutlers' Hall. The Rev. S. Earnshaw presided, and there was a numerous attendance. The first paper was "On the Descent of the Manor of Sheffield," by Stephen Tucker, Esq., Rouge Croix, which will be printed hereafter.

Mr. Gordon M. Hills remarked that it might be deduced from this history that the Manor of Sheffield had nursed the Premier Duke and the Premier Earl of England—Norfolk and Shrewsbury.

The Rev. J. Stacey asked if it had ever occurred to Mr. Tucker where the Furnivals got their arms from? He believed they came from the Luttrells.

Mr. Tucker replied that it was exceedingly likely; there was an analogy between the two coats.

J. D. Leader, Esq., read a paper "On the Remains of Sheffield Manor," which is printed at pp. 42-51, *ante*.

After the reading of the paper, Mr. Leader added, that although he had looked carefully through the letters of the period, he had never been able to find any allusion to the effect that Mary Queen of Scots was confined in a separate building. The impression conveyed by the reading of the letters was that she lived somewhere in the house.

The Rev. J. Stacey said the allusion was made to a separate kitchen of the queen.

Mr. M. E. Hadfield here explained, by means of a number of plans, the details of the building.

Mr. R. N. Philipps said some five years ago, when a house was built by the late Mr. Roberts, he obtained permission to remove certain stones from the Manor farm. One was one of the projecting stones at the corner tower. It was generally believed that these stones formed part of the chamber, or rather the outside of the chamber, where Mary Queen of Scots was confined. He wished to know whether or not there was anything that could give force to that idea.

Mr. J. D. Leader said that when the Queen of Scots was first taken to the Manor House, it was said that she nearly escaped from the window spoken of, and that thereupon the earl built a stronger place in which to confine her. There was a letter from the earl to Lord Burleigh, dated 1577, in which he sent the latter a plan of a house he was building. That letter was amongst the Talbot papers, but he (Mr. Leader) believed that the plan did not remain with the letter, and there was no clue as to what house was referred to. Lord Shrewsbury did build a house at Handsworth, but whether or not the letter referred to that he could not say.

Mr. Tucker stated that at the Heralds' College the Talbot papers

were voluminous, he had never yet looked through them, with the object of finding this plan. He, however, would now do so. Referring to the supposition of the Queen having had a distinct apartment, he thought it might be deduced from the inventory that the Queen's kitchen was a separate apartment.

Mr. J. D. Leader said he should be sorry for his archæological friends to go away with the idea that Mr. Roberts or his ancestor was a Goth or a Vandal. At the same time, when the window was removed, the Lords of the Manor took very little interest in the old ruins. Sheffield cutlers used to go to the Manor to fetch bricks wherewith to polish their steel, or for some such purpose; the Manor indeed was a kind of quarry for polishing material. Any neighbour might build his walls out of the ruins. The window alluded to was traditionally said to be the one from which Mary escaped; and Mr. Roberts, who was a devoted admirer of the Queen of Scots, obtained permission from the Duke's agent to remove it; but he was very careful of it, and had it erected as a ruin in his own ground at Queen's Tower; and there it now stood, in as good condition as when it left the Manor. Had Mr. Roberts not taken that care of it, they would not now have known where the window was; and he thought it was possible, with a little persuasion, that the window might find its way back again to its old site.

Mr. Philipps asked whether Mr. Leader had discovered anything to certify that that positively must have been the window which was connected with the traditional story.

Mr. J. D. Leader said there was only this fact, when Cardinal Wolsey was there, Cavendish described the apartment very minutely. He (Cardinal Wolsey) was eventually lodged in the tower, and admitting that he was lodged in the best place, was it likely that a queen would be treated worse than a cardinal? In the long gallery on the west was a mark of a large window, and there were also stones indicating that it was a projecting window, and he took it that that was the place to which Cavendish said Lord Shrewsbury came once a day to see the Cardinal and condole with him.

Mr. Gordon M. Hills thought the discussion ought not to be closed without a further investigation of the Talbot papers. It did appear extremely probable that this must be the prison-house of the ill-fated queen, but there were some doubts, to which he would not then allude, which rather interfered with the theory. Neither would he enter into a controversy with respect to the details of the building, as he had been promised a private view, for the purpose of making a further examination. Upon this one point there could be no dispute—that they were greatly indebted to the Duke of Norfolk for what he had done towards the restoration of the building, and he was glad to

think—and he trusted he was not wrong in the supposition—that the pleasure which the Duke had experienced in the restoration so far, would lead him to execute much more considerable restorations. Mr. Hills added that he thought that a great part of the Manor could be repaired, or at least cleared from its present offensive surroundings.

Mr. Hadfield said he had seen his Grace on the day before he left Sheffield, and he seemed to take the greatest interest in what was going on at the Manor. Though he did not say much as regarded his future intentions, he (Mr. Hadfield) believed that anything that could be done would be done to preserve the building.

Mr. Gordon M. Hills then read a paper prepared by Edward Levien, Esq., M.A., F.S.A., "On the Life and Times of Earl Waltheof," which will be printed hereafter; and the usual votes of thanks having been tendered and duly acknowledged, the meeting terminated.

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DESCENT OF THE MANOR OF SHEFFIELD.

BY STEPHEN I. TUCKER, ESQ., ROUGE CROIX.

So eminent have been the families which, during the past eight centuries, have been lords of Hallamshire, and so painstaking and zealous the local chroniclers, that there is little to be added for which any novelty can be claimed in illustration of the subject of my paper. Hunter, by his indomitable industry, reaped a grand harvest of historical fact in the large field he so fortunately selected for his labours; and Dr. Gatty, coming modestly after him, as a careful gleaner, has so gathered up every scrap in the way, that they seem to have left for me literally nothing but the very chaff. I can claim, therefore, no originality in my abstract subject. My work has been to condense that of my predecessors; to compare (and here and there to amend) their statements with the records of the Heralds' College; and to show in a brief way, and one, I trust, that will be easily followed, how the possession of this great lordship has descended.

The land which comprised the Manor of Sheffield was part of the dower of Judith, niece to William the Norman, and widow of the great Earl Waltheof of whom we have heard so much this week; but was returned at the *Domesday* visitation as being held of her by Roger de Busli, who, however, became the actual owner. If his reward was measured by his deserts, Roger de Busli, on whom many hundred manors were bestowed by his victorious sovereign, was probably a worthy subject and gallant soldier; but I

do not believe that amongst his rewards or achievements was the coat of arms ascribed to him in some local books and monuments. His son and successor, at his death in 1099, was of the same name ; and he, as I think, was succeeded by a cousin, Richard de Busli, who seems to have exercised the rights of ownership.

These three De Buslis held the Manor for about a century, when it passed to the family of De Lovetot. "By what means, or at what time," says Hunter, "the family of De Lovetot acquired their interest in the Manor, does not appear on the face of any document"; and he quotes the conjectures of Dugdale, Thoroton, etc., on the point, without, however, arriving at any satisfactory conclusion. My own theory is, that the "Emma" who is recorded as the wife of Richard de Busli is identical with Emma the wife of William de Lovetot, and that she endowed her second with the dowry obtained from her first husband. I, therefore, presume to differ from Hunter, who was of opinion that no "stress was to be laid on the deference which appears to be paid to the wife of this William de Lovetot in the foundation charter of the monastery of Worksop. "Concessione et consideratione Emmæ uxoris", is the phrase and formula employed in the donations; and I cannot but think that they imply a dealing with lands acquired through, or still in some way subject to the control of, his wife.

Under whatever circumstances they came here, it was a red-letter day for Hallamshire when the De Lovetots first set foot in it. By them the church and hospital were founded, and during their tenure the staple manufacture of this important town and district may also be said to have been founded, and the basis laid for the prosperity and celebrity of Sheffield. William de Lovetot was the founder also, as I have before referred to, of the monastery for canons regular of the order of St. Augustine at Worksop; and his good deeds, and those of his family, are handed down to us in the chronicle of one Pigot, a member of that community, who composed his metrical record in the reign of Edward IV.

Richard de Lovetot, the son and successor of William, in the second year of Henry II, "gave an account of twenty marks for the marriage of his wife Cecilia, whereof ten were in the treasury, and ten ought; and one norry hawk and one gerfalcon." (*Hist. of Worksop*, p. 21.) He, again, was

succeeded by a son William, whose daughter and heiress, Maud de Lovetot, was given in marriage by the King to Gerard de Furnival, conveying to him the large possessions of her family. The Furnivals were a distinguished family. Gerard's father had served with the King at the siege of Acre, while he himself was intimately associated in all the stirring events of King John's time, and attached himself to that monarch by his fidelity. He was one of those selected in 1214-1215 to treat with Robert de Roos and the other barons; and after John's death joined one of the Crusades, dying in Jerusalem, 1219.

King John is said to have visited Sheffield in the time of Gerard de Furnival, and as he is known to have been more than once at Tickhill it is extremely likely that he did come; but the circumstance rests upon tradition, and is not mentioned in the *Itinerary* of the king. Maud de Lovetot survived her husband, Gerard de Furnival, many years, and in various deeds and documents by her in her widowhood styles herself by her maiden name. In her grant to her third son of the advowson of Whiston it is stated in the body of the deed that a new seal is used, to prevent any objection to its authenticity, an interesting fact as showing the importance attached to seals before documents were signed.

Gerard de Furnival left three sons. The two eldest joined the Crusades, where Thomas, the eldest, was killed. We learn from the rhyming *Chronicle of Wyrksoppe* that their mother (Maud) made great moan that her child should lie in ground that was cursed by the step of the infidel, and sent his next brother to recover and bring his bones for interment at Worksop, where she raised a costly monument to his memory, garnished with precious stones, special mention being made of "a noble carbuncle."

This Thomas de Furnival, dying in the lifetime of his mother, left two sons, who in succession inherited his lands, and one daughter, the wife of Roger de Mowbray. Gerard, the elder son, left no issue, and his wife remarried William Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick; her son by this second marriage (Guy, Earl of Warwick), being returned heir to his mother by inquisition taken at her death (1298), establishes the now admitted theory that the next inheritor of the Manor of Sheffield, Thomas de Furnival, was brother and not son and heir to Gerard.



Thomas de Furnival obtained letters patent in 1270 to build a castle at his manor of Sheffield, four years after the former building (as is shown by Dr. Gatty) had been destroyed during the wars of the barons.

His son, of the same name, was the first who received summons to Parliament as a baron, and was perhaps the most distinguished of his family, and a great benefactor to the town.

The replies of Thomas Baron Furnival to the queries in the writ *quo warranto* (9th Edw. I) throw some light on the state of Sheffield at that period.

“It being demanded of him by what right he claimed to have gallows, waif, and free warren in his manor of Sheffield, he replied, that he claimed to have gallows and free warren by the same warrant by which he and all his ancestors from the conquest of England had possessed them; but as to waif he said that he claimed nothing of the kind, but remitted that entirely to the king. Being asked by what warrant he refused to permit the bailiffs of the king to enter his lands of Hallamshire to execute their office, he replied, that he and all his ancestors from the conquest of England had used this liberty, that when any bailiff of the king had any duty to perform within the barony of Hallamshire, their own bailiff undertook the execution of it, who only entered the said barony in default of their own officers doing their duty. To the demand by what warrant he withheld from our lord the king his homage and service for his barony of Hallamshire he seems not to have returned any answer; but when required to show by what authority he had made strong and embattled ‘firmavit et kemellavit’ a certain castle at Sheffield, he produced the late king’s charter granted to his father. And lastly, when it was demanded of him by what warrant he claimed to have pleas of withernam, pillory, the assize of bread and beer, the regulation of measures, and to have his lands in the county of York free from suit, he replied that he made no claim to pleas of withernam; that he had a pillory at Sheffield, and the assize of bread, because these things are things always belonging to a market, and that he claimed assize of beer, because the lords of every other town in the county had the like; as to the regulation of measures that was a thing he never claimed, but only the custody of the standard, which he received at the hands of the king’s marshal or his bailiffs; and as to being acquitted of his suit for his lands of Hallamshire he claimed it because neither he nor any of his ancestors from the conquest of England had ever made it.”

In the *Inq. P. M.* 6th Edward III, it is said that the ancestors of Thomas de Furnival held the castle and Manor of Sheffield of the King of Scots by homage and rendering of two white leverets on the Feast of the Nativity of John the Baptist, a tenure or tradition, which I think it extremely likely was derived from Waltheof. In the Escheat Rolls, 39th Edw. III, Thomas, son of Thomas de Furnival, is said

to hold Sheffield in capite of the king by like homage and yearly rendering.

"On the 12th of November, 1296, Thomas Lord Furnival obtained from the king a charter under the great seal of England, for a market every week on Tuesday, at his Manor of Sheffield; and a fair every year during three days, namely, on the vigil, day, and morrow of Holy Trinity, unless such market and fair should be to the detriment of the neighbouring markets and fairs. The market and fair have continued to the present time, except that the latter is held on the Tuesday after Trinity Sunday. Another fair, by what charter granted it does not appear, is now held on the 17th of November. These privileges were quickly followed by a more important charter given by Furnival himself, the original of which is in the custody of the town-burgesses of Sheffield, and is venerated as the Magna Charta of the town.

"The objects comprehended in this charter are, first, the abolition of those base and uncertain services by which the inhabitants of the town of Sheffield held their tenements of the lord, and the substitution in their stead of a fixed annual payment in money. Sheffield thus became a free borough, though not privileged to send representatives to the House of Commons, being virtually represented by its lord, who was regularly summoned to take his seat in the house of peers.

"Secondly, the charter provides for the due administration of public municipal justice, by declaring that the Court baron should be held every three weeks, as it had formerly been by the lord's officers; and that the amercements which it might be necessary to impose should be laid *per pares*, by a jury of the tenants: and should not be arbitrary or extravagant, but in proportion to the measures of the offences. And lastly, that the inhabitants of Sheffield should be free from all exaction of toll throughout the whole district of Hallamshire, whether they were vendors or purchasers. This charter was executed by Lord Furnival at Sheffield, on the 10th of August, 1297. All the persons of rank in the vicinity were assembled to witness the execution, namely, Sir Robert de Eccleshall, Knt., Sir Edmund Foliol, Knt., Thomas de Sheffield, Thomas de Mounteney, Robert de Wadsley, Ralph de Wadsley, Thomas de Fourness, William de Darnell, Robert de Breton, at that time seneschal of Hallamshire."

The seal affixed to the original charter is of reddish brown wax, and presents the arms of Furnival on a shield within a circle of radii. Lord Furnival sometimes used another seal, which is worth attention. Mr. Hunter describes an impression of this seal affixed to a deed conveying to John de Whiteley de Bromhead forty-six acres of land in Wightwisle, for a rent of sixpence yearly to himself, and four shillings to his mother, the Lady Bertha de Furnival, "*Dn'æ Brette de Furnivall*", during her life; to revert, on her death, to the said Thomas and his heirs for ever. This seal, which is of greenish wax, exhibits the arms of Furnival on a *lozenge shield* perfectly plain, and with this inscription surrounding it, S. THOME DE FURNIVAL.

More recently, in the *Herald and Genealogist* (vol. iii, p. 334), another deed is described which has the same seal attached to it; but the reading of the legend presents the variation, S. THOME DE FORNIWAL. As the name is spelt in the deed with a "w", that may be the correct letter; but as regards the "o", some doubt exists, as the legend is imperfect. Probably it is the same seal as that described by Mr. Hunter, if we substitute "w" for "v" in his note.

It is curious to observe how by the armorial devices handed down to us on early seals we are able to trace descent or kindred, and in some cases to gain perhaps a direct clue to the district or even the country from which the bearers first derived their eminence. Some of the early French and Spanish nobility had their arms concocted, as it were, with some material bearing of the national or royal escutcheon, and the custom was even more common in lesser states, and amongst the vassals, followers, or connections of great houses. To take the instance before us, the coat of Furnival is found, as all coats are of that period, differenced by various members of the family by change of tincture or arrangement of the charges of the shield, a very useful way of identifying individuals, and indeed the only way till heraldry became a science, and other marks of difference or cadency were devised. But let us observe the marked "family likeness" between the armorial bearings of the neighbourhood. This coat of Furnival is in a field variously gold or silver, a bend between six martlets, *gules*, and out of this device the families of the Eccleshalls, the Mounteneys, the Wadsleys, and the Wortleys seem to have formed all their coats. De Eccleshall had the same arms varying the colours to black and gold; de Mounteney simply reversed the colours of Furnival, making his field *gules*; de Wadsley bore *argent* on a bend between six martlets *gules*, three escallops *or*, and de Wortley the same, only changing the escallops for bezants.

Thomas, Lord Furnival, was succeeded by his son, who had been summoned to Parliament as "Thomas de Furnival Juniore," from 25 Aug., 1318, to 27 Jan., 1332; a fact, I think, which escaped the attention of Mr. Hunter and Dr. Gatty. This second lord made a great marriage with a co-heir of de Verdun, and left by her a son, Thomas de Furnival, the

“Sterne and right hasty man
The hasty Furnival”,

of Pigot's Chronicle.

He was with Edward III at Cressy and his other battles, and dying in the thirty-ninth year of that king was succeeded by his brother William, Lord Furnival, whose only child and sole heir, Joan, succeeded to his great estates in 1383. Furnival's Inn, in Holborn, stands on the site and commemorates the name of the London residence of this great family.

A poll-tax, levied in Sheffield (2nd Richard II, 1379), in the time of the last Furnival, may be best noticed here. It is an interesting document now remaining in the Record Office, and has not, I think, been heretofore printed. As it is curious to extract from it many surnames, which are still, after five centuries, extant in the town, I subjoin it as Appendix I to this paper.

Joan, the heiress of Furnival, married Sir Thomas Nevil, brother of the first Earl of Westmoreland of that house, and he was summoned, *jure uxoris*, to Parliament as a baron. Sir Thomas Nevil played a conspicuous part in the affairs of his time, and I think his shield should be included amongst those in this hall, which commemorate the Lords of the Manor of Sheffield. He also was succeeded by an heiress, Maud Nevil, who conveyed her fine inheritance in marriage to John Talbot, the renowned first Earl of Shrewsbury.

I can but glance at the history of this celebrated soldier, who springing from a family already distinguished, achieved fresh honours for his race, which have descended unsullied to his representative, the nineteenth earl of his house, and premier Earl of England.

Shakspeare, who makes him the hero of the First Part of Henry VI, enumerates his titles thus :

“Valiant Lord Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury,
Created, for his rare success in arms,
Great Earl of Washford, Waterford, and Valence ;
Lord Talbot of Goodrig and Urchinfield,
Lord Strange of Blackmere, Lord Verdun of Alton,
Lord Cromwell of Wingfield, Lord Furnival of Sheffield,
The thrice victorious Lord of Fauconbridge ;
Knight of the noble order of Saint George,
Worthy Saint Michael of the Golden Fleece ;
Great marshal to Henry the Sixth,
Of all his wars within the realm of France.”—Act iv, sc. 7.

The earldom of Wexford (“Washford”), however, never

descended to, or was conferred on, John Talbot, and has always been borne in error by his descendants.

Lord Shrewsbury began his military career in France in 1420, and had already so gained the favour of the king and of the regent, John Duke of Bedford, that he was made Knight of the Garter on Henry VI's accession in 1422. Six years later he commanded the entire English army in France, and was taken prisoner after being routed by Joan of Arc in 1429. He was released on a ransom of money and an exchange with a French knight in four years, during which interval Joan of Arc had been put to death, a circumstance which exculpates Shrewsbury from participation in that cowardly act of cruelty and fanaticism.

No sooner at liberty but Talbot was again in arms, and continued in active generalship for ten years. He received his earldom in 1446, choosing the title from his possessions in the county and his descent from the Montgomerys. He was after this the king's lieutenant in Ireland, and was rewarded with the earldom of Waterford and the Hereditary Lord Stewardship of that kingdom, still enjoyed by his representative. The rapidly declining power of England in France, however, again called for his presence there, but the valour and ever dreaded name of Talbot were insufficient to stem the tide of affairs that there set in against us, and he was forced to surrender to the French king and to engage not to bear arms against him for a year. This ended, he was at Guienne, where the English made their last attempt to retain possession of France, and in the battle of Chatillon (17th July, 1453), the great earl was killed, and his son John Talbot also fell at his side. Lord Shrewsbury's name was long used by French women to intimidate and quiet unruly children. Shakspeare makes the Duchess of Auvergne say, when she fancies Talbot is in her power, and is taunting him with the meanness of his station—

“Is this the Talbot so much fear'd abroad,

That with his name the mothers still'd their babes?”

and Southey alludes in his *Joan of Arc* to the same tradition :

“Talbot, at whose dread name the froward child

Clings mute and trembling to his nurse's breast.”

The late John Anstis, Garter King of Arms, recites of Shrewsbury, whom he styles “the Achilles of England,” that his body was found and recognised by his herald on the field of Chatillon, who, kissing the body, broke out into

these compassionate and dutiful expressions : "Alas ! it is you. I pray God pardon all your misdoings ; I have been your officer of arms forty years or more, it is time I should surrender it to you." And while the tears trickled plentifully down his face, he disrobed himself of his coat of arms and flung it over his master's body. A portrait of the earl in this tabard is in the Heralds' College.

It would, perhaps, appear indelicate, in the presence of my distinguished brother officer, Mr. Planché, if I were to make further comment on this touching incident than to express my wish that every herald who had worn the tabard for forty years would think it time to resign it, and hasten the promotion of the juniors ; but I may be allowed to add, and in all sincerity, that no one below him can wish for the vacation of Somerset's office, except it be occasioned by his elevation to a higher one, and that I am fully sensible that though I might succeed to his tabard, the mantle of J. R. Planché could never descend upon me.

The second Earl of Shrewsbury, Lord Treasurer of England and a zealous Lancastrian, was killed at Northampton in 1460, and though his lands were held for many years in dower by his widow, was succeeded by his son, the third earl, who also fought and suffered in the cause of the House of Lancaster, and died in early manhood in 1473, when George, fourth earl, who was nearly seventy years Lord of this Manor, succeeded, being then an infant. This earl had his share of military service and command and had the honour of the garter. He built the Manor House, the interesting remains of which we visited last Monday, and here he received into his custody the great Cardinal Wolsey. The incidents of the earl's graceful reception and noble treatment of his charge are fully recorded, and give us a clear insight into the manners of the day and the estimable character of the man. Francis, his son, the fifth earl, was also K.G., and a great favourite of Henry VIII, who in two or three remembered phrases was known to express his admiration of him. He married twice, and was succeeded on his death in 1560 by the eldest son of his first marriage.

George, sixth earl and K.G., whose life was one of uninterrupted public service, but who is best known here, and in history, as the Lord Shrewsbury who had the custody of the unhappy Queen of Scots, whose long sojourn at Sheffield

would be alone sufficient to endow the place with the greatest interest to the antiquarian.

To his first wife (Lady Gertrude Manners) he raised the tomb in your church, which was the subject of inquiry the other day, while for himself, during his life, he prepared the stately and ugly erection, which commemorates his name and virtues. His second countess was the celebrated Bess of Hardwick, who erected four great houses and killed, or outlived, four great husbands. She stipulated before her marriage with the earl that his daughter should marry her eldest son, and that his second son (the elder Gilbert, being already married) should be husband to her daughter. These confusing intermarriages were solemnised at Sheffield, in 1567, and here the earl died in 1590, leaving the inheritor of all his honours Gilbert, seventh Earl of Shrewsbury, called the "great and glorious Earl," more on account, as says Mr. Hunter, of the profuse mode of his living than for the superiority of his talents or the peculiar eminence of the stations he attained. This seventh earl left three daughters his co-heirs, the youngest of whom the Lady Alethea Howard, the godchild of Queen Elizabeth, who is said to have so named her to commemorate the integrity of her father, married Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel, Earl Marshal and K.G., an illustrious member of an illustrious house, in which the property so conveyed has ever since remained. The Lady Alethea inherited also, as eventually sole heir of her father, the ancient baronies of Talbot, Furnival, and Strange of Blackmere, which fell into abeyance some hundred years ago between the co-heirs of Philip Howard, brother of the ninth duke.

It would be quite superfluous to enter here into any personal detail of the Howards ; their history, if fully written, would present a very fair summary or epitome of that of their country, and has been told over and over again. I will merely, therefore, add the succession, relating as it does equally to the descent of the manor.

Thomas, Earl of Arundel and Norfolk, was succeeded in 1646 by his son Henry Frederick, and to his son Thomas the dukedom of Norfolk with the original precedence was restored in 1660. To him succeeded his brother Henry, sixth duke, and to him his son Henry, seventh duke and K.G. This duke, leaving no son, was succeeded in his

honours by two nephews in succession, when they passed to a kinsman, who became Charles, tenth Duke of Norfolk; and to his son Charles, eleventh duke, who died in 1815. To him succeeded Bernard Edward Howard, who was born in Sheffield, in what was known as "The Lord's House." He was K.G., and dying in 1842 left a son, Henry Charles, thirteenth duke and K.G., whose son and successor, Henry Granville, fourteenth duke, was father of the present Henry Fitzalan, fifteenth Duke of Norfolk, Earl Marshal, and President of this Association, who I reckon to be the thirty-fifth lord of this manor, dating from Waltheof, and the thirteenth member of his house who has been connected with Sheffield.

Amongst the "Talbot Papers" in the collection called "The Arundel MSS.," presented by Henry, sixth Duke of Norfolk to, and still remaining in the Heralds' College, is a MS. entitled "An Inventorie of all the Household Goods and Furniture, belonging to George Earl of Shrewsbury at Sheffield Castle and the Lodge, A.D. 1582." I had a careful transcript of this made, and did not know till I came down here that it had formed the subject of a paper read last year before the Sheffield Literary and Philosophical Society, by Mr. J. D. Leader. As giving an insight into the domesticities of the great house at Sheffield, at the very time when Mary Queen of Scots was here, I am surprised that Mr. Hunter omitted the opportunities which were afforded to him of publishing it *in extenso*, and that it should have been left to Mr. Leader to make known its contents to you. It is printed as Appendix II at the end of this paper, however, and I hope it will prove a valued addition to your store of matters of local interest. I have also appended the following documents which are now printed for the first time :

1. The Hearth Tax Return for Sheffield, 1665, which shows a total of 1,005 hearths, and contains but few names that are not known here at the present day, and another for the townships of Sheffield, Hallam, Eccleshall, Brightside, Byerley, and Attercliffe cum Darnell. (See Appendix III.)

2. "The names of the cutlers and smithes and their hearthes in the parish of Shefeild and the sumes deposited into the constable's hands, according to agreement for the

halfe yeare ended at Michaelmas 1670." This gives a total of 296 hearths and an amount raised by tax of £41 2s. This return also is full of names, which are most frequently met with here to this day. (See Appendix IV.)

3. A war levy for Sheffield, dated in 1692, and now in the possession of Mr. Swift, is transcribed and printed with the above named returns. (See Appendix V.)

I beg to thank my hearers, but especially the ladies, for the amiable patience with which they have listened to and endeavoured to appear interested in what I have been reading to you. I regret that my subject is not one which admitted of any but dry detail; but I have travelled over the history of eight hundred years as quickly as I could, and although I may never be able to cajole any now present into a lecture room with me again, I may have done some service in illustrating the soundness of St. Paul's advice to Titus, that he should "give no heed to fables and endless genealogies," and his warning to Timothy to "avoid foolish questions, genealogies, and contentions."

APPENDIX I.

POLL-TAX, 2 RIC. II, WEST RIDING OF YORKSHIRE.

Sheffield, an. 1379.

Joh'es spending' & Joh'na vx' eius smyth vjd.	Rob' Sont' & beat'x vx' ei' cordewenar vjd.
Joh'es Baro & Cecil' vx' ei' iiijd.	Will's S'uies' ei' iiijd.
Will's in le hole & M' vx' ei' iiijd.	Joh'es Pekke & Joh'a vx' ei' iiijd.
Will's Gilson & Isabell' vx' ei' iiijd.	Thom' farro' & Jul' vx' ei' iiijd.
Cecil' Parkar vidua iiijd.	Thom' fil' eius iiijd.
Hug' farro' & Ma'g't vx' ei' smyth vjd.	Will's Barkar & beat'x vx' ei' iiijd.
Will's Wodkoc & Agn' vx' ei' iiijd.	Joh'es fil' eo' flessehewer vjd.
Alic' de Clif iiijd.	Joh'es Coteler iiijd.
Rob' de Bolton' smyth vjd.	Ric'us Turrn' & agn' vx' ei' cawp' vjd.
Emma Stybemyre vid' iiijd.	Rob' Barbowre & felis vx' ei' iiijd.
Ric'us Chalon' & ame vx' ei' iiijd.	Georgina fil' Rob' iiijd.
Thom' Sont' & Joh' vx' ei' Sont' vjd. Chapell vid' iiijd.
Mitill' herry vid' iiijd.	Ric'us burghes & vx' eius iiijd.
Robt' fil' eius iiijd.	David Babyr & alie' vx' ei' iiijd.
Agn' fil' ejus iiijd.	Thom' hon' & Magot vx' ei' iiijd.
Rob' Musterd'ma iiijd.	Henre Sout' & Jul' vx' ei' iiijd.
Alanus Walkar & Iden' vx' ei' iiijd.	Thom' Waleswod & Magot vx' ei' iiijd.
Agn' Scheplay vid' iiijd.	Joh'es Doget & helena vx' ei' iiijd.
Rob' Calak & Joh' vx' ei' iiijd.	Alic' long vid' iiijd.
Thom' Hanly & Agn' vx' ei' iiijd.	Petre Clark & Agn' vx' ei' iiijd.
Joh'es fil' eius iiijd.	Joh'es Rob' & Emma vx' eius iiijd.
Henr' Schapm' & agn' vx' ei' iiijd.	Joh'es Aleshyre iiijd.
Will's Peneston' & Joh'a vx' ei' iiijd.	Henr' frat' Joh'is iiijd.
Joh'es storor junior iiijd.	Joh'es Turno' & Emma vx' ei' cowp' vjd.

Joh'es S'uies' eius *iiijd.*
 Thom' Chetur & Joh'na vx' ei' smyth *vjd.*
 Joh'na Colier vid' *iiijd.*
 Joh'es Vicarna & hele vx' eius *iiijd.*
 Emma Wodrof vid' *iiijd.*
 Emma fil' eius *iiijd.*
 Rob' hemmyng & Cecil vx' eius *iiijd.*
 Joh'es Crane & Joh'na vx' ei' *iiijd.*
 Joh'es Port' & agn' vx' eius smyth *vjd.*
 Petrus atte Milne & Cecil vx' smyth *vjd.*
 & Custans' s'uies' eius *iiijd.*
 Rob' longe & Elizabet' vx' eius *iiijd.*
 Will's de Coytis & Emma vx' ei' *iiijd.*
 Julia Bras' vid' *iiijd.*
 Ric'us Sniderbyll Taylo' *vjd.*
 Kat'ina Peteriche vid' *iiijd.*
 Agn' de chasturfeld *iiijd.*
 Joh'es de Peyke & Cibot vx' ei' *iiijd.*
 Joh'es fil' Joh'is *iiijd.*
 Ric'us fil' eiusd' *iiijd.*
 Joh'na Schot vid' *iiijd.*
 Joh'es de Walkmybie & Joh'n' vx' ei'
 smyth *vjd.*
 Thom' fil' Joh'is *iiijd.*
 Ric'us Stub & Emma vx' ei' flessehewer
vjd.
 Adm' Drake & alic' vx' ei' *iiijd.*
 Joh'na Robut vid' *iiijd.*
 Nich'us Sadiler *iiijd.*
 Rog's Emson' & helen vx' ei' *iiijd.*
 Joh'es fil' Rog'i *iiijd.*
 Albray rayson' vid' *iiijd.*
 Kat'ina fil' eius *iiijd.*
 Joh'es de Smethe & Joh'a vx' eius *iiijd.*
 Raynalt Webst' Webst' *vjd.*
 Rob' Whete *iiijd.*
 Adm' Wedoson' *iiijd.*
 Marion lambert vid' *iiijd.*
 Cecil' de Stapelay vid' *iiijd.*
 Will's Turn' *iiijd.*
 Joh'es Stubbe *iiijd.*
 Ric'us Shayle *iiijd.*
 Dionis' Cranne vid' *iiijd.*
 Will's Reyson' & Emma vx' ei' Wright
vjd.
 Joh'es Cowp' & Cecil' vx' ei' glou' *vjd.*
 Joh'es s'uies' eius *iiijd.*
 Will's ffonas & Cecil' vx' eius *iiijd.*
 Henr' fil' Will'i *iiijd.*
 Joh'es Abnay & Idn' vx' eius *iiijd.*
 Will's Stringer & Matil' vx' eius *iiijd.*
 Thom' spondingma' & alic' vx' ei' *iiijd.*
 Henre Baube & Joh'n' vx' eius Wryght
vjd.
 Joh'na s'uies' *iiijd.*
 Beatrix linot vid' *iiijd.*
 Joh'es de Croswik & Joh'na vx' ei' sady-
 lar *vjd.*
 Joh'na s'uies' eius *iiijd.*
 Will's Som'les *iiijd.*
 Cecil' farro' *iiijd.*
 Will's de Wode & Matill' vx' eius scyn-
 nare *vjd.*
 Dionissa de Scheplay *iiijd.*
 Kat'ina fil' eius *iiijd.*

Thom' ffarro' & Matill' vx' eius *iiijd.*
 Will's Ryol & Isabell' vx' eius *iiijd.*
 Joh'na fil' eius *iiijd.*
 Rob' de Strete & Emma vx' eius *iiijd.*
 Emma Gray *iiijd.*
 Will's de Stapelay & alic' vx' eius *iiijd.*
 Matill' de Schamb' *iiijd.*
 Magot boller *iiijd.*
 Joh'es hyne Matill' vx' eius *iiijd.*
 Rog's de hill' *iiijd.*
 Will's dyan & albray vx' eius *iiijd.*
 Ric'us Manyng'h'm & Matill' vx' eius *iiijd.*
 Magot Jurdan vid' *iiijd.*
 Agn' de layne *iiijd.*
 Cecil' de Camme vid' *iiijd.*
 Alic' fil' eius *iiijd.*
 Joh'na de Groves *iiijd.*
 Albray de hill' *iiijd.*
 Ric'us Darnall' & Matill' vx' eius *iiijd.*
 Matill' Wright vid' *iiijd.*
 Joh'es Gamolson & Joh'na vx' eius sout'
vjd.
 Rob' bonear *iiijd.*
 Joh'es baunford & Cecil' vx' eius *iiijd.*
 Joh'na fil' d'e'e Cecil' *iiijd.*
 Cecil' Saule *iiijd.*
 Helena fil' eius *iiijd.*
 Joh'es Mapp'l's & Agn' vx' ei' Armig' *xld.*
 Emma Mat' vx' eius *iiijd.*
 Alic' s'uies' ei' *iiijd.*
 Agn' Ryell' vid' *iiijd.*
 Idon' fil' eius *iiijd.*
 Will's Rob' & Margr' vx' eius *iiijd.*
 Magot Chybyn vid' *iiijd.*
 Magot Barkar vid' Walker *vjd.*
 S'thus fletcher *iiijd.*
 Elizabet' q'm tenet *iiijd.*
 Hug' fil' hugonis farro' *iiijd.*
 Agn' Crane vid' *iiijd.*
 Joh'es Kokchot' & Magot' vx' ei' *iiijd.*
 Will's Spendyngma' *iiijd.*
 Joh'es Alaynma' *iiijd.*
 Agn' ffox *iiijd.*
 An' Bakest' vid' *iiijd.*
 Rob' Toppynge *iiijd.*
 Cecil' bakest' vid' *iiijd.*
 Joh'es de Smethe & Agn' vx' ei' Smyth
vjd.
 Cecil' de Smethe *iiijd.*
 Ric'us Camme & Cristl' vx' eius flesseh-
 ewer *vjd.*
 Cecil' fil' Rose *iiijd.*
 Alic' nilehoyle vid' *iiijd.*
 Joh'es fil' eius *iiijd.*
 Thom' base & Alic' vx' ei' *iiij.*
 Joh'es falke & Albred vx' *iiijd.*
 Emma halmark *iiijd.*
 Agn' Ranastare vid' *iiijd.*
 Matill' dikwynemalky'son' vid' *iiijd.*
 Henr' de Cloghe & Alic' vx' eius *iiijd.*
 Nich'us de Bagschaghe & alic' vx' *iiijd.*
 Thom' de Crokes flessehewer *vjd.*
 Joh'es Balkok & agn' vx' ei' *iiijd.*
 Joh'es de Grene *iiijd.*
 Adm' Styell' & Elizab' vx' *iiijd.*

- Will's Marchall' *iiij d.*
 Beat'x Grene *iiij d.*
 Hug' de Cloghe *iiij d.*
 Thom' fil' eius *iiij d.*
 M'ger' del smythe *iiij d.*
 Albred Atterzate vid' *iiij d.*
 Elena de Stons *iiij d.*
 Adm' ffox & Joh'n' vx' eius *iiij d.*
 Will's hiwar *iiij d.*
 Petrus inle kare & Isabell' vx' ei' *iiij d.*
 Agn' Bred *iiij d.* & Cecil fil' *iiij d.*
 Will's abenay & Agn' vx' eius *iiij d.*
 Joh'es Ellotson & Joh'na vx' eius *iiij d.*
 Thom' de Cloghe & Joh'na vx' eius *iiij d.*
 Adm' de Bothe *iiij d.*
 Will's fil' st'hi *iiij d.*
 Rob' Wylmot & Ed'us vx' eius *iiij d.*
 Alic' vx' Will'i Hudson *iiij d.*
 Albred doybar *iiij d.*
 Joh'es loksmyth & alic' vx' eius lok-
 smyth *vj d.*
 Joh'es Asschyrste *iiij d.*
 Joh'es Wytloffte & alic' vx' eius *iiij d.*
 Rob' Willson' & alic' vx' eius *iiij d.*
 Joh'es Oxspr yng & Magot vx' eius *iiij d.*
 Will's Whyttloffte *iiij d.*
 Magot quenyld *iiij d.* & Joh'na fil' ei'
iiij d.
 Will's queynson' & alic' vx' eius *iiij d.*
 Will's de hill' & Emma vx' eius *iiij d.*
 Joh'es queynnild & Matill' vx' ei' *iiij d.*
 Joh'es Mucche & Emmet vx' ei' *iiij d.*
 Thom' Machon' & vx' eius *iiij d.*
 Joh'es Sikbub & Emma vx' ei' *iiij d.*
 St'h's Alot & Matill' vx' eius *iiij d.*
 Joh'es Balkok & Cecil' vx' eius *iiij d.*
 Joh'es Pawson & Joh'na vx' ei' *iiij d.*
 Petrus et agn' vx' eius *iiij d.*
 Alic' fil' d'ei Pet' *iiij d.*
 Joh'es de heally & alic' vx' eius *iiij d.*
 St'h'us de heally *iiij d.*
 Ric'us de & beat'x vx' eius *iiij d.*
 Joh'es *iiij d.*
 D *iiij d.*
 Agn' *iiij d.*
 Rob' lynes & Agn' vx' ei' ffermour del
 graunge *xij d.*
 Adm' lynes & vx' ei' fermour del graunge
xij d.
 Alic' fil' eius *iiij d.*
 Margr' vx' Will'i vid' *iiij d.*
 Thom' Saundirson' & alic' vx' eius *iiij d.*
 Ric'us de beghton & Matill' vx' ei' *iiij d.*
 Joh'es Pekke & Emma vx' *iiij d.*
 Will's de hanlay & vx' Marchant de
 beest *xij d.*
 Adm' de Wode & vx' Taylo' *vj d.*
 Agn' fil' p'diet' ade *iiij d.*
 Alic' de hill' *iiij d.*
 Thom' lynot *iiij d.*
 Will's lynot *iiij d.*
 Joh'es Mucche senior *iiij d.*
 Thom' Schoter & Is' vx' ei' fermour del
 man' *xld.*
 Thom' fil' eius *iiij d.*
- Alic' fil' p'diet' Thom' *iiij d.*
 Kat'ina s'uies' p'diet' Thom' *iiij d.*
 Rob' Moltst' & vx' *iiij d.*
 Thom' de Badbestay *iiij d.*
 Henr' Sc latt' & vx' Sc latt' *vj d.*
 Thom' Stoppforth & vx' *iiij d.*
 Thom' Steunson' taylo' *vj d.*
 Joh'es fil' Thom' Schot *iiij d.*
 Thom' hobson & vx' ei' *iiij d.*
 Will's Schepard & Is' vx' *iiij d.*
 Joh'es s'uies' *iiij d.*
 Joh'es Wylmot & vx' *iiij d.*
 Joh'es Michol' & vx' *iiij d.*
 Will's quenild & vx' *iiij d.*
 Rob' Steue' & vx' *iiij d.*
 Joh'es hayward & vx' *iiij d.*
 Rob' knotte & vx' *iiij d.*
 Rob' hagheforht & vx' *iiij d.*
 Joh'es horner & vx' *iiij d.*
 Thom' Scargill & vx' *iiij d.*
 Will's de Graunge & vx' *iiij d.*
 Rob' taylo' & vx' *iiij d.*
 Will's s'uies' Rob' *iiij d.*
 Adm' baroll' & vx' flessehewer *vj d.*
 Thom's de Graunge & vx' Bakst' *vj d.*
 Will's fil' Thome de Graunge *iiij d.*
 Joh'n' fil' Thome Graunge *iiij d.*
 Will's Gortson & beatrix vx' eius *iiij d.*
 Rob't Querideyn s'uiens eius *iiij d.*
 Ric'us de Marsche & Bat'x vx' ei' *iiij d.*
 Joh'es fil' eius *iiij d.*
 Ric'us de Clyffe & Alic' vx' ei' *iiij d.*
 Thomas s'uiens Rob'ti Rankell *iiij d.*
 Agn' de Grene s'uiens eiusde' *iiij d.*
 Will's Gonnor & Agnes vx' ei' *iiij d.*
 Rob't s'uiens e' *iiij d.*
 Kat'ina s'uant de dit' Will'm *iiij d.*
 Rob't Portar Betris sa fe'me *iiij d.*
 Johan' Mountenay Edden' sa fe'me
 fleshewer *vj d.*
 Joh'es de Syndirhill *iiij d.*
 Joh'es Storre Alic' sa fe'me *iiij d.*
 Rog' Storre s'uant de dit' Johan' *iiij d.*
 Rob't Aleyn Johan' sa fe'me *iiij d.*
 Rog' de Gapton' Alic' sa fe'me *iiij d.*
 Will's s'uant' de dit' Rog' *iiij d.*
 Agn' s'uant de dit' Rog' *iiij d.*
 Ric'us falke Alic' sa fe'me *iiij d.*
 Johan' hassechyrst Emm' sa fe'me *iiij d.*
 Rog' Mylnar Alic' sa fe'me *iiij d.*
 Thomas Gaylzour Ebbot sa fe'me *iiij d.*
 Johan' brase Anabul sa fe'me *iiij d.*
 Johan' chapman lesot sa fe'me *iiij d.*
 Joh'n' s'uant' de dit' Joh'n' *iiij d.*
 Henr' de Nortburne' Johan' sa fe'me
iiij d.
 Johan' quenyle *iiij d.*
 Joh'n Tynete Ibbot' sa fe'me *iiij d.*
 Pet' de balefeld Elot sa fe'me *iiij d.*
 Henr' Benet Alic' sa fe'me *iiij d.*
 Joh'es de corphay betris sa fe'me *iiij d.*
 Ibbot bolkok *iiij d.*
 Rob't Geslyng Johan' sa fe'me *iiij d.*
 Thomas flaunt *iiij d.*
 Watte Shot' & Johan' sa fe'me *iiij d.*

Will'o Crayke Cissot sa fe'me *iiijd.*
 Joh'es Reyg' Johan' sa fe'me *iiijd.*
 Magot Marchall' *iiijd.*
 Johan' Sterehor Matild' sa fe'me *iiijd.*
 Thomas Carr Agn' vx' e' *iiijd.*
 Will's s'uiens e' *iiijd.*
 Joh' Michell Magar' vx' e' Walkar *vjd.*
 Joh'es fil' e' *iiijd.*
 Joh' Styge Cicil' vx' e' *iiijd.*
 Joh' fil' e' *iiijd.*
 Joh' fil' Ric'i & cicil vx' e' *iiijd.*
 Joh' famul' e' *iiijd.*
 Will's bryrshe & Agn' vx' e' smyth *vjd.*
 Joh'es Trypet Johan' vx' ei' *iiijd.*
 Will's famul' e' *iiijd.*
 Margar' famul' e' *iiijd.*
 Joh'es famul' e' *iiijd.*
 Joh'ea famul' e' *iiijd.*
 Th' fulwudd Cicil vx' e' talo' *vjd.*
 Joh'es fil' e' *iiijd.*
 Cecilia fil' e' *iiijd.*
 Th' Schell *iiijd.*
 Robt' ley Aubray vx' e' *iiijd.*
 Ric'us Ellot Cicil vx' e' *iiijd.*
 Will's fleygs Emnot' vx' e' *iiijd.*
 Joh'es Elyot Johan' vx' e' *iiijd.*
 Rog'us sanye Johan' vx' e' *iiijd.*
 Joh' Kent Elisot' vx' e' *iiijd.*
 Thomas famul' e' *iiijd.*
 Agn' famula e' *iiijd.*
 Ibbota Wylymot *iiijd.*

Joh' lambe Joh'n' vx' e' Mariser *vjd.*
 Robt' Osgarthorp' Alic' vx' e' *iiijd.*
 Joh' Kent Ibbot' vx' e' *iiijd.*
 Elena Ranseld *iiijd.*
 Joh'es ham'e Magota vx' e' *iiijd.*
 Ric'us heryng Ibbot' vx' e' *iiijd.*
 Joh' Kent Agn' vx' ei' *iiijd.*
 Joh'n' fil' e' *iiijd.*
 Rob't Mychell' Matild' vx' e' Tayllo' *vjd.*
 Alic' atte Wardeshende *iiijd.*
 Henr' atte lond' Idon' vx' e' *iiijd.*
 Joh' Bolhes Agn' vx' e' *iiijd.*
 Margar' Raysyn *iiijd.*
 Joh' fil' ei' *iiijd.*
 Thom's Raysyn Juliana vx' e' *iiijd.*
 Will's att Karr Agn' vx' e' *iiijd.*
 Thomas atte hall Agn' vx' e' *iiijd.*
 Joh'es fil' e' *iiijd.*
 Ric'us Hornar Agn' vx' e' *iiijd.*
 Simon' Miln' Cicil' vx' e' *iiijd.*
 Ric'us Hanke Kat'ina vx' e' *iiijd.*
 Steph' famul' e' *iiijd.*
 Joh' Drake Joh'n' vx' e' *iiijd.*
 Will's famul' *iiijd.*
 Cicil Gons *iiijd.*
 Joh' Gybson Alic' vx' *iiijd.*
 Joh' Montenay *iiijd.*
 Sampson fam'l's e' *iiijd.*
 laur' fam'l's e'de' *iiijd.*
 Cecil' fil' oh' Michell' *iiijd.*

APPENDIX II.

COLLEGE OF ARMS. G., FF. 150 ET SEQ.

An Inventorie of all the Houshold Goods and Furniture belonginge to George Earl of Shrewsbury at Sheffield-Castle and the Lodge. A'o 1582.

A Breife Inventory Lords Howsholde Castell & Thess Ladye the charge of Johne Deckenson and Wm. Kettelicke the wardroppe men & others, sene & wewed the xviiith of June, 1582, an'o reg' Eliz', &c., xxiii^{to}:

Hangings.—Imp'mis. Hangings w'ch were brought from London, wrought of the storrye of civill, peces v.

And one other hanging of the same sort was sent to Wingfield to Peter Tamepeter for to be mendyd, i.

Item. Hangings of imagerye w'ch were for the chappell, peces vii.

Item ether hangings of imagerye, peces vii.

It'm hangings of Farrest worke, peces xxxix.

It' hangings that came from Hardwick, of Forrest worke, peces ii.

Item hangings of ye storrye of Hercules, peces vi.

Item hangings of the storrie of the Passion, peces ii.

Item hangings of the bulls head, i.

Item hangings of arryk worke, i.

Item hangings of small leaves, peces xiii, whereof xi are olde peces, xiii.



It' one olde hanginge of leaves paste service, i.

Item hangings of Darnipe,¹ peces xi.

It' one olde hanginge of Darnipe, i, past service.

It' ii little pece of Darnipe.

S'm' of ye nomb'r of hangings.

[M]otley hangings.—It'm hangings of motley, peces xv.

[Wyn]dowe peces.—It' windowe peces of motley, vii.

[Ch]ymney clothes.—It' chymney clothes of imagerye, peces viii.

It' longe chymney clothes of imagerye, peces iii.

It' chymney clothes of Forrest worke, peces iii.

It' chymney clothes of smale leaves, peces vi, whereof v are olde.

It' chymney peces of grene clothe, olde peces, v.

...borde cloths.—Item cupeborde clothes of clowdes, i.

It' long carpetts of arrye peces ...

It'm long carpetts of whereof one is olde.

It'm long Turkye carpetts, viii.

It' shorte carpetts of needleworke, Crewell, lyned with black buckerom, i.

It' shorte Turkye carpetts lyned w'th black buckerom, ii.

It' other shorte Turkeye carpetts vulyned, xi.

It' carpetts of check boughte of Craven, iiiii.

It' and ix yerdes more of the same checke, to cover close stoules & buffet stoules with.

Counterpaynts and teasters of velvett and sylke and other costelye stuffe.—Item one cloth of estate of crymsen velvett & clothe of golde & inyssue w'th a fryndge of crymsen sylke and golde.

Item one taffatye cannapye of changeable sylke layde about w'th silver twyste & sylver fryndge & buttons of ye same.

Item one basynge for the same, layd about w'th sylver twyst and sylver fryndge.

It' one counterpoynte of ye same.

It' one calle of cutt worke wrought w'th sylke vpon wyer, sett w'th filwes, w'th a fryndge of sylke & sylver.

It' one base of wood paynted for ye same cannapye w'th a string of redd & whyte sylke.

It' one toppe teaster of blewe velvett lyened w'th blewe changeable taffatye.

It' one counterpaynte & v curtaynes of blewe changeable taffatye for ye same teaster.

It' one toppe teaster of purple velvett & cloth of golde, lyened w'th purple & yellowe cersnett.

It' one counterpaynte & v curtaynes for ye same, of purple & yellowe cersnett.

Item one square teaster w'th vallants for ye same, of clothe & golde & inyssye & whyte satten embrodered w'th studdes of sylver & a fryndge of sylke & golde, & embroded w'th my Lo. armes.

It' one counterpeynte of ye same, of crymysen satten, my Lords armes embrodered vpon yt.

¹ This is, I believe, either a misspelling in the original MS., or a mistake of my copyist. "It is *Dornixe*, Dornyx, Dornex, Darnex,—a cloth resembling damask, originally made at Doorneck in Flanders." (Glossary, Church Goods of Herts.)

- Item one teaster of clothe of golde & tyssue & russett velvett w'th a fryndg of yellowo & russett sylk.
 onester of fugerat ...atten of gren & yellowe paned a fryndg of grene & yellowe w'th a counterpeynte of ye same.
 Item one square teaster w'th vallants for the same, of redd and whyte satten of Brydges.
 Item one square teaster w'th double vallants of fugarr satten w'th a grene & orredge tawnye fryndge, and one counterpaynt & v curtens of grene & orredge tawney cersnett for the same.
 Item one square teaster w'th a counterpeynt & iii curteyns of redd & whyte dammaske w'th a fryndge of redd & whyte silke lyened w'th blewe buckeram.
 Item one topp teaster of vestement worko w'th a grene sylke fryndge lyened w'th grene buckerom.
 Item one square teaster of ashe culler sylke & clothe of bodken w'th a fryndge of purple sylke leyned w'th harden clothe.
 It'm one square teaster of tawney velvett & clothe of bodken w'th a fryndge of tawney sylke lyned w'th blewe buckerom.
 Theis ii are olde, & past service.
 Item one toppe teaster of morrey clothe w'th v curteynes of ye same.
 It' one toppe teaster of blewe clothe w'th v curteynes of ye same w'th a fryndge of blewe sylke.
 Item ii square teasers for a feilde bedd, & ii counterpaynts for ye same, of grene clothe lyened w'th whyte heppings.
 It'm i square teaster of stripte say, & v curteynes of ye same.
 Item i square teaster of redd clothe w'th a payre of double vallants w'th a fryndge of silke, & v curteynes of ye same.
 It' one ether square teaster of redd clothe w'th a counterpeynte & iii curtens of ye same.
 Item one square teaster w'th vallants & v curtens of blewe clothe w'th a fryndg of blewe sylke.
 Item one carvedd teaster of wood w'th iii postes vnturned.
 Item one olde cannape of redd and whyte sylke, past service.
 Count'rpeyns.—Item verders counterpaynts, viii.
 Item counterpeyns of leaves worke, ii, olde.
 It' counterpaynts of Darnixe, i.
 Curtens.—Item curtens of grene changeable taffatye, cersnett ...
 Item one draweing curtayne for a wyndowe, of yellow satten of Brydges, i.
 Item curteynes of redd & grene sylke, iii, past service.
 It' curtens of grene mockadoo, iii.
 It' curtens of redd & grene mockadoo, iii.
 It' curtens of Darnixe, ii.
 It' curtens of redd and grene saye w'th a paire of vallants of ye same, w'th a fryndg of grene & redd, v.
 It' curteynes of grene saye, iii.
 It' curtens of redd & grene buckeram, iii.
 It' of ashe culler buckeram, iii.
 It' of redd buckeram curtens iii.
 It' of redd clothe, draweing curtens, for ye great chamb'r, iii.
 It' ii lytle peces of stripte saye.
 It' ii litle peces of yellowe & grene saye.
 Traverses.—Item traverses of redd cersnett, ii.

Sparvers.—Item olde sparvers paste servyce, ix.

Alter clothes.—It' alter clothes of clothe of golde & russett velvett, ii.

Vestements.—It' ves'ements embrodered, i.

Feyther bedds.—Item feyther bedds, lxxvii.

It' feyther bedds paste service, v.

Bolsters.—Item bolsters, iii^{xx}ix.

Bolsters stuffed w' th heere, vi.

Bolsters vnfilled, i.

Bolsters not serviceable, v.

Fyne matteress'.—Item fyne matteress', ix.

Course matteress'.—Item course matteress', lxi.

Pellet cases.—It' pellett cases, xx.

Fustians.—Item fustianes, xi.

Flannells.—It' flannelles, iii.

.....ings, xi.

Whereof one is grene and another redd.

Fledges.—Item fledges, xli.

It' whoole clothes of fledge to make fledges of, peeces iii.

Blanquetts.—Item blanquetts whyte, v^{xx}xvi.

Blanquetts redd, iii.

Mantles.—Item redd Yryshe mantells, i.

Coverletts.—Item coverletts, iii^{xx}iii.

Item coverletts of lystes, xv.

Sheetes.—Item fyne sheetes, paires, xi and i sheete.

It' Alsom sheetes, payres, xxix.

Whereof xii payre were received of Lawrence Steele ye xxth of
Februuary, 1584.

Item harden sheetes, payres, iii^{xx} xii & i sheete.

Whereof xxi payre came from Wyrkesoppe vnmade the xxth of
Februuary, 1582.

Item olde sheetes paste service, payeres 6.

Pyllawe beres.—Item pyllawe beeres, v.

Item pyllawe beeres past service, ii.

Pyllawes.—Item square pyllawes coveryd w' th redd sylke, ii.

It' square pyllawes coveryd w' th yellowe sylke, ii.

Item square pyllawes covered w' th purple silke, ii.

Item fustycan pyllawes, xxi.

It' m leyther pyllawes, viii.

Chamber potts.—Item chamber potts of pewter, xix.

Basens.—It' chamb'r basens, pewt'r, i.

Candlesticks of brasse.—It' candlesticks of brasse, viii.

It' hanginge plate candlesticks, olde, xi, past service.

It' a great plate candlesticke of iron in ye wardrope at Sheffecastle, i.

It' candlesticks of pewter, i.

Longe quysshens.—Item one longe quysshens of crymsen velvett bothomed with satten of Brydges w' th iii tassells and a frynge, i.

It' longe quysshens of clothe of tyssne, iii.

Item longe quysshens of needleworke, sylke, bothomed w' th russett velvett, i.

It' long quysshens of needleworke, silke, & bothomed w' th redd velvett, i.

It' longe quysshens of needleworke, silke, bothomed with stript satten of Brydges, w' th a fryndg of yellowe sylke & ii tassells of grene silke, i.

- It' longe quysshens of crymsen slike & sylver, bothomed w'th changable taffatye, w'th a fryndg & iiij tassells of crymmysen sylke & sylver, i.
- It' long quysshens of fugarr satten, ii.
- It' long quysshens of blacke velvert bothomed w'th blacke satten of Brydges, ii, whereof one is vnfylled.
- Item one quysshens of blewe velvett and blewe satten of Brydges w'th a lyon, embrodered w'th studds, i.
- Square quysshens.—It' one square quysshens of needle worke, sylke, bothomed w'th redd velvett, i.
- It' square quysshens of crymsen velvett, bothomed w'th crymsen taffatye, ii.
- It' square quysshens of needle worke, sylke, bothomed w'th grene satten of Brydges w'th a fryndge of grene sylke, ii.
- It' one square quysshens of needle worke, silke, w'th a pellicane, bothomed w'th grene satten of Brydges, w'th a fryndge of blewe & yellowe silke.
- It' i square quysshens of needle worke, sylke, bothomed w'th stript satten of Brydges, i.
- It' square quysshens of clothe of golde, i olde.
- Item ii square quysshens of fugarr satten, bothomed w'th grene changable taffatye, ii.
- It' one other square quysshens of fugarr satten grene & yellowe, i.
- It' one other square quysshens of fugarr satten, i.
- It' quysshens of needle workes of crewle, iiij.
- Verders quysshens.—Item verders quysshens, xviii, whereof ii have talbotts vpon them.
- Mourreinge (*sic*) quysshens.—Item morneinge quysshens of blacke clothe, xii.
- Cheares.—Item one cheare coveryd w'th crymsen silke & sylver w'th a fryndg of ye same, i.
- It' a cheare of clothe of tyssue w'th a fryndg of redd & yellowe silke, i.
- It' one cheare of crymsen velvett w'th a fryndge of crymsen sylke, i.
- It' a cheare of purple velvett embrodered w'th clothe of golde, i.
- It' a cheare of clothe of tyssue & crymsen velvett, i.
- It' a cheare of redd velvett & clothe of tyssue, i.
- It' a cheare of fugarr satten, i.
- It' cheares of purple velvett for my Lo. owne chamber, ii.
- It' a cheare of black velvett, i.
- It' a cheare of clothe of golde & redd velvett, i.
- It' a cheare of purple velvett embrodered w'th clothe of golde, i.
- Cheares past service.—Item a cheare covered w'th redd velvett layde w'th kane lace of golde, i.
- It' a cheare covered w'th redd velvett embrodered w'th flowres, i.
- It' an olde cheare covered w'th clothe of golde, i.
- It' one cheare of yellowe velvett, i.
- It' a cheare w'th redd velvett embrodered w'th talbotts, i.
- It' an olde cheare w'th redd velvett, i.
- It' an olde cheare w'th blacke clothe & one w'th grene cloth, ii.
- Theis viii laste cheares are paste service.
- Leyther cheares.—Item leather cheares, iii.
- Clothe cheares.—It' a cheare coveryd w'th grene clothe embroderyd w'th grene twyst, i.

It' a cheare of grene clothe made for a chylde, i.

Cheares of wood.—It' cheares of wycker, i.

It' cheares of wood, ii, whereof one is for a close stoule vnfyndshed.

It' a great cheare of wood for my Lord to sytt in on St. Georges daye.
Stoules.—Item a stoule covered w'th redd velvett, pyrled w'th golde wyre, i.

It' stoules of cloth of gold & redd velvett, iii.

It' stoules of crymysen velvett and clothe of golde w'th a fryndg of redd & yellowe silke, ii.

It' a foate stoule covered w'th redd velvett w'th a fryndg of silke, i.

It' a foat stoule of crymysen velvett & cloth of gold w'th a fryndg of grene & yellowe silke sett on w'th a lace, i.

It' a foat stoule of needle worke, silke, w'th a grene silke fryndge, i.

It' a lowe stoule of purple velvett embrodered w'th cloth of gold w'th a fryndg of purple & yellowe silke, i.

.... stoules.—It' lytter stoules covered w'th grene satten of Brydges w'th grene crewle ii.

Stoules.—Item a stoule of grene clothe w'th a grene sylke fryndge, i.

It' stoules of grene clothe w'th grene crewle fryndge, ii.

It' a lowe stoule of needle worke crewle, i.

It' stoules of needle worke crewle, iii.

It' a stoule of grene clothe, i.

Stoules past service.—Item one highe stoule covered w'th clothe of golde and redd velvett, i.

It' a nother hyghe stoule covered w'th redd velvett, i.

It' a lawe stawle covered w'th redd satten embrodered w'th cloth of golde, i.

It' a lawe stawle covered w'th redd cloth embrodered w'th black satten, i.

Close stoules.—Item close stoules covered w'th mockadoo, iii.

It' close stoules covered w'th leather, ii, & one tyne pau.

It' close stoules covered w'th grene cloth, i past service.

It' close stoules of wood, playne, viii.

Buffet stoules.—Item buffett stoules, xxxviii.

It' frames for buffet stoules, vi.

Buffet formes.—It' buffett formes, xiiii.

Playne formes.—It' playne formes, vii.

Longe setles.—Item longe setles, ii.

Corded bedstedds.—Item ii fayre corded bedstydds of inlayde worke, ii.

It' a fayre corded bedstydd corded w'th wood in ye Tower Chamber at Sheff. lodg, i.

It' corded bedstydds, xxi.

It' compost bedstydds of ashe, i.

It' feilde bedstydds of ashe, i.

It' feilde bedstydds of wallnutt tree, ii.

It' corded bedstydds for a cannapye, i.

It' cannapye bedstydds, ii.

Toppe bedstydds.—It' toppes bedstydds, v.

Playne bedstydds.—Item playne bedstydds, viii^{xx}ii.

Prasses.—Item one fayre carved prasse at Sheffield Lodge, and another in my Lo. chamb'r at Sheff. Castle, ii.

Skreenes.—Item wicker skreenes, iii.

Copebordes.—Item cupebordes, xlv.

It' a lytle carved cupeborde in my Lo. vtt'r chamber, i.

Square tables.—Item square tables, xvj.

Item square tables for the hawle at Sheff. Lodg, viii, and formes for all ye same, viii.

It' a bourde and a forme in the porter's lodge at Sheff. Lodg, and ii tresteles in ye gates there.

Item a table of ashe in the quenes gallerye there, i.

Item square tables for the hawle at Sheff. Castell, w'th formes for all ye same, vi.

It' i longe table and a forme there.

It' cupebordes there, ii.

It' a square lundyryn there, i.

Long tables.—It' longe tables, vi.

Counters.—Item counters, ii.

Chestes.—Item standing chestes bonde w'th iron, vii.

It' great chestes of wood, iii.

It' great wood arkes, ii.

It' a chest of fyrr wood in the lowe washe howse at Sheff. Lodg, i.

It' one litle chest bonde w'th plates, i.

It' a fayre square chyst inlayde w'th whyte bone, made by my Lo.

Fraunces, w'th a talbott and SS, standing in ye nurcerye at lodge, i. It is almost spoyled through evyll vsinge.

Item a litle iron caskett standing in my Lo. bedchamb'r there, i.

It' a cesterne of allabaster standing in ye great chamber at Sheff. Lodge, i.

Trunckes.—Item trunckes, vi.

Item wycker trunckes, i.

Basketts.—Item basketts coveryd w'th leather, i.

Item basketts vneoveryd, iii, whereof one was d'd to Fraunces Herbert, iii.

Bybles.—Item bybles, ii.

It' one book cont'g ye halfe vollume of ye Actes & Monuments, i.

Stuffe in the wardroppes.—Item a redd clothe for a runninge horse, borded w'th blacke velvett and embrodered w'th talbotts of sylver & lyned w'th black buckeram, i.

Item one coate for a capten, of redd clothe garded about w'th black velvett i.

It' staggs or banners w'th ye quenes armes, ii.

Item streamers, ii.

It' a coate for a harralde of armes w'th my Lo. armes on it, i.

It' iii papers of my Lo. armes, iii.

It' papers of talbotts for charbiger, xi^{xx} xvi.

It' solgier coates, v^{xx}.

It' solgier cappes, v^{xx}.

It' olde plate coates, vi.

It' olde jackes, vi.

It' olde blacke bylls w'th shaftes, xx.

It' blacke bylls w'thowte shaftes, xviii.

It' forrest bylles, i.

It' javeling staves, xxiiii.

Item javeling heads w'thowte staves, vii.

It' olde gu'nes called base peeces, i.

It' olde soore clothes, ii.

It' clothe sacks of leather, ii.

- It' a boxe of pyke heades & sheafe harrowe heads, i.
 It' a great brode boxe to laye silke stuffe in, i.
 It' masken coates of Darnixe, iii.
 It' brasse cocks for condytts, vi.
 It' square iron chymneys, i.
 It' square barres of iron for chymneyes, x.
 It' square barres of iron drawen owte for broyches, ii.
 It' i shorte bar of ii yerds & d'd for ye same vse, i.
 It' other barres of an ell long a pece, iii.
 It' broyches, iii.
 It' cobyrons, payres, i.
 It' iron morters, ii, whereof one was d'd to Fraunces Hebbert for ye plum'r to vse.
 It' iron casements w'th owt glasse, xii.
 It' iron passenetts, i.
 It' an olde plat pott, i.
 It' brasen morters, i.
 It' a brasse weight cont' by estimate halfe a C. weight, i.
 It' a pytche case w'ch pyctures were brought in owt of Fraunce, i.
 It' one olde coffer w'th owt a lydd in ye wardroppe at ye Castell, i.
 More stuffe in ye wardroppe.—Item great prasses w'th trestles for ye wardroppe, ii.
 It' peces of seeling w'ch they make prasses vpon in my Lo. ward-rope, iii.
 It' plane stecks, v, w'th iiiii bytts.
 It' tubes full of feythers, ii.
 It' certen peces of olde broken iron by estimat' di' stone.
 It' one paper mappe w'ch was Mrs. Sandes, i.
 Pulpytts.—It' pulpytts of wood, i.
 Boordes.—It' playne boordes, ix.
 Trestles.—It' trestles, xx.
 Landyrns.—It' landyrns, vii.
 Iron naggs.—It' iron naggs, great & small, xi.
 Fyer shovells.—It' fyer shovells, xi.
 Tonges.—Item iron tonges, payres, vi.
 In my Lords chambers.—Item a great clocke & a litle clocke.
 It' chests plated w'th iron, ii.
 It' a glasse w'th a frame for yt.
 It' a couche of walnott tree w'th a matteres covered w'th grene coc-say for ye same.
 It' a payre of litle bellyes.
 In my Ladyes chambers.—It' chestes covered w'th leather, ii, whereof one ys plated.
 It' square chests of wood, i.
 It' great standerds plated w'th iron, ii.
 It' a byng for candles.
 It' one olde cupborde.
 It' one olde stann'd's cheste.
 It' a payre of gordyvyans.
 It' ii litle bourds of iiiii feete.
 It' ii bourds standinge on ii trestles after ye walle.
 It' one olde tubbe for chippings.
 In ye pantery at ye Lodge.—It' one cupbord, iiiii byngs, a candle chest, iii boards, & a cheasell' tubbe.

In yo backhowse at ye Castle.—It' iii great boordes w'th trestles & stoupes.

It' i kneading troughe, i baulting bynge, & i brecke, i kytte, i brasse pan, i brandreth, a shorte boorde, viii sakes, & a great wood kane. In ye backhowse at ye Lodge.—It' ii great boards, i kneading troughe, & one bynge.

In the brewehowse.—It' one great newo copper pan.

It' one olde lesser copper pan.

It' iii great fatts, ii litle fatts.

It' i keeler, iiii olde brasse ketles past service.

It' iii scoapes, a worte troughe of stone.

It' vii casting tubes.

It' hogs heads serviceable, 31 (*sic*).

It' hogs heads not serviceable, lx.

It' ii great tonnes, a brandereth.

It' a pan, a fyer shovell, & a forgen'.

It' ix great barres of iron vnder ye furnice.

It' a fyer heeke.

It' a litle bourde & ii formes, & a lock of wood.

It' ii ladinge tranges.

It' ii leaden aperens.

It' i long ladder & i setle about ye fatte.

It' ii bathe fatts.

It' x seckes.

In ye chamber ov'r ye stable at ye Lodge.—It' one greate cheste.

In ye garden gallarye at ye Lodge.—It' one long frame for a table.

It' ii ladders.

It' a shorte boorde & ii trestles.

In Selbee chardg at ye Lodge.—It' ii styyles of tynne.

It' a lymbeck of tyne.

It' a serpentyne of tyne.

It' xxii glasses for reuse water.

It' v shelves, a boorde, a forme & a seate.

It' a baskett stoule and ii small trestles to sett glasses vpon.

It' a mattocke.

It' a payre of garden sheres w'ch Leaver hath had.

It' ii boordes for ye arbor in ye gallerye.

..... at ye Castell.—It' one cesterne of stone.

It' a stone mortar, i dele barrell.

It' a brayde & a trestle.

It' a tylle & a trestle of iiii feete.

It' a frame w'th vi leades to salt flesh in.

It' a salting fatt.

It' a boord standing on iiii stompes.

It' an olde ambrye, viii tubbes to putt salt in.

It' i kynnell, iiii longe shelves or bordes, & i forme.

In my Lordes kythen, larder, & pastery at ye Lodge, viz.: Item one bease leade.

It' one cesterne.

It' viii great boordes.

In ye Quen's kythen at ye Lodg.—It' ii great boordes & a litle one.

It' one cesterne at ye kythen doore.

In ye washe howse at Lodge & Castle.—It' ii long boordes & i shorte, vi trestles, & ii long formes.

It' olde great panes, ii.
 It' buckinge tubes, ii.
 It' flaschekytts, ii.
 It' kytts, ii.
 It' brandreths, ii.
 It' an olde chest, i.

Item in the hawle at the Poandes.—Item peces of paynted han'gings, wyndawe peces, & chymney peces, of canves, xx.

It' a long borde standing on trestles.

It' buffett formes, ii, buffet stoules, i, cupbordes, i.

It' a styлле, a flaggen.

It' iii olde pewter dysshes & ii spyttis.

In ye howse at the gardens.—Item a long board w'th ii trestles, ii formes, a shorte boorde, ii shorte formes, another long boarde w'th ii trestles, a kettle pan, a lytle pane, a brandreth, x peces of pewter good & badd, iii kytts, a mylke bowle, a mulke syle, and ii wood kanes.

In ye workmens chamber.—a bourde and ii trestles.

In ye saddlers chamber.—It' a boarde, ii trestles, & a forme.

In john'ye chambers.—It' a shorte board & ii trestles.

All ye kytchen stuff in the Quenes kytchen & my Lords is yett to wryte. And all the husbandrye geare, as waynes & other necessities for the draughts, at ye Castle is yet to wryte. All ye workinge towles w'ch ye horshowers have of my Lords, or the towles that the sadler hath, is to wryte. And also the gadyeners toules yet to wryte.

*An Inventoryeat Stuffe th... Queen of Scotts and her People
 hath of my Lords, viz. :*

In the Quenes chambers.—Imp'mis hangings of the Passion and of warres, peces viii.
 It' hangings of imagerye, i.
 It' feyther bedds, ii.
 It' bolsters, ii.
 It' blanquetts, ii.
 It' fustyeans, ii.
 It' matteres, i.
 It' counterpaynts, ii.
 It' longe carpetts, i.
 It' short carpetts, vi.
 It' cupbords, iiiii.
 It' landyrons, ii.
 It' fyer shovells, ii.
 It' tonges, payres, i.
 It' longe quysshens of cloth of tyssue, i.
 It' stoules, i.
 In ye chamb'r w'ch ye M'r of ye Quenes howsholde hath.—It' matteress, i.
 Bolsters, iii.

Blanquetts, ii.
 Coverletts, i.
 Shectes, payres, ii.
 Playne bedstydys, i.
 Cupbords, i.
 Formes, i.
 Feyther bedds, i.
 Fledges, ii.
 Verdors count'rpaynts, i.
 Chamberpotts, i.
 Candlesticks, i.
 Fyer pa'nes, i.
 Square tables, i.
 Wood cheares, i.
 Buffett stoules, i.
 Iron barres in ye chymney at ye Castle, iii.
 It' hangings of smale leaves, ii.
 In Mr. Nawe chamber.—Feather bedds, i.
 Bolsters, ii.
 Fyne matteress, i.
 Course matteress, i.

Sheetes, payres, i.
 Happings, i.
 Fledges, ii.
 Blanquetts, i.
 Counterpaynts, i.
 Candlesticks, i.
 Chamber potts, i.
 Cupbords, i.
 Buffett stooles, i.
 Iron bars in ye chymney, iii.
 Rawley chamber.—It' playne
 bedstydds, i.
 Feather bedds, ii.
 Bolsters, ii.
 Sheetes, payres, ii.
 Pellett case, i.
 Cov'rletts, ii.
 Blanquetts, iii.
 Cannabye of dyed canves, i.
 Hangings of olde leaves, peeces
 of iii barres in ye wolle, iii.
 Landyrans, i.
 Buffett stooles, ii.
 Chamb'r potts, i.
 Candlestick, i.
 In Mrs. Layton chamber.—It' playne
 bedstydds, i.
 Feather bedds, ii.
 Bolsters, ii.
 A paire of sheetes, i.
 Redd blanquetts, ii.
 Whyte blanquetts, ii.
 Counterpaynt of smale leaves, i.
 Coverletts, i.
 Fustycans, i.
 Square teaster of yellowe &
 watchett dammaske, i.
 Olde quysshens of leaves, i.
 Matteres, i.
 Olde hangings of leaves, peeces, iii.
 Buffett stooles, ii.
 Candlesticke, i.
 Chamb'r potts, i.
 Cupbord, i.
 Barres of iron standing in ye
 chymney there, iii.
 In Mr. Burgon ye Doctors cha'ber.
 —It' playn beddstidds, i.
 Feather bedds, i.
 Bolsters, ii.
 Matteres, ii.
 Blanquetts, ii.
 Cov'rletts, ii.

Sheetes, paires, ii.
 Square teaster of Darnixe, i.
 Curtayne of Darnixe, i, & of blew
 of buckeram curtens, & of redd
 buckeram, i.
 Cupbords, i.
 Buffett stooles, i.
 Chamb'r pott, i.
 Candlesticke, i.
 Hangings of yellowe & redd say,
 peeces iii.
 Barres of iron in ye chimney, iii.
 In Mr. Curle chamber.—It' playne
 bedstidds, i.
 Feather bedds, i.
 Bolsters, ii.
 Fledges, ii.
 Sheetes, payres, ii.
 Cannabyes of redd & yellowe
 buckerom, i.
 Matteres, ii.
 Fustyeanes, ii.
 Square table, i.
 Buffett stools, iii.
 Candlestick, i.
 Chamber potts, i.
 Hangings, ii, some of forrest
 work, & thother of smale
 leaves olde pece of dar-
 nixe ene say bucke-
 ram
 In Mr. Pyrawdrawe chamb'r.—It'
 playne bedstydds, i.
 Playne cupebords, i.
 Coverletts of lystis, ii.
 Cov'rletts of yearne, i.
 A pece of an olde hanging of
 redd & yellowe saye, i.
 Formes, i.
 Barres of iron sett in ye wall, iii.
 In Mr. Jarvys ye surgion cham-
 ber.—It'm corded bedstydds, i.
 Feather bedds, i.
 Bolster, i.
 Blanquetts, ii.
 Cov'rletts, i.
 Sheetes, paires, i.
 A pece of an olde saye, redd &
 yellowe, for a teast'r & hang-
 ings, i.
 Candlesticks, i.
 Chamber potts, i.
 Cupbordes, i.



- In Mr. Bastyen chamber.—It' playne bedstydds, i.
 Feath'r bedds, ii.
 Bolsters, ii.
 Blanquetts, iii.
 Count'rpaynte of smale leaves, i.
 Sheetes, payres, ii.
 Pellett cases, i.
 Cov'rletts, i.
 A peece of a hanging of redd & yellowe saye, & a peece of grene clothe, ii.
 It' buffet stoules, i.
 It' formes, i.
 Cupbords, i.
 Candlesticks, i.
- In Mr. Dyddyes chamber.—It' playne bedstydds, i.
 Feather bedds, i.
 Mattres, i.
 Bolsters, i.
 Blanquetts, ii.
 Cov'rlett, i.
 A peece of an olde hanging of leaves, i.
 Cupbords, i.
 Buffet stoules, i.
 Great bourds, i.
 Shelves, v.
 Formes, i.
 Bynges for bread, i.
 Candlesticks, i.
 Chamb'r potts. i.
- Hannyeballd Bedd.—It' feather bedds, i.
 Bolsters, i.
 Blanquetts, ii.
 Coverletts, i.
 Counterpaynts of leaves, i.
 Sheates, payres, i.
- Wyllie Blacksbedd in ye Quenes uterchamber.—It' feather bedds, i.
 Mattres, i.
 Bolsters, i.
 Blanquetts, ii.
 Counterpaynt of grene leaves, i.
 A peece of hanging of grene leaves, i.
 Sheetes, payres, i.
 Long tables, i.
 Trestles, i.
 Buffet formes, long, ii.
 Barres of iron in ye chymney, iii.
- Wooderoppe—It'm playne bedstydds, ii.
 Mattres, ii.
 Bolsters, ii.
 Pellett cases, i.
 Blanquetts, ii.
 Cov'rletts, ii.
 Count'rpayntes, i.
 Sheetes, payres, i.
 Fustyeans, i.
 An olde peece of a hanginge of blew buckeron, i.
 Brode boords standing on ii trestles, i.
 A doore w'th two bands, iron standing, and ii trestles.
 It' barres of iron in ye chymney, iii.
- In the cooks chamber & Ro. Hambleton.—Item playne bedstydds, iii.
 A forme & a peece of buckeron.
 Rob. Hambleton hath of my Lords :
 Bolsters, i.
 A peece of an Iryshe range, i.
 And Mr. Cooke hath, viz., feather bedds, i.
 Bolsters, i.
 Blanquetts, ii.
 Coverletts, i.
 Sheetes, paires, i.
- Nicholas & Charles have, viz., mattresses, i.
 Bolsters, i.
 Pellytases, i.
 Sheetes, paires, i.
 Blanquetts, ii.
 Coverletts of lysts, i.
-
 Hangings of imagerye, forreste work & leaves, better & worsse, xxi.
 Long carpetts, i.
 Shorte carpetts, vi.
 And hanging of yellowe & redd saye & buckeron, olde peces, vi.
 Feather bedds, xvii.
 Fyne mattresses, i.
 Course mattresses, xiii.
 Bolsters, xxv.
 Sheetes, paires, xvii.
 Blanquetts, xxxiii.
 Fledges, vi.

Fustyeans, vi.	Candlesticks, ix.
Happings, i.	Chamber potts, viii.
Pellett cases, v.	Buffet formes, ii.
Coverletts of yearne, xiii.	Buffet stoules, viii.
Coverletts of lyst, iii.	Landyrons, iii.
Counterpaynts, ix.	Fyer shovells, iii.
Cannabyes, i.	Tongs, paires, i.

Indorsedy of all my Lordes Househould S... at Sheffield Castle
and Sheffield Mannor, in the chardge of Kettridge. 1582.

APPENDIX III.

HEARTH-TAX, WEST RIDING OF YORKSHIRE.
16 CHARLES II (1665).REC. OFF., LAY SUBSIDIES, $\frac{210}{343}$.*Sheaffeild.*

Tho. Newbould 2	Tho. Coocke 3
Edw. Sanderson 3	Jos. Shemeld 5
Widd. Lees 3	Mr. Watterhouse 2
God. Water 2	Cha. Smith 3
Tho. Goodyear 1	Robt. Bullas 2
Laur. Twigg 4	Samuell Roberts 3
Tho. Broadbent 2	Robt. Owin 5
Tho. Scargell 2	Widd. Guy 3
Joseph Shemeld 5	Robt. Housby 4
Mr. Primes 5	Joseph Taylor 2
Edw. Barloe 4	Will'm Sorsby 17
John Carry 4	John Bower 2
Will'm Stones 4	Will'm Swinmey 4
Widd. Stainforth 4	Will'm Bulleys 2
Robt. Wrighton 4	Joseph Hobson 6
Will'm Tunsdall 1	Widd. Woodrous(f ?)e 6
Tho. Wright 5	Robt. Housby 1
John Wright 3	John Woodhouse 1
Hen. Greenhill 2	Geo. Parson 3
Amb. Greenewood 2	Rich. Roberts 6
John Smith 1	Will'm Kirkham 6
Will'm Ellis 2	Robt. Tayler 1
Tho. Tickhill 6	Castle Shemeld 4
Hen. Hancocke 2	Mich. Willy 4
John Stering 7	John Crocket 3
Geo. Tompson 1	Mrs. Bright 6
Widd. Stones 3	Edw. Rawson 2
Tho. Mason 3	John Dawne 4
Widd. Lee 5	Geo. Cowper 4
Tho. Stones 2	Nicholas Oats 3
Xto Barlow 2	John Bright 1
Widd. Stainforth 1	Tho. Scargell 3
John Hawley 5	Mr. Chappell 10

Widd. Lockwood	5	Will'm Creswicke	1
John Lockwood	4	Will'm Smith	8
Rich. Swines	3	Robt. Pinder	3
Ffran. Burton	2	Jona Eson	3
Row. Bramham	1	Geo. ffoxe	2
Robt. Swimes	1	Will'm Mason	2
An. Swimes	3	Widd. Sands	2
Widd. Low	2	Will'm Sands	2
James Capman	2	Xto Stewardson	1
Robt. Coley	1	Rich. Barber	4
Robt. Ingman	2	Will'm Shertcliffe	3
James Spencer	3	Joshua Rob'ts	2
Hen. Gillott	1	Will'm Twibell	1
Ffran. Browneld	1	Ger. Turner	1
Ab. Yates	1	Will'm Ratcliffe	2
Edw. Steaven	2	Gilbt. Roberts	3
John Winter	1	John Shore	5
Tho. Moake	4	John Wigfull	2
Robt. Bamforth	3	Will'm Scargell	3
Will'm Webster	2	Will'm Mason	2
Tho. Mathewman	2	Ger. ffoxe	2
Widd. Sutton	3	Rich. Dawoods	3
John Peck	1	Ann Milner	1
James Barber	1	John Greene	4
John Clayton	1	Rich. Webster	2
Rich. Broadbent	1	Widd. Webster	3
Hen. Gillott	1	Widd. Pell	3
John Sutton	2	Widd. Arnald	1
John Waite	1	Mr. Lobley	6
John Simont	1	Mr. Birbecke	6
Tho. Scargell	1	Steep. ffoxe	4
Eli Stacy	1	Mr. Beswicke	13
Mar. Crosley	2	John Parson	2
Jon. Webster	3	Hugh Spooner	3
Widd. Akeroyds	2	John Trippitt	5
Edw. Ellis	2	Tho. Trickitt	10
Tho. Oxspring	2	Tho. Denton	2
Tho. Rowlinson	2	Widd. Roberts	4
Geor. Serpitt	1	Edward Roberts	3
Widd. Crosley	8	Widd. Godard	5
Widd. Cutforthley	2	Sam. Savage	2
John Shearecliffe	5	Ralph Stacy	3
God. Wild	4	Tho. Hayes	4
Sam. Barloc	2	ffran. Barlow	11
Alex. Watson	3	Abell Rowlingson	5
Robt. March	2	John Hemingwell	5
Mat. Arnold	4	Jas. Moore	4
John Swallow	5	Tho. Bretlands	4
James Newton	4	Will'm Cocke	5
James Webster	2	Widd. Woods	5
Will'm Beartley	4	Widd. Walton	3
Will'm Creswicke	4	Robt. Bright	3

Ann Hall	7	Geor. Shawe	2
Will'm Rowling	2	Will'm Ellis	1
Alex. Younge	2	Joseph Stearing	1
Robt. Grabbe	2	Will'm Pye	1
John Hieke	4	Eli Trickett	2
Will'm Cawthorne	2	Mr. Ffisher	4
Robt. Allen	4	Edw. Lightfoote	3
Geor. Carr	3	Jos. Bayle	5
Will'm Hide	4	Tho. Retell	2
Widd. Wilkinson	1	Edward Badger	2
James Arderne	1	Widd. Sterry	3
John Turner	1	Edw. Robinson	2
James Hobson	1	Tho. Asheton	2
Tho. Cawthorne	1	John Downes	3
Robt. Tybbot	3	Tho. Scargell	1
Steaven Hall	1	Geor. Gescock	2
Steauen Ludlam	2	John Hartley	2
Mrs. Simpson	6	Widd. Leamonds	2
Rich. Wadsworth	3	Jos. Handley	6
Will'm Savadge	4	Jos. Nutt	1
Will'm Allen	1	Robt. Stainland	1
Mrs. Wadsworth	6	Rodger Howkesley	1
Tho. Prompton	1	Jos. Tayler	2
Andrew Bacon	3	Tho. Leamonds	3
Rich. Milner	2	Lewis Denton	2
Tho. Geving	3	Lew. Parramoore	1
Robt. Housley	1	Robt. Rodger	2
John Stenis	4	Widd. West	1
Will'm Mathew	3	John Benson	2
Tho. Allott	2	Robt. Pinton	3
Widd. Allott	2	Tho. Revell	1
Tho. Bullas	1	Geo. ffox	1
Nicho. Show	4	Geo. Stones	1
Will'm Turner	3	Mat. Gould	3
Joseph Hancocke	5	An. ffoster	1
Rich. Parramorre	4	Tho. White	3
Tho. Badger	1	James Hoole	1
John Hancocke	2	James Savadge	2
Tho. ffrance	1	Robt. Seny	1
John Dawson	1	Will'm Steny	1
Tho. Badger	2	John Webster	2
Joseph Arnold	2	James Rockley	2
John Pell	1	Geor. Spooner	4
Mr. Browne	2	Robt. Stainforth	2
Mr. Gardiner	4	John Stevenson	1
Jos. Dawner	2	John Webster	5
Joseph White	4	John Marshall	1
Will'm Mason	2	Robt. Mathewman	2
Rich. Abdy	1	Robt. Keirby	3
Tho. West	3	Geor. Bower	1
Rich. Oustwicke	2	Edw. Creswicke	3
Ralph Clayton	1	Joseph Butler	3

	Smithy. Mon.		Smithy. Mon.
Richard Abdye .	1 . 3	Edward Barlow .	1 . 3
George Broadbent .	1 . 3	Will'm Stones .	1 . 3
George Shaw .	1 . 3	John Stainforth .	2 . 6
Mich (?) Stacye .	1 . 3	Nicholls Stainforth, or	
Thomas Creswicke .	1 . 3	W'm Rich [new built]	1 . 1
Elias Trickett .	1 . 3	Christopher Burley .	3 . 9
Will'm Leach [for one		Joseph Downes .	1 . 3
halfe yeare] .	2 . 2	Malin Sowersby .	1 . 3
Thomas Revill .	1 . 3	Samuelle Hancocke .	1 . 3
Thomas Bullas [newly		George Pearson .	1 . 3
built p'd halfe a yeare] .	1 . 1	Castle Shemeld .	1 . 3
Edward Badger [for a		Will'm Askwith .	1 . 3
yeare's duty] .	2 . 4	Emanuel Hobson [one	
George Jeffeocke .	2 . 6	new built] .	2 . 4
Abell Yates .	1 . 3	John Downes .	1 . 3
Jonathan Webster .	1 . 3	Nichollas Oates .	1 . 3
Joseph Hanley .	1 . 3	Robert Nicholls .	1 . 3
Joseph Nutt [p'd for a		Richard Pursloue .	1 . 3
yeare] .	2 . 4	Widdow Burton .	1 . 3
Jonas Taylor .	1 . 3	Widdow Steven .	1 . 3
John Bell .	1 . 3	Edward Hellifeild [one	
Thomas Revill .	1 . 3	of them newly built] .	2 . 4
Widdow Fox .	1 . 3	Robert Machen .	1 . 3
Henry Waide .	1 . 3	Anthony Simes .	2 . 6
Andrew Foster .	1 . 3	Anthony Crapper .	1 . 3
Thomas Housley .	1 . 3	Henry Gillot .	1 . 3
George Spooner .	1 . 3	Robert Colley .	1 . 3
Robert Staniforth .	1 . 3	John Clayton .	1 . 3
John Webster .	1 . 3	Thomas Moake .	1 . 3
John Webster .	1 . 3	Nichollas Stainforth .	1 . 3
Robert Mathewman .	1 . 3	Will'm Norcliffe .	2 . 6
John Halliley, senior .	1 . 3	Ffrancis Brownell .	1 . 3
Robert Nuns .	1 . 3	Edward Steven .	2 . 6
Edward Ellis .	1 . 3	John Winter [but lyable	
Thomas Barber .	1 . 3	for a yeare] .	1 . 2
Widdow Stones .	1 . 3	James Carr .	1 . 3
George Stones [one p'd		John firth [newly built]	1 . 1
for last halfe yeare] .	2 . 4	Thomas Moake, senior .	1 . 3
William Crawshaw .	1 . 3	Robert Brinsforth .	1 . 3
Thomas Twigge .	4 . 12	Thomas Trickett .	1 . 3
Richard Nutt .	1 . 3	Will'm Webster .	1 . 3
Robert Smith [built since		Thomas Mathewman .	1 . 3
Michll's payable at		William Twigge .	2 . 6
Lady day next] .	1 . 0	Widdow Peeke .	2 . 6
Robert Staneforth .	1 . 3	James Barber .	2 . 6
Leonard Beel .	1 . 3	William Wade .	1 . 3
Benjamin Kirkbye .	1 . 3	Robert Crookes .	1 . 3
John Spencer .	1 . 3	John Sutton .	1 . 3
Thomas Dodworth .	1 . 3	John Barker .	3 . 9
John Willey [new built]	1 . 1	Henry Gillot .	1 . 3
Will'm Burgon .	2 . 6	Maylin Gillot [one lyable	
John Webster .	2 . 6	but one yeare] .	2 . 5

	Smithy.	Mon.		Smithy.	Mon.
Thomas Platts	1	3	Will'm Twibell	1	3
Edward Ellis	1	3	Edward Britlebanke	1	3
James Tapman [one but			Will'm Shirtcliffe	1	3
lyable for a yeare]	3	8	Thomas Radford	1	3
Thomas Jeffcocke [one			Gilbert Roberts	1	3
but ly. for a year]	1	2	John Wigfall	1	3
John Hanley	1	3	Robert Broadbent	2	6
Ralph Hydes	1	3	Will'm Mayson	1	3
Mathew Arnold	1	3	John Woodhouse	1	3
James Newbon	1	3	Will'm Nuns	1	3
Thomas Barlow	1	3	John Staniforth	1	3
Will'm Burley	3	9	John Greaves	1	3
Godfrey Creswick	1	3	Richard Webster [new		
Will'm Creswick	1	3	built]	1	1
John Brinsworth	1	3	Widdow Pell	1	3
James Webster	1	3	William Dawson	1	3
Widdow Creswicke	1	3	Joseph Arnold	2	6
Thomas Creswicke	1	3	Thomas Creswicke	1	3
George ffox	1	3	George Rippon	1	3
Henry Stringfellow	1	3	John Stainforth [lyable		
Widdow Sands	2	6	but poore and no dis-		
Will'm Sands [one but			tres to be had]	2	0
lyable for a yeare]	2	5			
John Cave	1	3			
				196	539

Hallam.

Will'm Spooner [newly			George Hollingworth	1	3
built]	1	1	Thomas Brownell	1	3
John Wright	1	3	Thomas Smith	1	3
Nathan Garlicke	1	3	John Wainewright	1	3
Robert Brownell	1	3	Jonathan Slacke	1	3
Enock Holland	1	3	George Bamforth	3	9
John Holland	1	3			
John Holland	1	3		15	43

Eccleshall.

Samuell Wild [newly			John Jeffcocke	1	3
built]	1	1	Thomas Machen	1	3
Will'm Coates of Clarke-			Steven ffox [due Lady		
house [newly erected]	2	4	day and Michaelmas	1	2
Will'm Oates, jun.	1	3	Widdow Wright	1	3
Roger Leadbeater	1	3	George Creswick	1	3
John Barkin	1	3	Thomas Smeeley	1	3
Anthony ffox	1	3	George Pearson	1	3
Christopher Parker, [ly-			Thomas Moake	1	3
able last half year]	1	1			
Will'm Gillot	1	3		17	44

Brightside Byerley.

Robert Allin	1	3	John Tompson	1	3
Richard Shirtcliffe	1	3	Edward Tompson [newly		
Widdow Tompson	1	3	erected]	1	1

	Smithy.	Mon.		Smithy.	Mon.
Widdow Machon	3	9	Joseph Hobson	1	3
John Graues [lyable but a yeare]	1	2	Robert Swift	1	3
Alexander Anderton	1	3	Widdow Wilkinson	1	3
John Robiison	1	3	John Rawson	1	3
John Burgon	1	3	Joshua Barnsley [newly erected]	1	1
Will'm Hoole	1	3	George Barnsley	1	3
Will'm Denton	1	3	Henry Smith	1	3
Ellis Loyd	1	3	Robert Robinson	1	3
Nathan Robinson	1	3			
				24	67

Attercliffe cu Darnell.

Thomas Bird	2	6	John ffretwell [newly erected]	1	2
George Knott	1	3	Richard Leighton	1	3
Samuell Chadwicke	1	3	Widdow Marsh	1	3
Will'm Smith	2	6	John Sparke	1	3
John Twigge	1	3	Joseph Beighton	1	3
Joseph Walton	1	3	George Holland	1	3
Will'm Dungworth	1	3	Thomas Hickson [newly erected]	1	1
John Urmin	1	3	George Bullas	1	3
Ellin Carr	1	3	George Hibbart	2	6
John Bullas	1	3	Robert Bamforth	2	6
Robert Shaw	1	3	Joseph Beldon	1	3
John Batt	1	3	Joseph Kent	1	3
John Greene	2	6	Thomas Hunt	1	3
Thomas Scargill	2	6	Thomas Horrowbin	1	3
Will'm Lewicke	1	3	Will'm Smith	1	3
James Newbald	2	6	Josiah Smith	1	3
Will'm Parkins	1	3			
John Bowber	1	3			
Thomas Challoner	2	6			
George Carr	1	3		44	129

Total of Hearths, etc., 296. In money comes to £41 2s.

APPENDIX V.

Orig. penes W. Swift, Sheffield.

An Assessment made the eight day of Aprill, 1692, for ye Towne of Sheffield in ye County Yorke, pursuant to an Act of ye Present Parliament intituled an Act for Raizeing Money by a Poll payable Quarterly for one Year, for ye carrying on a vigorous Warr ag'st France, made, certified & assessed ye Day and Year above written by us whose Names are underwritten: Tho. Tooker, Robert Nicholls, Tho. Parkin, Edward Atkin, Wm. White, & Tho. Diston.

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Tho. Lee Dyer	2	4	0	Jno. Biggen miller		4	0
3 servants		12	0	Tho. Russell forgerman		4	0
Jno. Saunderson & wife		8	0	Robert Cooper & wife		8	0
3 children and 1 serv't		16	0	1 child		4	0
Jno. Marsh & wife		8	0	Henery Cox		4	0
5 children & 2 serv'ts	1	8	0	James Longson & wife		8	0

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Robert Thompson . . .	4	0		Ezra Cawton & wife . . .	8	0	
Lawrence Trickett & wife . . .	8	0		2 children & 1 serv't . . .	12	0	
Widow Trickett & 2 sons . . .	12	0		Richd. Bate & wife . . .	8	0	
Benj. Newton & wife . . .	8	0		2 children & 1 serv't . . .	12	0	
1 servant . . .	4	0		Mr. Elias Wadsworth Merc'r . . .	2	4	0
Wm. Sen'r . . .	4	0		his wife & two servants . . .	12	0	
Jno. Robbinett . . .	4	0		Mr. Wm. Sittwell Attorney . . .			
Richd. Sherman & wife . . .	8	0		att Law . . .	4	4	0
Anthony Trawton . . .	4	0		His clerke . . .	4	0	
Wm. Burgon & wife . . .	8	0		Geo. Thompson & wife . . .	8	0	
1 son . . .	4	0		2 children & 2 serv'ts . . .	16	0	
Jno. Birks & wife . . .	8	0		Mr. Tho. Marriott Merch't . . .			
1 child, 1 servant . . .	8	0		or Gentleman . . .	4	4	0
Godfry Water . . .	4	0		his wife & Ann Hancock . . .	8	0	
Edwd. Wainwright . . .	4	0		2 servants . . .	8	0	
Thomas Preist . . .	4	0		Henry Smyth & wife . . .	8	0	
Richd. Ashmore . . .	4	0		A kinswoman & 3 serv'ts . . .	16	0	
Anthony Kay . . .	4	0		Widdow Mason & Daught'r . . .	8	0	
Tho. Hunt . . .	4	0		Geo. Hutchinson & wife . . .	8	0	
Jno. Twigg & wife . . .	8	0		one child and 1 serv't . . .	8	0	
Wm. Carr & wife . . .	8	0		Steph'n Newton & wife . . .	8	0	
James Shimeild . . .	4	0		4 children & 1 serv't . . .	1	0	0
Geo. Addamson . . .	4	0		James Hoole & wife . . .	8	0	
his wife . . .	4	0		Widdow Burley & 1 child . . .	8	0	
Jno. Rawson . . .	4	0		Widdow Spooner, 1 child . . .	8	0	
Jno. Harrison . . .	4	0		Joseph Downes & wife . . .	8	0	
Robt. Ellis & wife . . .	8	0		one servant . . .	4	0	
Jno. Wright & wife . . .	8	0		John Downes . . .	4	0	
3 servants . . .	12	0		Richd. Downes & wife . . .	8	0	
Jno. Lee . . .	4	0		Sam. Hall . . .	4	0	
his wife, 3 childr'n, 1 serv't . . .	1	0	0	Mrs. Sarah Hem'ingway . . .	4	0	
Jno. Dodworth & wife . . .	8	0		Mr. Richd. Hanley apothec'y . . .	2	4	0
One child, one serv't . . .	8	0		his wife & 3 children . . .	16	0	
Isaac Bradforth . . .	4	0		3 servants . . .	12	0	
Widdow Oates . . .	4	0		Francis Harrison . . .	4	0	
Widdow Saunderson . . .	4	0		Jno. Lee & wife . . .	8	0	
2 children, 1 serv't . . .	12	0		2 servants . . .	8	0	
Tho. Kirkall & daught'r . . .	8	0		Geo. Bullus & wife . . .	8	0	
One servant . . .	4	0		4 children, 1 serv't . . .	1	0	0
Jonas Croke . . .	4	0		Tho. Diston . . .	2	4	0
Jno. Dodson . . .	4	0		his wife & 5 children . . .	1	4	0
Samll. Stanniforth . . .	4	0		1 servant . . .	4	0	
Joseph Wilkinson . . .	4	0		Jno. Ibberson . . .	4	0	
Jno. Green . . .	4	0		Anthony Firth & wife . . .	8	0	
James Key . . .	4	0		3 children . . .	12	0	
Wm. Sherman . . .	4	0		Wm. Downes & wife . . .	8	0	
Timothy Swift . . .	4	0		6 children & 1 servant . . .	1	8	0
Thomas Wright . . .	4	0		Thomas Stacy . . .	4	0	
Barnaby Griffin . . .	4	0		Christoph'r Brumhead . . .	4	0	
Wm. Cartman & wife . . .	8	0		his wife, 4 children & 2 serv'ts . . .	1	8	0
Nathaniel Cartman . . .	4	0		Mr. Joseph Banks Attorney . . .	4	4	0
Wm. Hepworth & man . . .	8	0		his wife and child . . .	8	0	
Thomas Lee . . .	4	0		Mrs. Hancock & Mrs. Banks . . .	8	0	
Wm. Dodsworth . . .	4	0		2 clerks & 2 servants . . .	16	0	
Grace Grubb & 1 serv't . . .	8	0		Mr. Hen. Waterhouse At- . . .			
Jno. Stannilan & wife . . .	8	0		torney . . .	4	4	0
1 servant . . .	4	0		His wife & Mrs. Smyth . . .	8	0	
Jno. Rycard & wife . . .	8	0		one servant . . .	4	0	
two children & one serv't . . .	12	0	0	Mr. Robert Sorsby Gent. . .	4	4	0

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
his 3 children		12	0	Jno. Oxley and wife		8	0
a fourth p't of a light horse	1	0	0	1 child & 2 serv'ts		12	0
Four servants		16	0	Wm. Hydes		4	0
Wm. Swin'oe & wife		8	0	Francis Burton & wife		8	0
two servants		8	0	two children & 2 serv'ts		16	0
Mr. Tho. Freeman Attorney	4	4	0	Tho. Burton		4	0
his wife and clerke		8	0	Jude Sutton & wife		8	0
Jno. Bate & wife		8	0	2 children & 1 serv't		12	0
Jno. Clay & wife		8	0	Wm. Turner & wife		8	0
Lionell Revell & wife		8	0	5 children & 1 serv't	1	4	0
4 children		16	0	Josh. Dewesberry		4	0
Benjamin Shaw		4	0	Jno. Sleigh & wife		8	0
Wm. Trost		4	0	one servant		4	0
Widd. Pearson & 2 sons		12	0	Jno. Turner		4	0
Wm. Thorpe & wife		8	0	James Hawke		4	0
Widd. Hasslehurst & son		8	0	Silvanus Birks		4	0
Jno. Shirliffe & wife		8	0	Reubon Hem'ingway		4	0
John Morton		4	0	Geo. Tupman		4	0
James Shirliffe		4	0	Peter Hawke		4	0
Mr. Wm. Addams Attorney	4	4	0	Robt. Rawson & 2 child'n		12	0
Widdow Taylor		4	0	Anthony Crapper		4	0
& 5 children	1	0	0	Jno. Gatecliffe		4	0
1 servant		4	0	Benj. Gillatt & mother		8	0
Geo. Stannilan & wife		8	0	Malin Gillatt & wife		8	0
four servants		16	0	one child		4	0
Mr. Buck and man		8	0	Joseph Hobson & wife		8	0
one maid servant		4	0	Two servants		8	0
Richd. Dodworth & wife		8	0	Wm. Hayes		4	0
Jno. Holbem & wife		8	0	John Reines		4	0
Edward Attkin	2	4	0	James Hawkesley & wife		8	0
his wife & 2 children		12	0	Two children		8	0
Jonathan Yealland		4	0	George Colley		4	0
Anth Bradshaw & wife		8	0	Edw. Sykes & wife		8	0
Joseph Roe & wife		8	0	Jno. Roberts		4	0
Ralph Wildsmvth		4	0	James Spencer Sen'r		4	0
Richd. Downes & wife		8	0	Jam. Spencer Jun'r & wife		8	0
3 children & 1 serv't		16	0	Wm. Hawke & wife		8	0
Richd. Hill & wife		8	0	one son		4	0
One servant		4	0	Josh. Bate		4	0
Geo. Young		4	0	Michael Stones		4	0
Jno. Towle & wife		8	0	Joseph Smyth & wife		8	0
2 servants		8	0	Widdow Brittlebank & son		8	0
Joseph Barber		4	0	Jno. Winter Sen'r & wife		8	0
Jno. Skargell & wife		8	0	one child, 2 servants		12	0
3 children & 2 serv'ts	1	0	0	Joseph Coah		4	0
Sam. Skargell & wife		8	0	Joshua Smyth		4	0
2 children & 2 serv'ts		16	0	Jno. Winter Jun'r & wife		8	0
Mr. Tho. Chappell Attorney	4	4	0	2 children & 1 serv't		12	0
ye 4th p't of a light horse	1	0	0	Jno. Fowler & wife & 1 child		12	0
his man		4	0	Geo. Creswick and wife		8	0
Tho. Chappell, Esq.	4	4	0	Wm. Colley		4	0
his wife & child		8	0	Sam. Firth		4	0
2 maides		8	0	Jno. Towndraw and wife		8	0
Madam Turn'r & maide		8	0	Jno. Ellis & wife		8	0
Jonath. Lockwood & wife		8	0	one servant		4	0
3 children & 1 serv't		16	0	Robert Thwaits & wife		8	0
Josiah Trickett		4	0	3 children		12	0
Wm. Ellis & wife		8	0	Widdow Moake & son		8	0
3 children		12	0	Robt. Brellsforth & wife		8	0

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
one child	4	0		Richd. Crabtree	4	0	
Sam. Thwaites & wife	8	0		Jno. Crabtree	4	0	
1 child, one serv't	8	0		Mary Graves	4	0	
Tho. Kay and wife	8	0		Elizabeth Mercer	4	0	
Tho. Matthewman & wife	8	0		Jno. Clarbor & wife	8	0	
John Stead	4	0		Jno. Dison & wife & child	12	0	
Geo. Brookefield	4	0		Benj. Downes & wife	8	0	
Tho. Green & wife	8	0		2 children	8	0	
one servant	4	0		Mr. Clarke schoolmaster	4	0	
Steph. Ward & wife	8	0		Edw. Morton	4	0	
Steph. Ashfoarth	4	0		Josh. Russell & wife	8	0	
Johua. Smyth	4	0		2 servants	8	0	
Thomas Dale	4	0		Wm. Ratcliffe	4	0	
Sam. Hague	4	0		Widdow Arnold	4	0	
Josh. Hick and wife	8	0		Wm. Burley & son	8	0	
Robert Ingram	4	0		one serv't maid	4	0	
2 servants	8	0		Mr. Styreing & 2 childr'n	12	0	
Mrs. Wattson	4	0		Tho. Pearson & wife	8	0	
Ephr. Patten & his wife	8	0		2 children	8	0	
his mother & 2 childre'	12	0		Tho. Wilson & wife	8	0	
3 servants	12	0		3 children & 2 serv'ts	1	0	0
Tho. Skargell & wife	8	0		Geo. Cartwright & wife	8	0	
one servant	4	0		2 children & 2 serv'ts	16	0	
Widd. Sutton & 1 serv't	8	0		1 servant more	4	0	
Jno. Barber Jun'r & 1 serv't	8	0		Sam. Osbourne and wife	8	0	
Jno. Barber Sen'r	4	0		Feild Silvester & wife	8	0	
Tho. Johnson & wife	8	0		his child & two servants	12	0	
Two children	8	0		Thomas Shephard	4	0	
Jno. Cooper & wife	8	0		Richd. Webster	4	0	
Luke Radcliffe & wife	8	0		1 servant	4	0	
Tho. Eaton & wife	8	0		Edw. Dunn & wife	8	0	
one child	4	0		Three children	12	0	
Jno. Pearson & wife	8	0		Jno. Jowett	4	0	
Jno. Yates	4	0		Tho. Dalton & wife	8	0	
Robert Buxton & wife	8	0		one child	4	0	
one child	4	0		Robt. Snyder & wife	8	0	
Ralph Hydes & wife	8	0		James Webster Jun' & wife	8	0	
Two children	8	0		one child, one serv't	8	0	
Tho. Matthewman Jun'r	4	0		James Webster Sen'r, 1 serv't	8	0	
his wife & 2 childr'n	12	0		Tho. Creswick	4	0	
2 servants	8	0		Joseph Yates & wife	8	0	
Joseph Wilkinson	4	0		Henry Allen & wife	8	0	
Edwd. Attkin Cuttler	4	0		Jno. Newbold and wife	8	0	
Isaac Ellis & wife	8	0		Tho. France	4	0	
Sam. Ellis	4	0		Wm. Sands	4	0	
Jno. King & wife	8	0		Tobias Sands & wife	8	0	
5 children & 3 serv'ts	1	12	0	2 children	8	0	
Richd. Carr	4	0		Widdow Sands	4	0	
Tho. Spoon'r, 1 bro., 2 sisters	16	0		3 children	12	0	
Anth. Hallatt & 1 serv't	8	0		Wm. Mason	4	0	
Hardolf Wasenedge	4	0		Robert Pearson	4	0	
Tho. Young & wife	8	0		Widdow Parkin & 3 childr'n	16	0	
1 child and 2 serv'ts	12	0		Robert Allen & wife	8	0	
Richd. Bradford & wife	8	0		Christo. Stuartson & wife	8	0	
4 children & 1 serv't	1	0	0	2 children	8	0	
Joseph Hanly & wife	8	0		Wm. Fox & wife	8	0	
5 children & 2 serv'ts	1	8	0	1 child	4	0	
Mr. Samll. Fisher & wife	8	0		Robert Hancock	4	0	
one servant	4	0		Jno. Dale and wife	8	0	

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
John Hunt . . .	4	0		his son . . .	4	0	
Wm. Grey . . .	4	0		Joseph Greaves & sist'r . .	8	0	
Wm. Turner . . .	4	0		1 servant . . .	4	0	
Joseph Gillatt & wife . .	8	0		Jno. Webster & wife . . .	8	0	
Henry Wilkinson . . .	4	0		2 children & 1 servant . .	12	0	
John Green . . .	4	0		John Pell sen'r . . .	4	0	
Sam. Newton . . .	4	0		Jno. Pell jun'r . . .	4	0	
Mettecalfe Bradley . . .	4	0		Geo. Fox & wife . . .	8	0	
Tho. Mason . . .	4	0		1 child & 2 servants . .	12	0	
John Stevin . . .	4	0		Michael Fox & wife . . .	8	0	
Godfry Newsam & wife . .	8	0		one servant . . .	4	0	
John Townes & wife . . .	8	0		Rich'd Swift & wife . . .	8	0	
Robert Cuttfurtha . . .	4	0		1 servant . . .	4	0	
Joseph Bate . . .	4	0		Jno. Leadbeater & wife . .	8	0	
Jno. Barke & wife . . .	8	0		one servant . . .	4	0	
Joseph Carr & wife . . .	8	0		Tho. Creswick & wife . .	8	0	
4 children . . .	16	0		one servant . . .	4	0	
Sam. Roberts & wife . . .	8	0		John Oakes . . .	4	0	
one child & 2 serv'ts . .	12	0		Mr. Wilson vicar . . .	4	4	0
Christo. Haslam . . .	4	0		his wife and 3 children . .	16	0	
Sam. Fernally & wife . . .	8	0		one servant . . .	4	0	
Joseph Yates . . .	4	0		Joshua Arnold . . .	4	0	
his wife . . .	4	0		John Oates and wife . . .	8	0	
Wm. Birks & wife . . .	8	0		Joshua Bayes Cuttler . . .	2	4	0
2 Tablers and 2 serv'ts . .	16	0		his wife 1 child & 1 servant .	12	0	
Joshua Brumhead . . .	4	0		John Bayes . . .	4	0	
his sister & 1 serv't . . .	8	0		Mr. Jno. Browne fact'r . .	2	4	0
Benj. Roberts & wife . . .	8	0		his wife . . .	4	0	
Widdow Roberts . . .	4	0		Mr. Wm. Ward gent. . .	4	4	0
Sam. Austwick & wife & 1 child	12	0		Jno. Wood & wife . . .	8	0	
Joseph Shoare . . .	4	0		4 children 1 servant . . .	1	0	0
Mr. Robert Ashton Gent. .	4	4	0	Jno. Pearson & servant . .	8	0	
his wife 2 childr'n & 1 serv't	16	0		Joseph Pearson & mother . .	8	0	
Ralph Shoare & wife . . .	8	0		Robert Bullus & wife . . .	8	0	
Michael Stevin . . .	4	0		one servant . . .	4	0	
Tho. Brownehill . . .	4	0		Robt. Wilson & wife . . .	8	0	
Auth. Hall & wife . . .	8	0		Nath'll Meers & wife . . .	8	0	
his mother and serv't . .	8	0		7 children . . .	1	8	0
Mr. Hill Batchel'r of Arts .	4	4	0	Andrew Hill & wife . . .	8	0	
Joseph Bram'all & wife . .	8	0		2 children . . .	8	0	
3 children & 3 serv'ts . .	1	4	0	Sarah Marsh . . .	4	0	
Rich'd Rollin & sister . .	8	0		Edwd. Roberts . . .	4	0	
Two servants . . .	8	0		his son and 1 servt. . .	8	0	
Jno. Gest & wife . . .	8	0		Wm. White . . .	2	4	0
Rich'd Webst'r & wife . .	8	0		his wife & 1 serv't . . .	8	0	
2 children . . .	8	0		Jno. Dalton & wife . . .	8	0	
Robert Rhodes . . .	4	0		Two children & 2 serv'ts . .	16	0	
Josh. Mason & wife . . .	8	0		Widdow Stacy . . .	4	0	
Wm. Ashforth . . .	4	0		2 children & 2 serv'ts . .	16	0	
Jno. Thompson . . .	4	0		Charles Lingard & mother . .	8	0	
Joseph Thompson . . .	4	0		his son & 1 servant . . .	8	0	
Wm. Nuns & wife . . .	8	0		Mr. Tho. Barlow gent. . .	4	4	0
his son . . .	4	0		his wife and son . . .	8	0	
Tho. Dewsberry & wife . .	8	0		The 4th pt of a light horse .	1	0	0
Joseph Tibbett . . .	4	0		Three servants . . .	12	0	
Benj. Pearson & wife . . .	1	0		Abiel Robinson & wife . . .	8	0	
2 children & 2 serv'ts . .	16	0		one child & one servant . .	8	0	
Jno. Peck . . .	4	0		Chr. Pegg & wife . . .	8	0	
Auth. Milns & wife . . .	8	0		2 children 1 servant . . .	12	0	



	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
John Hall		4	0	Tho. Parkin	2	4	0
Mr. Joseph Buttler Drap'r	2	4	0	his wife & 3 children		16	0
his wife and 3 children		16	0	one servant		4	0
Mr. Brittland and 1 servt.		8	0	Jno. Ashmore & wife		8	0
Nevill Symonds & wife		8	0	one servant		4	0
and 2 children		8	0	Widdow Allen & 1 son		8	0
Sam Traverse		4	0	Mr. James Lee, scrivener	4	4	0
Mr. Wm. Cooke Mercer	2	4	0	his wife & 3 children		16	0
his wife bro. and son		12	0	2 servants		8	0
2 servants		8	0	Jno. Trippett & wife		8	0
Mr. Richd. Corbett Gent.	4	4	0	one child		4	0
his wife and 2 children		12	0	Jonathan Fox		4	0
Edward Wood and wife		8	0	Jno. Wildsmyth & wife		8	0
6 children and 1 servant	1	8	0	2 children		8	0
Jno. Lee & wife		8	0	Mr. Bacon, attorney	4	4	0
2 children and 1 servant		12	0	Geo. Peach & wife		8	0
Jno. Hick		4	0	Wm. Lingard		4	0
Mr. Capper, schoolmaster		4	0	Joseph Smyth & wife		8	0
Richd. Bullus & wife & son		12	0	Isaac Handcock & wife		8	0
Sam. Lee		4	0	Charles Hancock & wife		8	0
Natt. Sadler & wife		8	0	4 children and 1 servt.	1	0	0
Tho. Wattson & wife		8	0	Edward Hobson & wife		8	0
one serv't		4	0	one servant		4	0
Mr. Balgey & wife		8	0	Robert Knowell		4	0
Jno. Trippett & wife		8	0	Thomas Hall		4	0
2 children and 1 serv't		12	0	John Moore		4	0
Edward Creswick & wife		8	0	Tho. Elliott & 2 childr'n		12	0
2 children		8	0	Tho. Jackson & wife		8	0
Obediah Barlow		4	0	Jno. Nicholson		4	0
2 children		8	0	Jno. Turner & wife		8	0
Tho. Warde & wife		8	0	one child & 1 serv't		8	0
one servant		4	0	Tho. Gibbens		4	0
Jno. Hobson & wife & son		12	0	Robert Salmon & wife		8	0
Henry Young and wife		8	0	2 children		8	0
2 children 2 serv'ts		16	0	John Dixon		4	0
Robert Crookes and wife		8	0	Richard Smyth & wife		8	0
2 children 1 servant		12	0	Tho. North & wife		8	0
Geo. Birks and wife		8	0	Wm. Salmon		4	0
Tho. Micoock and wife		8	0	Castle Shimeild & wife		8	0
3 servants		12	0	2 children & 1 servant		12	0
Mr. Pearson, Dr. of Physick	4	4	0	Richard South		4	0
his wife		4	0	Jno. Haugh & wife		8	0
Jno. Twibell and 1 servant		8	0	one servant		4	0
Robt. Nicholls		4	0	Tho. Snyderall		4	0
Tho. Savage		4	0	Robert Stacy		4	0
Sam. Barber		4	0	Josh. White Jun'r & wife		8	0
Jno. Ogden and wife		8	0	Benj. Kirkby & wife		8	0
Edwd. Haslam and wife		8	0	Three childr' & 1 serv't		16	0
Josh. Maden		4	0	Robert Bright and wife		8	0
Josiah Blythe & wife		8	0	2 children and 1 servant		12	0
Wm. Quicksall & wife		8	0	Mr. J. Thompson M'r of Arts	4	4	0
one servant		4	0	his wife and 3 children		16	0
Wm. Matthews & 3 childr'n		16	0	Mr. Sam. Leech and wife		8	0
Three servants		12	0	4 children and 1 servant	1	0	0
Mr. Robt. Boughton, merc'r	2	4	0	Mr. Webster and wife		8	0
his sister & 4 children	1	0	0	Joseph Settle		4	0
one servant		4	0	Joshua White Sen'r and wife		8	0
Mr. Croke & wife		8	0	one child 2 servants		12	0
4 children & 2 servants	1	4	0	Josh. Bullfield and wife		8	0

	£ s. d.		£ s. d.
2 children	8 0	Daniel Bridges and wife	8 0
Jno. Bate and wife	8 0	4 childr'n and 2 serv'ts	1 4 0
Wm. Barber	4 0	Francis Slade and wife	8 0
Isaac Stan'forth and wife	8 0	Charles Symond and wife	8 0
Tobias Ellis and wife	8 0	4 children	16 0
Two children and 1 serv't	12 0	Moses Stringfield and wife	8 0
John Kipax and wife	8 0	Tho. Webster and wife	8 0
one child and 1 servant	8 0	Jno. Spencer and wife	8 0
Peter Coates and wife	8 0	one servant	4 0
Two children and 2 serv'ts	16 0	Robert Twigg	4 0
Joseph Stacy and wife	8 0	Ralph Hunter and wife	8 0
Simon Stones	4 0	Timothy Briges and wife	8 0
Richard Russclin and 1 serv't	8 0	one child	4 0
Thomas Bullus	4 0	widdow Yates	4 0
Jabeas Broadbent	4 0	Jno. Pearson and 1 serv't	8 0
his wife 1 child 1 serv't	12 0	Robert Nicholls	2 4 0
Geo. Broadbent and wife	8 0	his wife son and daught'r	12 0
Geo. Shoare and wife	8 0	one man servant	4 0
Three children & 2 serv'ts	1 0 0	Jno. Stevenson and wife	8 0
widdow Rose	4 0	2 children and 3 serv'ts	1 0 0
Samuel Shore	4 0	Tho. Oxley	4 0
Mr. Jeremiah Woodrove		Jno. Rongsley and wife	8 0
Mr. of Arts	4 4 0	Wm. Moore	4 0
one servant	4 0	Benj. Machen	4 0
Mr. Jas. Holland Threadman	2 4 0	Andrew Wade and wife	8 0
his wife and 1 servant	8 0	six children 1 serv't	1 8 0
Mrs. Lee and 4 children	1 0 0	Jona. Webster and wife	8 0
one servant	4 0	his son and 2 serv'ts	12 0
Tho. Marshall and wife	8 0	James Barber	4 0
Two children	8 0	Jno. Arter & wife & 1 child	12 0
Wm. Wilkin and wife	8 0	Robert Woodhouse and wife	8 0
Geo. Mand	4 0	one child and 1 serv't	8 0
Geo. Ballus and wife	8 0	Geo. Hawkesworth 1 serv't	8 0
one child	4 0	Jno. Wild and wife, 1 serv't	12 0
Joseph Leech	4 0	James Nutt and wife	8 0
Robert Broadbent	4 0	one child, 1 servant	8 0
Richd. Leggett	4 0	Sam. Smyth and wife	8 0
his wife	4 0	Robert Cooper and wife	8 0
one child 3 servants	16 0	Tho. Baumforth	4 0
Jno. Crookes and wife	1 0	Sam. Baley and wife	8 0
Two children and 1 serv't	12 0	2 servants	8 0
Ben. Norris and wife	8 0	Josh. Hawksley and wife	8 0
one child	4 0	John Ellis	4 0
Elias Trickett Sen'r	4 3	James Crawshaw and wife	8 0
his wife and 2 children	12 0	Three childr'n, 1 serv't	16 0
Elias Trickett Jun'r	4 0	Tho. Lemans	4 0
Wm. Nelsin	4 0	Sam. Sayle	4 0
Jos. Wildsmyth and wife	8 0	Geo. Moore	4 0
Tho. Creswick	4 0	Tho. Allen and wife	8 0
Wm. Leeke	4 0	One servant	4 0
Jno. Cattlin and wife	8 0	Nich. Andrews and Bro.	8 0
one child	4 0	Alexander Anderton	4 0
Sam. Smyth and wife	8 0	his wife, 2 childr'n, 1 serv't	16 0
one child and 3 serv'ts	16 0	Tho. Broadhead	4 0
Wm. Dawson and wife	8 0	James Dalton	4 0
Four children and 1 serv't	1 0 0	Jno. Wilson	4 0
Jona. Bullus and wife	8 0	Geo. Lord and wife	8 0
Jonath. Hayward and man	8 0	Mathew Oates and wife	8 0
Samuel Parramour	4 0	Nepthaly Ridge	4 0

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Wm. Ward and wife and 1 child	12	0		3 children	12	0	
Sam. Stanniforth and wife	8	0		Josh. Hayle	4	0	
a kinsman and 1 serv't	8	0		Jam. Broadbent and wife	8	0	
John Stones	4	0		one servant	4	0	
Josh. Woolfendale	4	0		James Hoole and wife	8	0	
James Carnall	4	0		one child	4	0	
Charles Fullilove	4	0		Jno. Thomlinson	4	0	
Widdow Yewle	4	0		Geo. Stones and wife	8	0	
John Yewle and wife	8	0		Joshua Cawton and wife	8	0	
Two servants	8	0		one child and 2 serv'ts	12	0	
Joseph Smyth and wife	8	0		Wid. Poynton and 2 sons	12	0	
one child	4	0		Abraham. North	4	0	
Jno. Bright and wife	8	0		Jno. Wood and wife	8	0	
Tho. Hudson and wife	8	0		2 children	8	0	
Two servants	8	0		Peter Sympson and wife	8	0	
Jona. Hobson	4	0		one servant	4	0	
John Webster and wife	8	0		Wid. Blythes 3 childr'n	12	0	
3 childr' and 2 serv'ts	1	0	0	Mr. Wildman and wife	8	0	
Tho. Hobson and wife	8	0		5 children	1	0	0
Geo. Spooner	4	0		Wid. Clayton and 2 maids	12	0	
Robt. Spooner and wife	8	0		John Parker	4	0	
4 children and 1 serv't	1	0	0	Jno. Addamson and wife	8	0	
Josh. Wainright	4	0		2 children	8	0	
Tho. Marshall and wife	8	0		Jno. Ellison and wife	8	0	
2 servants	8	0		4 children and 1 serv't	1	0	0
Sam. Hancock and wife	8	0		John Bate and wife	8	0	
John Yealand	4	0		one child, 1 servant	8	0	
John Barnes and wife	8	0		Benj. Stan'iforth and wife	8	0	
Jos. Hancock and wife	8	0		one child and 2 serv'ts	12	0	
Jno. Webster and wife	8	0		Sam. Hancock	4	0	
Three children	12	0		Jacob Hancock and wife	8	0	
Robt. Mathewman	4	0		4 children and 2 serv'ts	1	4	0
his wife and child	8	0		Geo. Wilkinson	4	0	
Tho. Buxton	4	0		one child	4	0	
Wm. Attkin and wife	8	0		Joseph Ashmore and wife	8	0	
Sam. Carr and wife	8	0		2 children and 2 serv'ts	16	0	
one servant	4	0		David Wagstaffe	4	0	
one child	4	0		Widdow Aldham	4	0	
Richd. Wright and wife	8	0		Richd. Marsh and wife	8	0	
2 children and 2 serv'ts	16	0		4 children and 2 serv'ts	1	4	0
Mr. Prime and 2 childr'n	12	0		James Carr and wife	8	0	
Edw. Dewsberry	4	0		one child, 1 serv't	8	0	
Edw. Hancock and wife	8	0		Stephen Fox smyth	4	0	
Roger Ward and wife	8	0		Jno. Greaves and wife	8	0	
Three childr'n, 1 serv't	16	0		3 children, 1 servant	16	0	
Wm. Bradley	4	0		a buckle maker	4	0	
Wm. Catterell and son	8	0		Joseph Nutt and man	8	0	
Tho. Cade his wife & child	12	0		Alex. Wattson and 2 childr.	12	0	
Robert Hoole and wife	8	0		Wid. Hancock and 3 childr.	16	0	
one servant	4	0		Robt. Stan'iforth and wife	8	0	
Mrs. Warren and daught'r	8	0		his daught. and 3 serv'ts	16	0	
Wm. Brooke	4	0		Mrs. Betty Stacy	4	0	
Ben. Worstenholme and wife	8	0		John Radley	4	0	
his mother and 2 children	12	0		Sam. Ibberson	4	0	
Geo. Harrison and wife	8	0		Wm. Harrison	4	0	
one servant	4	0		Robert Turner and wife	8	0	
Wm. Hartley	4	0		one child, one serv't	8	0	
Joseph Ward and wife	8	0		Edward Marshall	4	0	
				Tho. Mullard	4	0	

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Robert Allen and wife	.	8	0	one son and one serv't	.	8	0
Tho. Jennings and wife	.	8	0	Ezra Hobson	.	4	0
5 children, 1 serv't	.	1	4	Sam. Newbold for 2 serv'ts	.	8	0
Geo. Carr and wife	.	8	0	Mr. Richd. Revell Malster	.	2	4
one servant	.	4	0	his wife, mother, & 2 childr'n	.	16	0
Joseph Lee and wife	.	8	0	2 servants	.	8	0
one servant	.	4	0	Edwd. Hall	.	4	0
Tho. James and wife	.	8	0	Josh. Needham and wife	.	8	0
his son and 1 servant	.	8	0	2 children 1 serv't	.	12	0
Francis Girdler and wife	.	8	0	Jno. Barker and wife	.	8	0
3 children and 2 serv'ts	.	1	0	Nich. Lumax and son	.	8	0
Geo. Stacy	.	4	0	Nich. Ashmore and wife	.	8	0
Jno. Clayton and wife	.	8	0	Jno. Morgan and wife	.	8	0
2 children and 1 serv't	.	12	0	Tho. Longley	.	4	0
Caleb Clayton and wife	.	8	0	Wm. Allen and wife	.	8	0
Tho. Tooker	.	4	0	Wm. Owen	.	4	0
his wife and 4 children	.	1	0	Jno. Owen and wife	.	8	0
Matt. Hall and wife	.	8	0	Wm. Water	.	4	0
Jno. Poynton	.	4	0	Mr. Lambert Exciseman	.	4	0
Step. Fox	.	4	0	Mr. Sympson for one 4th			
3 children and 2 serv'ts	.	1	0	pt of a light horse	.	1	0
Josh. Taylor	.	4	0	Mr. Robt. Waterhouse for			
Ellen Arnold	.	4	0	ye like	.	1	0
Edward Murphey	.	4	0	Xp'r Attkin and wife	.	8	0
one child, 1 maid	.	8	0	His Grace ye Duke of Nor-			
Nicho. Green	.	4	0	folk for 2 light horses	.	8	2
Anthony Morton	.	4	0				
Wm. Hobson and wife	.	8	0	Total	£468	0	0
"John Gill.				Will'm Rodes.			
				Benj. Watts."			

THE

PRIORY AND PARISH CHURCH OF WORKSOP
OR RADFORD, NOTTINGHAMSHIRE.

BY THE REV. J. STACYE, M.A.

(Continued from p. 170.)

It is high time that we now enter upon some description of the church and conventual remains of Worksop; and here, in approaching the confines of these, the first main object which arrests our attention is the Priory Gatehouse. This is a structure of great interest and beauty, and happily it remains very much as it was left by its builders, having suffered comparatively little substantially, either from the hand of the destroyer or of the restorer, a character whose operations are often to be dreaded almost as much as those of the other. It will be found upon closer inspection, however, now to stand in great need of a really careful and judicious work of restoration, without which it appears in danger of shortly becoming a ruin. The gatehouse is a

structure of considerable height, presenting a gable towards each of the cardinal points, and its several parts are admirably grouped together. The southern, or principal front, is divided into three compartments by angularly capped buttresses of two stages, which stop considerably short of the eaves. In the central compartment is the gateway, which has a well moulded arch of large dimensions, supported by groups of shafts with a dripstone terminating in heads. Above the archway, but not exactly over the centre, is a large square-headed window of six lights, with a transom, and having reticulated tracery under a flat segmental arch ; above the window is a niche with rich double canopy, containing a representation of the Holy Trinity, a seated figure



holding a crucifix between his knees ; and again above this niche is a beautiful well moulded small circular aperture, which has tracery. The niche and aperture are contained in the gable, which has been surmounted by a cross, the stump of which still remains. It may be remarked that on the western side of this gable the moulding is filled with the tooth ornament ; the coping stones which contain it, however, seem to have been brought from some other building, probably from the ruined chapel in the churchyard. The coping of the other side of the gable has plain mouldings. On the sides of the great window are two other niches, exactly

of the same character as that in the gable; these still retain figures, the one on the west that of a bishop, perhaps intended to represent St. Augustine, the author of the order of canons by whom the priory was occupied; the other that of St. Cuthbert, the great northern saint of England, to whom this house was dedicated, and the translation of whose body (in March 1104), having taken place about the time of the foundation of this house, may have been the cause of such dedication. He is here represented in the usual way, with the crowned head of the sainted Oswald, King of Northumbria, in his hand.

The middle pair of buttresses have also each a niche placed just above the offset. These are single canopied, and have lost their figures. We learn, however, from Dodsworth,¹ who visited this place in 1634, that the one on the west side of the gateway represented "a knight armed in full portraiture in stone, on his arme a shield with a lyon thereon." This he assigns to a Talbot; but there seems little reason to doubt that it was intended to represent the founder of the Priory, William de Lovetot, to whom are assigned as arms *arg.* a lion rampant *parte per fess, gules and sable*. "On the east side," he continues, "a knight, and on his shield a bend betwixt six martlets"; doubtless, as he states, for Furnival, the figure being intended to represent that member of the family under whose auspices the gatehouse was erected. In each of the side compartments at the same elevation as the large one, is a small two-light window, the lights being square-headed trefoils, under a flat arch, with a drip-stone. These windows stand upon a well moulded string course, which passed round the buttresses, which are well capped and have a good base. On the ground floor on the west side is also a square-headed window. But the most conspicuous feature of this face of the building is the porch, which occupies the greater part of the east side, and reaches up to the string course above alluded to; it is a structure of very great richness and beauty, both externally and internally, and evidently was added some half century after the main building was erected. It has on the south a well proportioned window with equilateral head, the tracery of which has mostly disappeared. Above this is a broad niche canopied, with a group of figures representing the adoration

¹ Dodsworth MSS., Bodleian, No. clxxxviii.

of the wise men. The east side has two niches, one placed over the other, also canopied; the lower has had a representation of the Salutation of the Blessed Virgin, the figure of the angel and a flower-pot alone remaining. The figures have disappeared from the upper niche. There are similar niches on the west side, but the figures are entirely gone. There is a portion of a rich parapet, with battlements on the east side and some quatrefoil panelling under the window. The porch has had doorways both on the west and east sides, the latter of which is now closed up: it is supported at both corners by diagonally set buttresses. The eastern side of the gatehouse has a good three-light window in the upper story in the gable; it is of early Decorated character and more ecclesiastical in appearance than the others, and may not improbably have lighted a small chapel. There is also a square-headed one on a lower stage to the north of this. There is a good original lofty chimney shaft here. To this side of the building the ancient vicarage house was formerly attached.

The northern face of the gatehouse is of plainer character than the south one. It has a central window of considerable size with four lights, the heads of which are square trefoils, it has also a transom. Above, in the gable, is a slit. The archway corresponds with that on the other side and in the east compartment; at several feet from the ground is a doorway which formerly led to the rooms above by a flight of steps, which are now gone, it is now closed up. The compartment on the west side has a window above and below, small, the former square-the latter ogee-headed and foiled. On the west side of the gatehouse, the main building has a small window in the upper and lower stages; there is also a similar one with a chimney in the north-west compartment; for the whole structure may be described as having a main building in the form of a T, the sides of the shaft being occupied by lean-tos of less elevation. The gates were hung on an arch near the middle of the gateway, as is shown by the hinges which still remain. This arch had a postern in its east side, and within, on each side, is an ogee-headed doorway leading to the apartments on the ground floor, which were four in number, consisting no doubt of the porter's lodge and other offices.

The roof of the gateway, which forms the floor of the

room above is especially worthy of observation. It is of oak, the timbers being well moulded and affording an excellent specimen of early woodwork. It is supported by uprights, resting upon stone corbels which have been carved into heads and foliage. This roof appears coeval with the building.

On entering the porch, on his way to the upper chambers, the visitor cannot fail to be struck by the richness and beauty of its features. The roof is of stone, elaborately groined, with roses and ball flowers at the intersection of the ribs, which spring from clustered shafts at the angles. On the right side of the entrance to the staircase there is a niche very richly canopied, of sufficient dimensions to contain a figure of life size. Here no doubt stood an image of the Blessed Virgin, for it seems probable that this beautiful appendage to the gatchouse was not merely a porch, but also a wayside oratory or little chapel where the traveller might pay his devotions. The staircase leads us to a large handsome room lighted at each end by the principal windows before described. Its dimensions are, length 41ft. 5in., breadth 21ft.; the height has been reduced and the effect much injured by the substitution of a flat ceiling for the open roof which formerly appeared. On the east side there is a spacious fireplace with a hooded mantelpiece of stone, and original. On one side of this is a bracket for a light. There were smaller apartments on both sides the principal room, which have been much altered or destroyed.

We have here, then, a perfect house of the early part of the fourteenth century, having its great hall and retiring chambers. Indeed this structure appears not only to have been the gatchouse, but also the hospitium or guest house of the Priory, an important and most beneficent appendage of monastic establishments. At a period when inns were only to be found in the larger towns, these guest-houses were the places of refuge where the weary traveller sought and ever found a secure resting place, together with a needful supply of food; and, doubtless, in the guest-room of this building many a weary wayworn band have rejoiced in the comfort and good cheer here afforded them, while basking in the blaze of its spacious hearth, and have felt no little thankfulness for their escape while passing through the forest of Sherwood from the hands of "Robert's men," as the followers of the bold Robin Hood were called in the



old laws and other ancient documents. We have evidence that this guest-house was formerly very much resorted to, for Tanner tells us that in 1488, when the clergy of the province of York granted a tenth in convocation, the priories of Worksop and Newstead were exempted, because being situated on the king's highway they were burdened beyond what they could bear by the coming of strangers.—*Hunter S. Y.*, vol. i, p. 7.

We may place the date of this interesting building in the first quarter of the fourteenth century, though, as already intimated, the addition of its beautiful porch and perhaps some other embellishments on the south front were made somewhat later. It is a good specimen of an early domestic Decorated structure. We learn from the *Fasti Eboraci*, vol. i, p. 462, that on May 7, 1314, the prior and convent of Worksop had the Archbishop of York's licence to fell two hundred oaks out of Roumwood, a neighbouring wood on the northern skirts of Sherwood. It would seem, therefore, that some important works were being then carried on at this Priory; and as the date well accords with the architectural features of the gatehouse it is probable that it was then erected, and if so, we see some of the timber of these Roumwood oaks in the curious roof of the gateway before alluded to.

But we will now direct our attention to the church. In considering the Church of Worksop we must bear in mind that it was both parochial and conventual. William de Lovetot, as before intimated, placed canons in a church already existing, with which, among other things, he endowed his convent. The original church he shortly, as it would seem, rebuilt or greatly enlarged till it attained the magnitude and importance of the choir or eastern limb of a large cross church with aisles, a tower, and transepts; indeed it extended one bay beyond the crossing, as would be necessary for the support of the tower. Of this church nothing now remains visible, but the western tower arch with the bays before alluded to, included in the present church, and small portions of Norman work attached to the west end of the beautiful ruined chapel now remaining in the churchyard. In the year 1860, however, preparatory to the visit of the Lincolnshire Architectural Society, the foundations of the circular apse of the choir were laid bare, showing the ex-

tent of the church in this direction, when the aisles were found to have had square terminations.

After this earlier portion of the church was completed the work rested for some years, and here the canons and the parishioners would worship together. The period to which this work extends may reach to about the middle of the twelfth century. After an interval of about thirty years, *i.e.*, about A.D. 1170, we may suppose the present church to have been commenced building and to have been carried on till its completion. This most probably was done under the auspices of Richard and William de Lovetot, the son and grandson of the founder. In the time of the latter it was almost certainly finished, forming then altogether a noble cross church, with spacious choir, transepts, and nave, structurally speaking, though the latter was probably from the first appropriated to the use of the parishioners, being made in fact the parish church, as it to this day continues. Of the early appropriation of this part to use of the parishioners, we have an evidence in an admonition addressed to them by Archbishop Greenfield, A.D. 1312, and still preserved in the archives at York, in which he charges them to repair the north-west tower of their church. This, it would appear, they were somewhat slack in attending to, for two years later the admonition was repeated. It is evident also that they had a distinct churchyard of their own, for respecting this there is an early monition, and one, I fear, which does not speak very favourably for the reverential feelings, or even for the morality of the people of Worksop in that day. It is an order, A.D. 1365, from Archbishop Thoresby to them to desist from wrestling, archery, indecent dances, and singing in their churchyard. *Fæst Ebor.*, vol. i, p. 462.

About half a century later, on the completion of this noble church, it received a very beautiful addition in the Lady Chapel, the ruins of which still remain. This was attached to the east side of the south transept.

The whole fabric taken together must have had a very imposing aspect, with three towers, and ample dimensions, not unworthy of a cathedral church; so that we cannot wonder that King Henry VIII, after the dissolution, in a document still extant, in his own handwriting, set down Worksop as one of the three places in Nottinghamshire

(Welbeck and Thurgarton being the other two) for consideration as to its being selected as the seat of one of the "Byshopprykys to be new made." This good intention of Henry, we know, was never carried into effect, the wealth of the dissolved monasteries having been spent upon his pleasures and those of his courtiers. The conventual church here, instead of receiving an episcopal throne, was given to Francis, Earl of Shrewsbury, and was quickly doomed to destruction. It was in fact made the stone quarry of the neighbourhood, as is evident from the early church accounts, where entries are found of vast quantities of stone, as well as other materials, having been sold to various people. The part of the church which we call structurally the nave, being the parish church, happily survived this system of ruin ; indeed, it seems to have somewhat benefited by the demolition of the more ancient part, as some of the materials which the earl appears to have given to the parish were applied to its reparation, which at that time was evidently greatly needed. When, however, this was undertaken, it was unfortunately carried out in anything but a conservative spirit, and considerable alterations were made in the roofs and other parts of the building. The nave received a flat roof which remained till the late restoration. This consisted of principal beams stretching across the church, having minor cross beams, with carvings at the intersections. The groining of the aisles, which it appears had greatly fallen in, was removed and roofs of a low pitch were erected. These did not include the triforia, whose larger apertures were converted into windows and the smaller stopped up. The east end of the nave was walled up and a larger window of very debased character was inserted. The church also was then furnished with substantial oak seating, the bench ends of which were handsomely carved. These for the most part had been destroyed or greatly mutilated and covered over in a later repewing. Most unsightly galleries were subsequently erected at the west end and over part of the north aisle, and the church was defaced in every way. The building, however, having become dangerous from alarming swerving of the south aisle from its perpendicular, and an awful bulging in the clerestory here, a thorough restoration became absolutely necessary. This was undertaken in 1845, under the direction of Mr. R. Nicholson, a young

architect, a native of the town, who had studied some time under the eminent Sir G. G. Scott, and it was successfully carried out under great difficulties. The architect had to deal with a wall of 117 ft. in length and 34 ft. high, including the pillars, and 3 ft. 6 in. in thickness, containing 4,000 square feet of materials. Yet this, by a skilful application of shoring, beams, and screws (new foundations having been previously inserted to all the piers), was brought into a perfectly perpendicular position, and rendered sounder and more substantial than it had ever been. For here, as in too many instances, the original builders had not paid sufficient attention to their foundations, which consisted of mere loose rubble. This had been easily displaced in making graves, some of which were found actually extending under the piers and walls. At the same time, the galleries and pewing were swept away, the aisles were rebuilt, their groining restored, and new roofs placed over all the church. The triforia were brought to their original state, new windows were placed in the east end, and also in the south aisle as far as the porch, these being copied from two original ones which still remained next the tower; similar windows were also inserted in the north aisle, where none originally existed. A careful restoration was made in all the ornaments, and the church was reseated and arranged as it is now seen.

The church is characterised by great simplicity of form, and an almost total absence of ornamentation externally. Including the aisles, it forms a parallelogram in its ground-plan of 127 ft. in length and 45 ft. in width. It has two western towers of about 90 ft. in height, which are well proportioned, and divided into four stages by good string-courses, and have a pair of round-headed windows in each face of the upper ones. The south-west tower has a pointed window in each of its lower stages on the south side. There are flat pilaster buttresses at each of the angles of the south tower, reaching nearly to the parapets; but on the north one stopping at the stage below. It is probable, therefore, that this upper stage was rebuilt after the archbishop's monition, before alluded to, and perhaps with the legacy of £40, which was left by Sir Thomas Nevil to the fabric of the steeple at Worksop. There are five doorways leading into the church, the principal one being in the centre of the

west front. This is round-headed, of large dimensions, and much enriched with chevron, nail-head, and dog-tooth ornaments. In the north-west tower is a smaller round-headed doorway ; on the north side of the church are two doorways, of which the more western one is again of very rich character, and was probably that by which the prior, whose residence seems to have been in this direction, entered the church on state occasions ; the other of plain character near the east end, and is now closed up. This latter appears to have been that by which the canons entered their church, by way of the transept. Opposite to the former of these doorways is a large one on the south side, having a well moulded plain arch of three orders, with nook shafts. It contains an ancient door of yew wood, remarkable for its rich original ironwork. This doorway is enclosed in a large porch of considerably later date than the church. Above the large west doorway is a round-headed window, of greater dimensions than ordinary at this period, which seems, as now, to have been originally without divisions of any kind, though stone mullions and a transom had been introduced. It would appear that in 1560 it was unglazed, as we may gather from the following entries in the churchwardens' accounts :

"It. payed for a net for the west window, *vjd.*

It. payed to Cressy for makyng the trellysses to keep out crows, *ijs. vjd.*"

On entering the church by the west door the spectator can scarcely fail to be forcibly struck by the great beauty of its architectural features. We have here a simplicity combined with richness, a gracefulness joined with solidity, which renders the interior one of the finest examples of the period in which it was erected. That period, as has already been intimated, may be stated as about 1170-80 ; the style being Norman-Transition, in which the round arch gradually gives way to the pointed one. Here, however, the former decidedly prevails, the pointed form being only found in the narrow aperture, between the larger round ones of the triforia and in the aisle windows.

There is an arcade of nine arches on each side, exclusive of those in the towers, standing upon well-based piers, which are alternately cylindrical and hexagonal. The arches are well moulded, with labels and abaci filled with the tooth

ornament, while the capitals are adorned with volute leaves. The triforium apertures stand upon bold well moulded string-courses, the principal ones are large and undivided, their labels filled with the nail-head ornament ; they have shafts at the angles and plainly chamfered soffits, between these are narrow pointed apertures, with labels, like the others ; above are clerestory windows with plain moulded round arches and nookshafts. These stand upon other bold string-courses, enriched with nail-head, and interrupted by the larger triforium arches, which rise considerably above them, and they have the great peculiarity of standing not over the arches, but over the piers. The effect, however, is very good. There is, moreover, a bold cornice filled with the tooth ornament.

The last arch on each side, eastward, as already intimated, belongs to the earlier work, and is decidedly Norman, not Transitional ; and the break in the work is plainly visible. The tower arch here is of the same date. The windows at this end are modern ; they, however, stand upon a wall which is probably original, for it is observable that on the exterior the nook shafts of the arch stop at the height of this wall where they have bases.

The chancel of the parish church extends to the third piers westward, where formerly stood the rood loft and screen, which are frequently alluded to in the churchwardens' accounts, c. A.D. 1564 :

“It. for taking down the rode lofte, xij*l*.”

This appears, however, only to have been some portion of it, for in 1570 a similar entry appears :

“It. for ale and bread to the workmen at the taking down of the rode loft, ijs.

It. to the paynter for paynting the rode loft before it was taken downe, viij*l*.

It. received of Mr. Vicar for tymber of the rode loft, vjs. viij*l*.”

Yet singularly enough it would appear from an entry of the next year as though the rood loft were still standing :

“It. to Mychael Hardye for makyng of a crest for the rode-lofte, ijs. ij*l*.

It is thus explained : by visitation articles for this very year, 1571, Archbishop Grindal directs that “the rood-screens be left to separate the chancel from the nave, and instead of the rood-loft some convenient crest be put upon

it." The aisles were also separated here by screens, which remained till the last restoration ; these formed chapels, and the piscina of the south one was extant in the second compartment from the east end. We do not know with certainty to whom this chapel was dedicated, perhaps to St. Leonard, as we learn from the *Val. Eccl.* of Henry VIII, that a chantry priest was endowed by William Pyllypyn and Ellen his wife with £3 : 6 : 8 per annum to celebrate on their behalf at the altar of that saint in the parish church of Worksop ; this chantry was confirmed by the Archbishop of York on the feast of St. George. Ap. 23, 1300.

There was also a similar chapel in the north aisle, which seems to have been dedicated to St. Katherine, for we find in the church accounts for the 1st Edward VI,

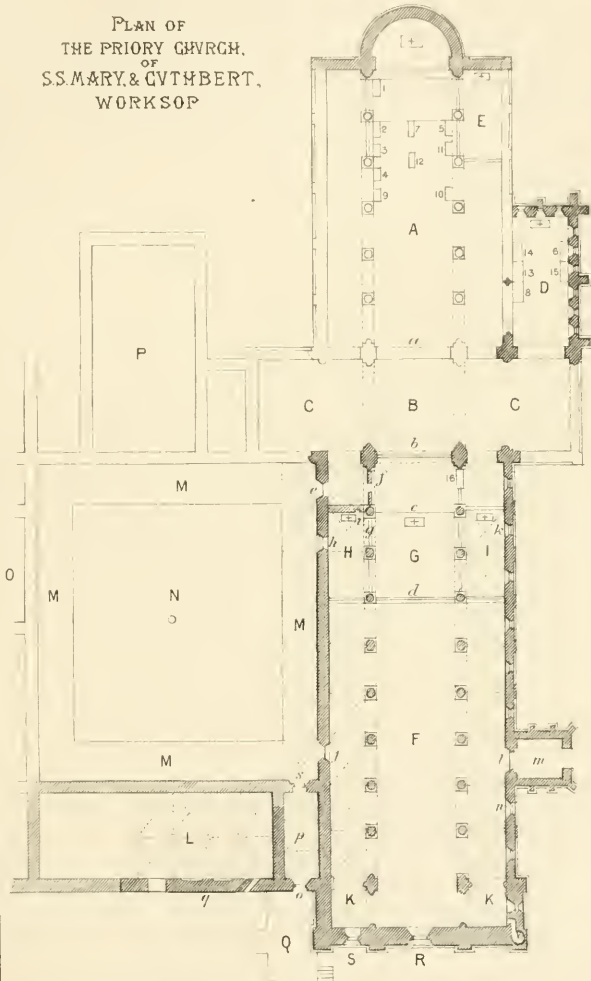
"Itm. payd to Ed. Ward for makyng yrons for the glass window, yn St. Katheryn's quere, xij*d*."

For here formerly was the only window of that date to which this could apply.

This chapel was separated by a strong wall from the last compartment to the east, which again was similarly divided from the chancel. In this latter wall was a small round-headed original doorway, the ancient door of which was well banded with iron ; this was used as a vestry before the late alterations, and originally these walls separated the entrance of the canons to their church from that of the parish. It seems probable that the high altar of this latter church stood, not where the communion table now does, but before a screen, which passed between the first pair of piers, leaving a space behind, which may have formed a Lady Chapel, of which we find mention in several wills, and which seems clearly to have been distinct from the Lady Chapel of the conventual church, which is also expressly named in such documents. Near the south door to the westward there was a stoop or piscina, within the church.

This church seems never to have been rich in monuments, though it was far otherwise with the conventual part of the building. There is, however, a very beautiful monumental niche in the north aisle. It is of the early English period, and contains a slab inscribed with a simple cross, but seems rather to be suited for a recumbent figure. When the slab was removed during the late restoration, two skulls were found beneath, one evidently that of a female, with long

PLAN OF
THE PRIORY CHVRCH.
OF
SS. MARY & CUTHBERT.
WORKSOP



0 20 30 40 50 SCALE 70 FT



dark hair still adhering to it; the deposits, however, appeared to have been previously disturbed. There was also a lofty altar tomb against the last respond on the south side, eastward, with a coat of arms of many quarterings on a brass plate attached to the wall above it. There was formerly also another plate with sundry Latin verses inscribed which have been preserved by Dodsworth, who informs us that the monument was erected to the memory of Frances Clipesby, a lady of a good Norfolk family, who was an attendant on Mary, the Countess of Shrewsbury. She died, as appears by the parish register, 13th September, 1597. The tomb was removed at the last restoration.

The present reredos was the gift of the late Duke of Newcastle, and was designed by Sir G. G. Scott. The pulpit and prayer desk were erected at the same period. The font is modern, and was the gift of Mr. Jos. Garside, as was also the beautiful coloured glass which fills the large west window. It is the work of Clayton and Bell, and was designed by the venerable Archdeacon Trollope, a person of well known taste and knowledge in such matters. The church has six bells hung in the north-west tower.

The transepts, together with the choir or conventual church, as before intimated, have disappeared, with the exception of some small fragments. Excavations already alluded to, enable us, however, to determine the length of the eastern end of the structure, which, including the apse, was about 100 ft. It would seem to have had arcades of six arches, and must have been, when entire, a goodly choir. It had aisles terminating in square ends, and here on the south aisle we may probably look for the Chapel of St. Peter's, mentioned by Pigot. When speaking of the burial place of one of the Furnivals, as already cited, "Sir Gerard," he says, "on the south side under a merbil stone next St. Peter's chapell is buried also."

But, besides Sir Gerard's, the choir had a noble array of monuments of the ancient lords of the soil: here lay Sir W. de Lovetot, the founder, his son Richard, his grandson William; the daughter of the latter, the great heiress of the house, "good Mold"; Thomas de Furnival, slain in the Holy Land; Thomas the Hasty, and his brother William; Joan de Furnival and her husband Sir Thos. Nevil; all of whose tombs Pigot describes.

Several stone coffins have been found while making graves in recent times in this direction, which no doubt had contained the bodies of some of these noble personages. The transepts were without aisles, about 28 ft. broad and 90 ft. in length.

ST. MARY'S CHAPEL.

Attached to the eastern side of the south transept, as already intimated, was a most beautiful chapel, the ruins of which still remain, and will well repay a careful attention and study. It affords as pure and elegant an example of the Early English style as can easily be met with, and when entire it must have been a perfect architectural gem. Its internal dimensions are 36 ft. in length and 18 ft. broad. It was lighted by three groups of triplet windows of equal light, two on the south side and one at the east end, the central light of the latter not reaching down so low as the others. The windows are lofty and very graceful, being well moulded and having groups of slender shafts at their angles, also drip-stones both externally and internally, which terminate in heads or flowers. They stand upon a bold string-course which surrounds the buttresses, of which there are three on the south and as many at the east end ; some of these are ruined, but what remain are remarkably bold and good, being chamfered above the string-course, and having, as well as the rest of the building, very effective base mouldings. The arch which opened into the transept still remains ; it is a very fine equilateral one ; its soffit is supported by heads, one of which represents that of a king, probably Henry III, in whose reign the chapel was erected. There is a single sedile and a double piscina on the south side, both original and good ; also an aumbry in the north side of the east wall. The building has been beautifully groined, as appears from several of the springers still remaining and from fragments of ribs, bosses, etc., which have been found near the building. Some portions of the Norman transept still remain attached to the west end of the building.

There seems sufficient reason for considering this beautiful structure to have been the Lady Chapel of the Priory Church, though the fact has been doubted, and it has even

been asserted on considerable authority that Lady Chapels were never on the south side of a choir. This, however, is surely too sweeping an assertion, for the Lady Chapel was on that site at Ripon, and also at Kilkenny, Elgin, and Wimborne, as we are informed by the Rev. Mackenzie Walcott, in his book of *Church and Conventual Arrangement*, p. 107. In this case there seems a sufficient reason for departing from the general rule, in consequence of the Chapter House having been on the north side, which would greatly have crowded and obscured the chapel.

DOMESTIC BUILDINGS.

The principal domestic buildings were here on the north side of the present church, having doubtless been so placed for the greater convenience of drainage, a matter in which the monastics were specially careful. These were arranged round a cloister court, apparently in the usual form, the two doors of the church here indicating to us the length of this side, that from south to north being apparently pretty nearly the same, and having a well, which still exists in the midst of the court. Adjoining to the north-west tower of the church is a considerable portion of an ancient wall, evidently of the same date as the tower itself, since the same string-course ran along both. This wall, near the junction, is pierced by a good Norman-Transition doorway, round-headed and enriched with chevron and tooth ornaments. It leads into a passage, groined, with well moulded ribs, part of which is still preserved and converted into a vestry. There are also in this wall, on the ground floor, three small round-headed window apertures, one of which was converted into a doorway at a comparatively recent date. There is also an original doorway with a plain round head, which seems to have been in the middle of the wall when entire. Till recently a portion of the upper story remained, which showed indications of a series of round-headed windows, one of which over the rich doorway had been replaced by a pointed aperture formed for communication with additional buildings which were erected here. The eastern face of this wall in its brackets, arches, etc., plainly shows that it supported a groined roof; while the end wall,

next the passage, gave as clear evidence that there was a row of central columns. This evidently formed the undercroft of some important apartment or apartments, being about 85 ft. long and 25 ft. broad, with a height equal to that of the clerestory of the church, as was shown by a gable containing a window which adjoined the tower and remained till the late alterations. There was also near here a massive chimney and other remains of a building of considerable extent. It seems most probable that this formed the prior's house (with a dormitory for servants adjoining), and this view appears to be confirmed by an entry in the survey of 1636, "Imprimis an auncient house, which in tymes past was a priory, being much decayed, adjoining unto Worksop Church." For in these old surveys the word "Priory" is often used, not in the sense of the whole conventual buildings, but of the special dwelling of the prior. If his dwelling was of this extent that worthy superior must have been nobly lodged here, and we need the less wonder at his state being such as to render not unseemly the legacy left to those of his line by Robert Morton of Bawtry in 1396, who, in his will, after directing his body to be buried in the Lady Chapel of the convent, bequeaths to the Prior of Worksop and his successors "twelve dishes of silver, of which six were dishes with basins, and six saucers for the proper use of his chamber, and also one basin with cover of silver and one of latten." *Test. Ebor.*

On the north side of the court, no doubt, was the refectory, with a kitchen adjoining on the west, and probably with a buttery also near. Indeed, in digging some years ago, for the foundations for the Girls' National School buildings, numbers of massive square stones were found hereabouts resting upon piles, which had been evidently the foundations of the refectory; and immediately thereby were also found numbers of animals' bones, deer's horns, boars' tusks, etc., plainly showing that the kitchen stood here; and, moreover, giving evidence that the good fathers had not neglected to avail themselves of their proximity to "Merrye Shierwood," or their lord's park, in supplying the table of their refectory.¹

¹ In confirmation of this view it may be mentioned that, in digging for the foundation of the wall of the enlargement of the churchyard in 1841, near where the Chapter House stood, an encaustic tile was found bearing a spirited representation of a part of a hunting scene,—a "branching stag" smitten by

Key to Plan of Worksop Priory.

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>A Choir
 B Central Tower.
 C Transepts.
 D St. Mary's Chapel.
 E St. Peter's Chapel (?).
 F Nave—The Parish Church.
 G Parish Choir.
 H St. Katharine's Chantry.
 I St. Leonard's Chantry (?).
 K Western Towers.
 L Groined Undercrofts, of what
 were probably apartments
 connected with the Prior's
 lodgings.
 M Cloister.
 N Well.
 O Refectory, with kitchens, &c.
 P Chapter house.
 Q Prior's lodgings.
 R Great western doorway.
 S Small do.</p> | <p>a Choir.
 b Original wall of separation
 between the Monastic and
 Parish Churches.
 c Step.
 d Screens.
 e Upper Canons' entrance
 f Oaken door.
 g Remains of screen.
 h Late Tudor window.
 i Locker.
 j Priors' & Canons' entrance
 to Parish Church.
 k Piscina.
 l Southern doorway.
 m Porch.
 n Stoup.
 o Doorway.
 p Passage.
 q Existing wall.</p> |
|--|---|

Gambs.

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>1. <i>William de Lovetot.</i>
 2. <i>Richard de Lovetot.</i>
 3. <i>William de Lovetot 2nd.</i>
 4. <i>Thomas de Furnival.</i>
 5. <i>Gerard de Furnival, his</i>
 <i>brother.</i>
 6. <i>William de Furnival 1st.</i>
 7. <i>Maude de Furnival.</i>
 8. <i>Gerard de Furnival.</i>
 9. <i>Thomas, Lord Furnival</i>
 <i>"the hasty"</i></p> | <p>10. <i>William, Lord Furnival,</i>
 <i>his brother.</i>
 11. <i>Joan Nevil.</i>
 12. <i>Sir Thomas Nevil.</i>
 13. <i>Matilda Talbot, 1st Coun-</i>
 <i>tess of Shrewsbury</i>
 14. <i>John, 2nd Earl of Shrews-</i>
 <i>bury.</i>
 15. <i>John, 3rd Earl of Shrews-</i>
 <i>bury.</i>
 16. <i>Francis Clipsby.</i></p> |
|---|--|







J. Evelyn. Starye de.

J. Robbins.

FLOOR-TILE (Actual size.)

Found on the site of the Chapter House

WORSOP PRIORY

This building seems to have run parallel with the cloister alley, as was usual in Augustine houses. The first building on the east side of the court would be probably the parlour or day room of the canons, and next it the chapter house, of which I am informed the foundations have been found in digging graves here. Of this chapter house we have a pleasing notice in the Valuation of Henry VIII, where among other outgoings is an item of £4 yearly for "a dyshe of meat called the Chanon's Dyshe, given to poor people every day in the chapter house, since the first day of the foundation of the same." There were also other dishes distributed, as the "Prior's Dyshe," the "Lady's Dyshe," and likewise considerable doles of bread, wheat, rye, malt, etc., so that the good canons were by no means unmindful of their poor neighbours.

Beyond the chapter house would probably be a vestry, and over this range of buildings the dormitory of the canons, and perhaps the library and scriptorium. These buildings seem to have surrounded a court about 90 ft. square, of which the side next the church was certainly cloistered, as was shown by brackets which remained in the aisle wall before it was rebuilt, and also from the fact of this aisle having been without windows.

To the east of this court, the infirmary of the convent appears to have stood; the fields in this direction, to the extent of about 12 acres, being named in the survey of 1636 "the ffirmery yards." There are now lying in the cemetery here, which adjoins the churchyard, at a distance of not many yards from what was the east end of the conventual church, many pieces of flat stone, which, when found *in situ*, near this spot, formed a small floor of about 8 ft. by 6 ft., a stone edge evidently ran round them, and they bear plain marks of fire. It seems probable that they formed the hearth of the infirmary, which, therefore, we may conclude to have been situate here.

It appears from a valuation preserved in the Augmentation Office, made preparatory to the grant to the Earl of

an arrow, and seized upon by a dog. One cannot, therefore, but suspect that some, at least, of the worthy canons were, like Chaucer's monk,

"Outryders that loved venerye,
And gaf nat of that text a pulled hen,
That seith that hunters ben not holy men."

Shrewsbury, that this infirmary was supported in part at least by certain lands and tenements belonging to the Priory in Sheffield.

To the west of the Priory cloister-court and separated by the road were the Priory Foulds, containing according to the old survey a kilnshouse, granary, brewhouse, and mill, and probably other offices, and adjoining this to the north was a small field called the Priory Pingles; to the north again of this was a meadow called "Bakehouse Meadow," where no doubt the bakery of the convent stood. And still further north is a piece of ground which contained a spring of most excellent water, called the "Prior Well." This seems to have been enclosed by a building, since the ground was named "Well-house Yard." The water from this spring was formerly conveyed by pipes to troughs placed on the side of the adjoining road, but is now diverted and lost to the public. The road just alluded to is called still the "Prior-well Road," and about thirty yards to the north of the present mill-race it passed over a bridge, which was nicely groined. This, though it had ceased to be of use, the water having been diverted, was in present memory needlessly destroyed, as it formed no obstruction to the road.

To the west of the Bakehouse Meadow was another field called the "Canch Meadow," the derivation of which word is not quite obvious. The word Canch seems to apply to the water, rather than the land; a piece of water near Thornton Abbey, in Lincolnshire, is also thus named; and at Oxford there was a "Canditch," while in the south part of the county of Suffolk is the village of Cavendish; from which a well known noble family derive their name. May not "Canch" be an example of our English fashion of cutting down words, "Cavendish, candich, canch," *i. e.*, the "caven," or artificially excavated water-course or canal, for the supply of the Priory Mill.

To the south and west of the Priory Foulds was a piece of land of about eight acres, called the great "Pond-yards," probably so named from the "vivarium," or fish-pond, mentioned in the foundation and other charters as being near the church. There was also a little Pond-yard north of that building. Beyond the former is the "Buslings" or "Pratum Buslini," also mentioned in those documents, deriving its name from the first great Norman chief, lord of

the soil. A spring of very pure water existed in the Bussings, which flowed towards the Priory, and no doubt supplied it with water; it was cut off by a drainage some thirty years ago.

The Priory was enclosed on the south side at least by walls, "the closure walls," which Leland thought were built out of the ruins of the castle; these extended eastward from the gate-house, a considerable distance to Bracebridge, and from them the road passing in that direction was called "Long wall way," as we learn from the old survey. To the west, the walls seem to have extended just beyond the gates now leading to the vicarage house, and then to have turned northward. There was some years ago evidence of this in a bank in this direction, which was full of stones, as of the foundation or debris of an old wall.

To the south of the Pond-yards, separated by the public road, is another piece of ground which belonged to the Priory, called the "Marcroft," which may perhaps signify St. Mary's Croft, and at the south-east of this were the Priory laiths or barns. Again, to the south of these, was a considerable tract of land, called from them Laithfield, also Tomcroft, *i. e.* the Home-croft, and Arnall park, the latter probably the land mentioned in the early charters as the "terra Arnaldi stulti." To the east of the Priory close, beyond Bracebridge, and separated by the road leading to Kilton is a building showing indications of considerable antiquity. This is enumerated among the possessions of the Priory in the survey of 1536, under the name of "Jesus House," and is said to have been "moted about." The exact use of this member of the monastery is not very obvious. To the south of this, severed by the road, is some land denominated in the survey "Godscroft," a name which appears to savour of Saxon times, and which may have formed part of the glebe of the earliest church here. It seems too extensive to have been a mere burial-ground, amounting to about 26 acres, and I am not aware that any indications of interments have been ever found in it.

Such were the buildings of this Priory of Worksop or Radford, together with the lands within its precincts. These, with the more outlying possessions in the parish, amounted as it would seem, as already stated, to 2,330 acres, forming a goodly manor, the tenants of which did suit and service

in the court of the Prior, and, as it would appear, were induced somewhat reluctantly to transfer their allegiance to the great lords of the soil after the dissolution. These facts are thus noticed in the survey of Harrison, so often cited. "There hath beene in tymes past adjoining unto Workesopp Church a priory with a mannor therto belonging, but the court is discontinued, and now for the most part they are brought to doe service at the court belonging to Workesoppe Mannor."

It is feared that the latter part of this paper may be thought to extend to a disproportionate length, but it has been considered desirable to place on record, ere they fade away, somewhat minute notices of the buildings, landmarks, names, etc., of the Priory, as they either at present exist, or have existed in the memory of the writer, which extends now to more than half a century, and who in earlier life was intimately connected with the place.

BROOM HALL, SHEFFIELD, AND ITS NEIGHBOURHOOD,

AS ILLUSTRATING THE TIMBER HOUSES OF ENGLAND.

BY R. N. PHILIPPS, ESQ., LL.D., F.S.A., ETC.

WHILE we readily admit the advantages, for comfort, which our modern houses possess, it may not be uninteresting to inquire into the construction of those which preceded them. The early dwellings which gave shelter to the rude and uncultivated inhabitants of our country, were naturally built of those materials which came most readily to hand. Hence earth and clay, or chalk intermixed with flint, formed the walls of the building with its clumsy rafters and covering of turf or rushes. The Irish cabin or the Scotch shealing of the present day, with its low room, the light admitted through a small square window in the wall, and the smoke finding its exit by an aperture in the roof, may not be an inapt type of the habitation of the poorer classes of past generations. The more wealthy and the powerful lived in structures, no doubt, of more important pretensions, though partaking, more or less, of the same character. Sir Walter Scott

graphically describes, in his romantic tale of *Ivanhoe*, the Saxon thane's house of Rotherwood, placed by him in this southern part of the West Riding of Yorkshire.

To the Saxon succeeded the Norman architecture, grand and substantial, whether for the purposes of habitation or defence. I will not, however, stop to describe it, but pass on to the immediate subject to which I would direct your attention, namely the old timbered houses of which we have still left to us so many examples. The West Riding, Lancashire, Cheshire, Kent, Surrey, and especially the eastern counties, abound with them. Their pointed gables clustered round with trees, and rising amongst the fields, or forming the village street, give a variety and beauty to scenes on which the painter delights to dwell and to transfer to his canvas. London itself was filled with them before the great fire, and supplied but too ready a fuel to feed the conflagration. After that period, plain, unmeaning brick-fronted houses with roofs placed longitudinally instead of endwise, took the place of the picturesque forms of the street buildings which had previously existed.

The construction of the timbered house was simple and substantial. Upon a low wall, one or two feet high, was placed a beam of oak extending the breadth of the gable. On the ends of this beam were erected upright pieces of timber crossed at the top by another beam, forming the front side of a square of wooden framework, of the dimensions and height also of the lower room. Again, upon this was affixed similarly constructed timber-work for the higher rooms; and from the upper large front cross-beam arose the triangular projecting gable proper, and the pointed end of a thatched, tiled, or stone-slatted roof. Into this framework pieces of timber were tenoned together and fastened by large wooden pins. These pieces were placed diagonally or laterally, or in other instances exhibiting fanciful intersections. The interstices between the timber-work were filled in with plaster, producing by its contrast with the dark wood a pleasing and agreeable effect. The rest of the house was but a repetition of a somewhat similar construction. The various rooms of the mansion were further strengthened by huge crossbeams upon which rested the floor-joists, thereby giving great solidity to the structure. The ends of the large outside crossbeams, or their support-

ing brackets, were frequently finished with figure-heads, like the corbels in the old ecclesiastical edifices. Their surfaces also were likewise often ornamented. "The old hawle in the Poandes", formerly the laundry of Sheffield Manor, many of the old houses in the city of York, and the large Kirkgate House in Wakefield (described by Mr. Wentworth during the Association's Congress at Leeds), are examples of this. The large front upper crossbeam, upwards of two feet in diameter, at Broom Hall presents also a beautiful specimen of carved scrollwork. The sides of the triangular portion of the gables have occasionally very broad barge-boards (or, as they are sometimes called, "verge-boards"), with fretwork, carved edges, or otherwise beautifully elaborated, as at Broom Hall, serving both the purposes of embellishment as well as a protection against the rain at the ends of the slating. The windows, with their quaint, small panes were fixed in leaden frames, placed often lozengewise, and may compare favourably, for picturesqueness, with the large though it may be more convenient square glazings of the modern dwelling-house. The wooden framework of the windows was sometimes inserted level with, or it projected from, the front. At Broom Hall the upper window projects, an elegant incurvature of seven brackets supporting it. The lower ends of these brackets spring from a battlemented moulding, throwing, as it were, the window-frame forward about eighteen inches, which then rises to a level with the large uppermost crossbeam. Another small battlemented woodwork stretching across the gable itself, half way up the sides of the window, forms the foundation of another bracketed incurvature to sustain the projecting crossbeam above; whilst, to give a finish, a carved figure-head is placed immediately under the apex, and a carved wooden terminal or spike, two feet long, completes the point of the gable itself, the whole height of the gable being forty feet from the ground by twenty feet in breadth. In looking, therefore, at this, one of the oldest and most interesting of the timbered houses of the West Riding, we may accord to its architect a strong perception of the beautiful in design as well as proportion in structure.¹ There is every reason to believe that the south gable, now cased with gritstone from the

¹ This paper was read at Broom Hall, before the Duke of Norfolk, President, and the members of the Congress, August 18, 1873.



Broom Hall in Sheffield. (North front.)
 Temp. 15th Century.
The Residence of R.N. Philipps Esq. LL.D; F.S.A, J.P.D.L. &c.



moors in the neighbourhood, and evidently of modern masonry, had originally, like the north gable, a timbered front, as the interior of the building in both those parts of the house corresponds in construction and appearance. The very unusually large sundial was placed (and most of our large public buildings and churches had such an appendage), perhaps, on this south front by the Francis Jessop who had a philosophic turn of mind, and mentioned by Hunter as one of the earliest members of the Royal Society, and who probably also made other alterations in the building. It is much to be regretted that the lower portion of the old north gable also has been defaced by stonework. In the reparation of old timber houses, brick, too, has frequently been used as a ready substitute for plaster, thereby destroying the original character of the structure itself.

I must not pass over a peculiarity noticeable in the exteriors of the timber houses, viz. the projection of the stories one above the other. This is very usual both in towns as well as in the country. In the old water-lanes of York, the wyndes of Edinburgh and elsewhere, such projections are to be seen in abundance. Various reasons have been assigned for this peculiarity. One is, that thereby increased accommodation was thus given to the upper stories when there was only a limited space for building upon. But this reason fails when we consider that in the country mansions it is equally observable as in those of the towns. I believe, therefore, the true reason was, where plaster was so much used with timber, and spouting unknown, the protection it afforded to the lower stories from the drip of the rain.

Before passing from the exterior to notice the interior of these ancient mansions, I would make one general remark, that oak was the wood employed in their construction. Of the endurance of that wood we have many remarkable examples. Stanedge Pole, standing within seven miles of Sheffield, as a land mark on the highest and bleakest of our moorland ridges, between this county and Derbyshire, has remained there, apparently uninjured, through many a long year. Our forests of Sherwood, Epping, Needwood, etc., abounded with oaks. Wharneliffe Chase, the valleys and hill sides of the Don, the Wharfe, the Aire, and the Calder, are filled with them. The giant size and the age of some of these trees near Sheffield were very remarkable; and I well

recollect the decaying forms of two venerable oaks at Nether Edge, in this vicinity, of very extraordinary dimensions. But we may look nearer at hand, and shall find near Sheffield a small remaining portion of that oaken forest of Halamshire, over which, according to tradition, the Saxon Waltheof surveyed, from "Lord's Seat," those vast possessions, which were only wrested from him when he rose in rebellion against his father-in-law, the Norman conqueror. The little stream of Rivelden yet murmurs on amidst these trees, which have as yet escaped the woodman's axe. Short and stunted though they be, they still grasp with their gnarled stems and branches the grey rocks of Lydyate or of Rivelin, and deeply rooted in their mountain fastnesses defy alike the tempest and decay.

I will now advert to the construction of the interior of the old timber houses. The planks were fastened to the underlying beams by large wooden pins, which, like those in the external gables, have held as tenaciously, and I believe far more enduringly, than the nails of modern carpentry. They were made tapering in form and slightly projecting, and thus capable of being driven in further in case of their becoming loose. The planks were also very thick. Those at Broom Hall are at least two inches in thickness, and as broad as the broadest pine. The wood has changed to a very dark chocolate colour, and is so brittle as easily to chip. Some of the planks are of rough split wood, apparently showing no marks of the plane or chisel, which is another proof of great antiquity. It has been affirmed that chestnut was a wood used especially in the roofs of our old houses, and that Westminster Hall roof is composed of it, but having made inquiries of those engaged in the reparation of that building some years ago, there were, I found, no reasons for such a supposition. In fact this wood must have been imported. Was this, we may reasonably ask, worth the expense or trouble? Chestnut is not an indigenous tree. It is seldom seen in the north, and grows generally but stuntedly in the south. In the neighbourhood of Sheffield I know but of few of any size. One old row stood immediately behind the manor lodge, and the other in front of old Walkly Hall.

Cedar, so much used in the east, dates its introduction into the western portions of Europe at a comparatively

recent period, one of the finest specimens being that in the Jardin de Plantes in Paris, and about London it may be seen growing freely in old gardens, being about the same age.

Wainscot is often found as a covering of the interior walls. The panels were usually quite plain. The paneling extended occasionally to the whole height of the room, whilst, more generally, it was carried only half way up the sides. Haddon Hall contains some beautiful specimens of this panel work. Tapestry or arras was frequently used by the rich to keep out the wind and promote warmth. We read of the fair dames and their maidens employing their leisure hours in working it, and from the days of the quaint and historic Bayeux, the subjects illustrated in its construction were taken either from those connected with warlike achievements, hunting, or scripture history. For this, so ingenious a fabric and so lasting with its varied colours, modern papering is but a poor substitute, whilst, however, we must allow that the imitation of this tapestry work applied now to our modern carpeting, is far more comfortable as a covering for floors than the sprinkling of green rushes in former times.

Having now considered the walls, let us look to the ceilings. The smaller houses had not plastered ceilings. The huge beam crossing the centre of the lower room was fully exposed to view with the rafters and floor boards above, and the upper rooms were open to the roof. Where plaster work existed it was frequently of a highly elaborated character. The Sheffield Manor Lodge, which is of the Elizabethan era, and built of stone (supposed by some to have been erected as a more secure and private abode than the general mansion itself for the unfortunate Mary Queen of Scots, who resided there during thirteen years of her captivity), possesses a highly ornamented room of this description.

Excepting, indeed, the above Lodge, all is but a mass of ruin, though Dugdale was there A.D. 1666. In 1706 it was dismantled, and its furniture dispersed ; portions of which, no doubt, remained in the neighbourhood. Amongst these, with other articles traditionally stated to have come from thence, is a most elaborately carved oak bedstead bearing the date 1664, and now in my possession at Broom Hall.

In the very large structures we often find the centre part of the house, or hall proper, rising from the floor to the full height of the building up to the roof itself, whose arched timbers gave those beautiful traceried forms still retained in our college halls or ecclesiastical buildings. Into this apartment the other rooms of the buildings opened, or were connected. It was here that the owner assembled his principal guests, he himself seated at the huge wooden table on the raised dais (which is still retained even now at our universities, or in the Guildhalls of the livery companies of London), whilst the domestics or others of inferior degree occupied places "below the salt" at the lower end of the room. Neither must we omit to notice the grand old fireplaces and the great chimneys and chimney nooks, which may yet be observed at Broom Hall.

Upon the open widespread hearth the logs of wood (instead of our smoky coal) blazed then chcerily, crackling with their clear bright flame. That cheerful chimney nook in the poor man's house was where he collected around him his family after the toils of the day, whilst from it, in the rich man's house, arose the words of merriment, or from the minstrels' gallery there spoke out jocund sounds of mirth and revelry.

Our ancestors were fond of a plentiful supply of water. One of the streams rising beyond Endcliffe Wood passes on its course to the Sheaf, at the foot of the slope of the hill on which Broom Hall is placed. It traversed in its bright and murmuring way the centre of the park; some of the oak trees of which, I well remember, formed a long avenue to the house, which, as the old maps of the district show, was then entirely secluded from the approach of any public road. The water, however, for domestic purposes was brought a distance of two miles from near Hallamgate. The ancient reservoir still exists, but the conduit pipes have been destroyed by modern buildings and sewerages. The owners did not, however, forget a supply for the public. At the end of an adjoining wood, which has long since disappeared, but the locality of which still retains the name of Leavygreave, *i.e.* Leafygrove, an open well was formed by the owner of Broom Hall (like "our Lady Well," near Moor Lodge, or St. John's Well at Beauchief Abbey). Into that well the clear water of the Broomspring flowed, and

over it was this inscription, "Freely take, freely communicate, thank God."

Ruthless hands have destroyed this memorial, but its Christian sentiment should never be forgotten, though the stone be broken and its lineaments effaced. I will now, however, before concluding this part of my observations, quote from Hunter's *Hallamshire* his account of Broom Hall:—"This respectable mansion," says the learned antiquary, "stands a little to the north of the Porter river, about a mile west of Sheffield. It is a low building embosomed in trees,

' Secreta parentis
Anchisæ domus, arboribusque oblecta'.

The part of it represented in the engraving is of an age not later than the time of Henry VIII. The Jessops added to the original structure during the time it was in their possession.¹ The modern part² was built by the Rev. James Wilkinson, vicar of Sheffield, who resided in this hall of his maternal ancestor during nearly the whole period of his long incumbency. It was here, in his character of magistrate, he was accustomed to administer justice with prudence and equity.

"In the year 1791, Broom Hall was attacked by a mob of misguided and thoughtless people, who set fire to the house, and much damaged the library which had been collected by Mr. Wilkinson's great grandfather, Francis Jessop, Esq., one of the earliest members of the Royal Society. Around it lay a beautiful estate, richly cultivated, well watered, and well wooded, which descended in a right line to Mr. Wilkinson from many ancestors."

What was the particular cause of offence which instigated the outrage is not very clearly made out, but the results undoubtedly were in the old rhyme of the district,

"They burnt his books,
They scared his rooks,
And set his stacks on fire."

The old rookery still remains on the same spot where centuries before it existed. The rooks have never left. Somehow or other they have very archæological notions. They like old trees, they circle round old manor houses, they rejoice in the place of their birth, they teach their

¹ That is the western projecting wing. (R. N. P.)

² That is the eastern projecting wing. (R. N. P.)

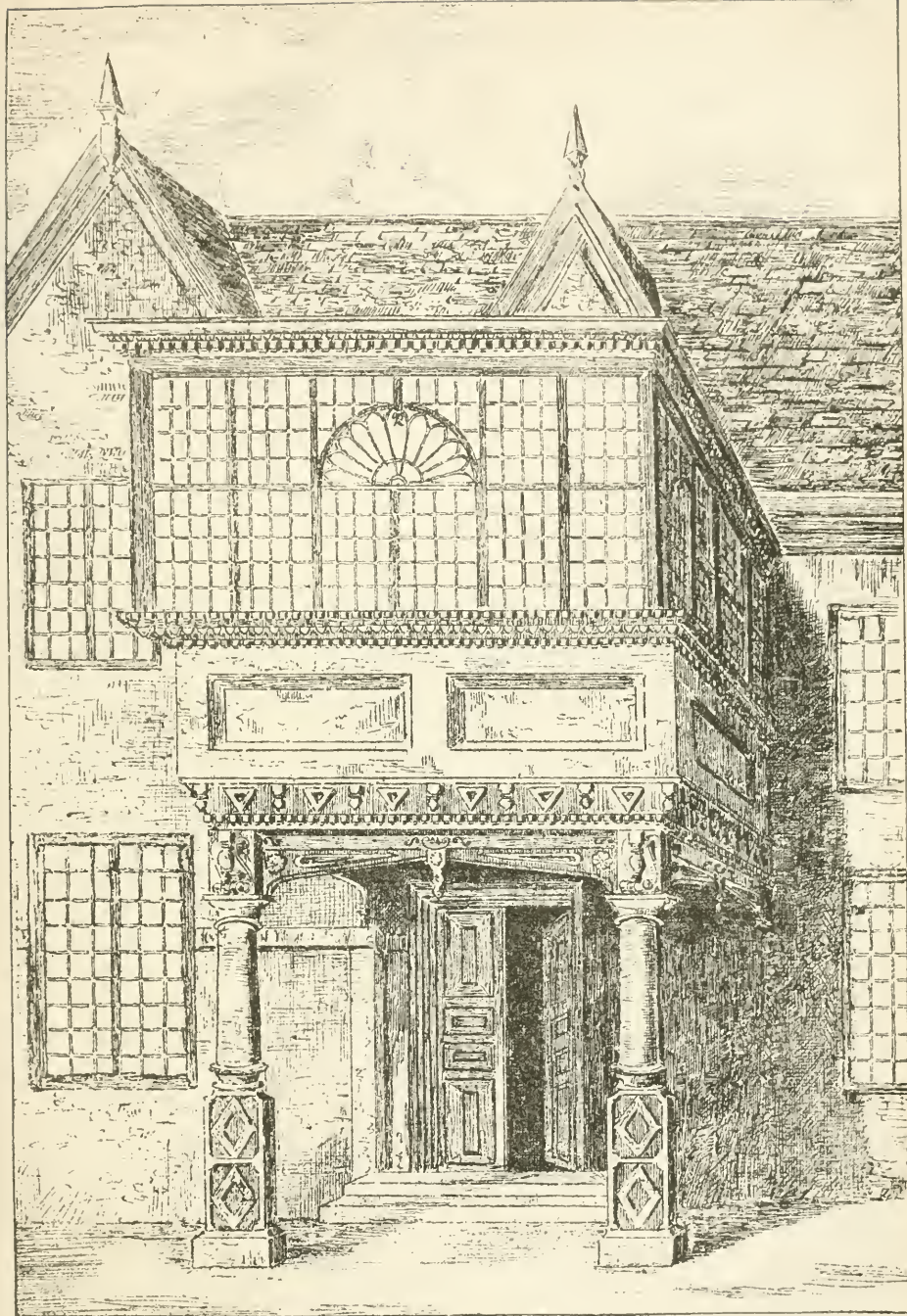
nestlings to cling to the branches amongst which they first came into life. With happy instinct they never desert their old friends, but come back after the winter months to renew their old associations, and welcome in, by their loud cawings, the brighter days of the opening spring.

In the century succeeding the age of the old timbered structures of the fifteenth century, another kind of half timbered houses, but abounding more in decorative plaster work, came into vogue. It is probable these arose when the Flemings came over in the sixteenth century, after escaping from the persecutions in their native country. They brought with them the woollen manufacture to the eastern counties, where they appear to have especially settled. Their industry and intelligence soon raised them to positions of wealth, and some of the fine mansions built by them in the sixteenth century and by their immediate descendants still remain as records of their prosperity. The houses were both internally, as well as externally, elaborately ornamented, and I know of one, of which Bury St. Edmunds might well have been proud (the Old Whyting House), but from which the course of modern improvement has removed a most remarkable and beautifully constructed porch. Whilst also in the hands of new possessors, the mansion has been divided to form several large houses, the broad oak-polished staircase with its latticed window, the quaint wainscot of the paneled rooms, the spacious hall, and other records of the structure of a former age, have been swept away.

After this style of architecture, that of the Elizabethan for country mansions prevailed, with its projecting porch and wings in the shape of the letter E; the reason for which form of building has been assigned to have arisen from the gallantry of an age that sought to perpetuate thereby the memory of England's greatest queen.

Although we have referred to the timbered manor houses as existing in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, but bearing in mind what Hunter has said, let us endeavour to fix, more definitely, the period when Broom Hall was actually built.

The word Broom (originally spelt "Brom") appears amongst the lands of Sir Robert de Ecclesal, the last of the Lords of Ecclesal of that family, and it is mentioned in a deed of settlement, executed by him A.D. 1329, in the reign



Porch = Wyke House Bury St. Edmunds.

Temp. 16th Century.

From an original drawing in the possession of R. Phillips Esq. LL.D.F.S.A.J.P. D.L. &c.
of this, formerly the House of his Maternal relatives.

The Porch 12 x 10 ft attached to a large, panelled room, was
removed for public improvements, A.D. 1825.



of Edward III. Under that deed Brom came into the possession of the Wickersleys, a very ancient family, who were the founders, with Richard de Busli, of the Abbey of Roche.

Considering the very considerable extent and position of these lands of Brom, stretching as they did on the west from the Vill of Sheffield, with its castle, one of the strongholds of the North, to Crookes Moor (where the Sheffield races were held during the last century), in the midst of the other lands of the Ecclesals, it seems but probable that an aula or residence for the owner would soon be erected. All our villages have their hall, that is, the principal house of the landed proprietor in their respective parishes.

In the absence of direct documentary proof, from which to fix precise dates for buildings, archæology must much depend on the analogy existing between them and others, also of a similar form of construction of a well known age. Herein we may be guided to a right conclusion when considering the period when our churches or other structures were erected, by observing the above rule for guidance under similar circumstances.

As respects, therefore, the period when Broom Hall was built, I may remark, and as a fact not unknown, that there stood in Leicester, till within the last thirty years, a timbered house where Richard III slept on his way to the battle of Bosworth. An engraving of the gable of this house is to be found in Parker's *Glossary of Architecture*, vol. ii, p. 46; and another engraving in the *History of Bosworth Field*, by Hutton. It existed in 1450 or thereabouts, a quarter of a century before the end of Edward IV's reign. It bears a most striking resemblance to the Broom Hall gable even in those minute details to which I have adverted, viz., the projecting window with its incurvatures, the carved beams and bargeboards, the position of the timber of the gable, with its other distinctive peculiarities. Here, then, we have a strong argument for assigning a similar date, viz. that of Edward IV, to Broom Hall. This monarch took possession, as is well known, of the throne after the battle of Towton, near Pontefract, A.D. 1461, and was succeeded twenty years subsequently by his son, who being, after a few months only, either suffocated or otherwise disposed of by his uncle, Richard III, was succeeded by him, until the

battle of Bosworth terminated at once his reign and his life, the 22nd August, A.D. 1485. As Richard slept at the Leicester house on his way to that fatal fight, and as he reigned only two years, it may fairly be assumed that the house was built in the lifetime of his brother. This being so, and seeing that Henry VIII began his reign A.D. 1509, and Hunter himself fixing "an age not later than the time of Henry VIII", we may safely assign a date thirty years earlier, and place its erection in the reign of Edward IV, or four hundred years ago. I may add a quotation from Leland as proving that at this period, as appears to me, timber houses were residences of the gentry and nobility. He is referring to Sir James Talbot, the son of John the second Earl of Shrewsbury, and brother of John the third Earl, who, like many other members of the family of the then lords of Hallamshire, fell in the battles of that time. Leland says: "He dyled of strips taken at Northampton feelde, but cam first from Shiffenol in Shrobbshire, a 2 miles from Tonge, where the Erles of Shrobbesburys had a manar place of tymbar, and a parke."

I will now, in a few words, sum up its subsequent history. It continued in the possession of the Wickersleys till the death of the last survivor of that family, who was buried, according to his will, "in the Parish Church of Sheffield, in the Rode Chapel, nigh to the image of the said Rode." John de Wickersley's daughter and heiress married Robert Swyft, and it passed by marriage, exactly two hundred years ago, into the family of the Jessops, the last of whom, James Jessop, Lord Darcy, resided here; and on his death, A.D. 1733, it passed, also as a house of ancestral descent, on the marriages of his two sisters and coheiresses, into the families of the Wilkinsons of Boroughbridge and the Gells of Hop-ton in Derbyshire.

Besides Broom Hall there are two other specimens of timbered houses in the immediate neighbourhood of Sheffield, exclusive of the "old Hawle in the Poandes", viz., one a low, picturesque building of small dimensions and later construction, called Norton Lees; and the other at Carbrook. This latter is situated near the road which crosses Attercliffe Common, by the hamlet of Carbrook, the scene of Spence Broughton's robbery of the mail in the last century, for which he was afterwards there gibbeted. The details of

the original fronts have been unfortunately destroyed by plaster, and the outlines of the gables only remain. Though not so ancient a house as Broom Hall, there are circumstances connected with it of an interesting nature. It was the residence of Sir John Bright, commonly called Colonel Bright, who distinguished himself as a Parliamentary leader at the battle of Marston Moor and in the subsequent events of that period. The old panelled room now existing, with its curious chimneypiece, was, we may believe, the scene of many a council during the wars of the Commonwealth; and thence its gallant owner went forth to the siege of Pontefract Castle, and received its surrender prior to its final demolition by order of the Commonwealth.

I have endeavoured thus architecturally and structurally to elucidate the history of the timber houses, and have connected it more especially with Broom Hall and subjects closely associated with the neighbourhood of Sheffield. Modern forms of architecture have, however, taken the place of these former types of building; but still these ancient manor houses will recall to the thoughtful mind recollections of bygone days. With the traditions of the past they are firmly linked; to how many a now forgotten tale of joy and sorrow, to which their walls have listened, may they not be regarded as the depositories! Let us, then, not part with them hastily, or pass them by unheeded, but note their aged forms; and instead of, by ruthless spoliation, sweeping away these venerable memorials, renovate and restore with a gentle, a tender, and a kindly hand, these dwelling-places of our forefathers, these old hearths and genial homes of England.

ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS RELATING TO SHEFFIELD, PRINCIPALLY IN CONNECTION WITH MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS.

THE following series of original documents, for the greater part unpublished, is the result of a careful search among the Talbot papers, preserved in the College of Arms for matters bearing upon the imprisonment of Mary Queen of Scots in Sheffield Castle and Manor, and especially with regard to her supposed occupation of Sheffield Lodge. Those papers of the collection here given, which have no connection with the Queen, have been inserted by reason of the local interest they awaken. Into this series I have incorporated a small number of extracts from the manuscripts and newly acquired charters in the British Museum.

W. DE G. BIRCH.

I. Grant from Alan de Witcherche to William de Englefield of three *natives*, sons of Bernard the miller of Sheffield. Twelfth century. (British Museum, Add. Ch. [Winchelsea] 20592.)

“Sciunt presentes et futuri quod ego Alanus de Witcherche uendidi Willelmo de Englefelde tres natiuos meos Willelmum uidelicet et Stephanum et Robertum filios Bernardi molendinarii de Seofelde; pro una marca argenti. Et ut hec uendicio rata sit et stabilis; sigilli mei impresione eam confirmaui. His testibus Willelmo de Vffintone, Roberto Poncon, Ansketill’ de Bergheff[eld], Ricardo Venatore.”

II. Grant from the same to the same of lands in Sheffield. (Add. Ch. [Winchelsea] 20593.)

“Sciunt presentes et futuri quod ego Alanus de Witcherche dedi et concessi Willelmo de Englefeld pro homagio et seruitio suo unam uirgatum terre et unum cotfettlum in Sceofeld, dimidiam uidelicet uirgatum quam Radulfus Cothulf tenuit die quo uiuus et mortuus fuit, cum omnibus pertinentiis suis et natiuis eiusdem dimidie virgate, Petro uidelicet et Matillide, dimidiam etiam uirgatum quam Ricardus Thurebern tenuit die quo uiuus et mortuus fuit, cum omnibus pertinentiis suis et natiuis, Radulfo scilicet et Roberto, Cotfettlumque quod Edulfus de Haselbroc tenuit cum omnibus pertinentiis suis et natiuis, eodem scilicet Edulfo et Willelmo filio eius, tenendam de me et heredibus meis sibi et heredibus suis iure hereditario, libere et quiete, reddendo inde annuatim quatuor denarios, uel unum par calcarium utrum eidem Willelmo seu heredibus eius

placuerit ad festum Sancti Michaelis, pro omni seruitio et omni exactione et omnibus querelis que ad me uel heredes meos pertinere debeant, salvo seruitio domini Regis. Concessi etiam ut predictæ terre et homines qui illas de memorato Willelmo et heredibus eius tenerint, sint quieti de pannagio in bosco meo. Pro hac donatione et concessione dedit mihi memoratus Willelmus viginti marcas argenti. Predictas etiam terras ego et heredes mei warrantizare debemus sepedicto Willelmo et heredibus eius aduersus omnes homines et feminas qui uiuere vel mori possunt. Et si occasione aliqua illis eas warrantizare non possumus, excambium eis facere debemus ad valentiam illarum, in eadem uilla de Scoefeld uel apud Leechinges uel apud Witcherche. His testibus, Johanne clerico de Wiggenholt, Willelmo de Stanford, Petro de Bixe, Willelmo de Vffintone, Willelmo Banastre, Oddone de Berghelfelde, Amis de Peletot, Richerio Neirnut, Roberto Pancon, Adam de la More, Helia de la More, Galfrido de Bradelfelde, Osberto de Ruishale, Nicolao pincerna, Ilgerio de Englefeld, Ricardo le Hunte, Hugone Toki, Jacobo Waldri, Jacobo de Berghelfeld, Simone de la huse."

III. Grant from Geoffrey, son of John Fitz Hugh, to William de Englefield of right to a mill at Sheffield. (Add. Ch. 20594.)

"Sciunt presentes et futuri quod ego Galfridus filius Johannis filii Hugonis remisi et quiete clamauit pro me et heredibus meis inperpetuum Willelmo de Englefeld et heredibus suis totum jus quod habui uel aliquo modo habere potui in molendino de Sefeld cum omnibus pertinenciis suis stangno uidelicet piscaria secta et cum omnibus aliis ad molendinum illud spectantibus et cum quadam dimidia virgata terre quam Petrus Cuthulf aliquando tenuit in eadem villa de Sefeld. Habendum et tenendum eidem W. et heredibus suis libere et quiete absque clamio mei seu heredum meorum inperpetuum. Quod etiam molendinum ab eodem W. prius tenui et quod ipse de me postea ad firmam tenuit. Et pro hac remissione et quietâ clamancia dedit mihi dictus W. viginti (*sic*) marcas sterlingorum premanibus. Et ut dicta remissio et quietâ clamancia firma et stabilis in perpetuum permaneat presenti carte sigillum meum apposui. Hiis testibus, Rogero de hida, Richero Neirnut, Roberto de Huffintone, Nicholao pincerna, Simone filio Nicholai, Johanne de hosa, Johanne Bannastre, Ada de Graueurt, Nicholas de Maidenhache, Radulfo Ylger, Henricus Ylger, Petro Amis, Petro filio Haenild', Johanne dismars, Alano de Englefeld et aliis.

IV. Grant from Alan de Witcherche to William de Englefield of land,—qu. at Sheffield? (Add. Ch. 20595.)

"Sciunt tam presentes quam futuri quod ego Alanus de Witcherche concessi Willelmo de Englefeld nomine emptionis sibi et suis heredibus illam dimidiam virgatam terre que fuit Rogeri ruffi tenendam de me et de meis heredibus pro xii denariis annuatim mihi reddendis ad festum Sancti Michaelis pro omni seruitio quod ad me pertinet salvo seruitio Regis pro sex marcis argenti quas mihi dedit pro illa terra. Et sciunt porcos liberos et quietos in bosco meo de pannagio, et si plures habuerit faciat pro illis sicuti alii faciunt pro suis. Et concessi ei la

giste in bosco meo ad porcos suos et concessi ei exitus et communam sicuti mei alii liberi homines habent in eadem villa. Hii sunt testes, Robertus de Mara, Willelmus de Mara, Gillo de Pinchenni, Robertus filius Gillonis, Thomas de Bergefel, Johaunes de hyda, Willelmus de Huffeton, Richerus Neirenut, Willelmus Banastre, Symon de la huese, Hugo de Suefelde, Ricardus uenator, Auchetill de bergefelde."

v. Letter from Sir Thomas Selvester, *Priest*, to the Earl of Shrewsbury (?), respecting the state of the chapel. *Time of Henry VIII.* (College of Arms, Talbot Papers, vol. P, page 5.)

"Pleasith it yo'r lordshipe to knowe of yo'r chapell at Sheffield the forwardnes their of The masons hath takyn downe the walles to the ground and now is p'paring the ground and The ston to sett. owre lord send us ov' stone frome The roche: for the waye is very 'ille w't us to carre ston' notwt'standing for my part I shall doo the best that shall ly In my lytill power, by the grace of o'r lord', my lorde the mason hathe promysithe to have The chappell upe Redy to cover afore aft' by godes grace wher for it may please yo'r lordshipe to rememb'r our carpentry for the Ruffe of The sayd chapell and yowr lordshipe to synd me money for the same carpentry and for The Mason at owr ladys daye In lente yff ye be absent, For I have reics's of mastys grace vti. Forder iffe it shall please yo'r lordshipe to be adv'tised I have to my brother a p'ist as I am the wicht now synghith in barkshier and hath down all thys xth yeres & more & much disireth to come unto hys native countre to be abyder yff god wolld sende hym some smalling' to rest upon Insomuche it myght please yo'r honorabill lordshipe at the instance of allmighty god to accept hym at yo'r comaundement, In the service that Sr Gervice had for the tyme: yo'r lordshipe shalle surly perfit of hys demenar and condicions wher of I trust yo'r lordshipe wylbe very well contentit and that In lyke case I for my parte some tymes might have some helpe In yo'r lordshipe besones soo that bowthe he and I maye have a case to praye to almyghte god for yo'r hon'r longe to contenew In great felicite wt' prosperous helth at hys plesure. Writyn at Sheffield The..... daye of Februarii wt The hand of yore poore bedman to hys lettlyll power.

"Sr Thomas Selvest'r priest.

Addressed "To my lorde."

vi. Letter from the Earl of Shrewsbury to Sir William Caryl, Knt. 12 October, 1563. (*Ibid.* P, p. 441.)

"After my verie hartie comendacions havinge occasion at this tyme to remembre sundrye of my verie good lordes and others, w'th redd deare and venyson. I thought in that p'te I coule not (thoughe the matter be but smale) omytt the remembraunce of so deare & assured a freende as I have at all tymes founde yow prainge you to accepte vj pasties w'che I sende unto you by this barer, as a token of my good will in the ende of gresse tyme, havinge not in these parties any better noveltyes to sende yowe. I have latelie w'thin my liberties apprehended one offendo'r of rare kynde in this cuntrie (a coyner) whose cunnyng was so light and his bullion so bace, his stamper, and yrons also wantinge

good workmanship, as in my towne of Sheffelde, at the firste of his utteraunce this newe founde myntor was disserued: whome for his good will and pains takinge in that behalf I have, as he was well woorthis, sent him to the queens ma'ts gaole at Yorke: and all his woorkinge tooles also to her ma'ts counsaile there, to bare recorde of his well doinge, where I doubte not but he shall receave accordinge to his demerites. And to theende you may the better understaunde the xperyence and good skill of this workman I have heereinlosed sente you toove peeces of his doinge, w'che you maye at youre pleas' eyther shewe unto hir ma'tie or otherwise as you shall thinke convenyente. And so for this tyme I comende you to the protecc'on of almightie god; who sende you as well to do, as I wolde myselfe. Frome Sheffelde lodge the xijth of Octobre, 1563. Yo'r assured lovinge freende

“G. Shrowesbury.

Addressed “To my well biloved freende Sr Will'm Caryl knight principall secretarye to the queens most excellent ma'tie.

Endorsed, “12 Sbris 1563. Erle of Shrowesbury.”

VII. Unpublished letter from Mary, Queen of Scots, to Monsieur Emond Augier, Doctor of Theology, of the Order of Jesus. British Museum. (Egerton MS. 1875, f. 363.)

“Mr. Emond Iay receu avec grande consolation d'esprit les lres que mavez escriptes bien que non sans rongir et battre ma poitrine me confessant indigne de la bonne opinion qu'avez de moy oultre mon merite. Mais j'attribue telle louage non desservie a la misericorde de Dieu qui vous incite par semblable facon d'escrire a me semondre d'ores en avant destre telle que m'estimez vers luy. A quoy j'espere voz prieres et celles de v're sainte Compaignie m'ayderont et de ma part je ne me vanteray d'y apporter qu'une humble submission pour recepvoir les admonestemens, qu'il luy plaira menvoyer pour du tout me ranger soubz sa sainte volunte en toutes mes adversitez desquelles il m'a jusques icy pitoyablement defendue par un octroy de patience q' je luy requiers me continuer jusques a la fin. Vostre livre de moy desire comme tres necessaire n'est encores tumbé entre mes mains. Je ne seay a quoy il tient je serois bien ayse d'en avoir un. Et puisque vostre charite s'est estendue a visiter et consoler une pauvre prisonniere affligee pour ses pechez. Je vous prie quand en aurez la commodite d'y continuer meslant en voz epistres quelque partie de voz salutaires & saintes consolations et admonitions pour plus exciter l'esprit vexé d'adversitez a la cognoissance de ses offenses le faisant aspirer pour repos a la consolation eternelle de laquelle ce monde ne faict que nous destourner. Et si vouliez tant faire pour moy que de dresser une petite institution ou reigle des prieres qui seront plus propres pour estre dietes aux jours solennelz et temps de plus grande necessite, oultre les ordinaires pour estre plus uniformement p[rese]ntees a Dieu par ma petite famille assemblee. Vous feriez une œuvre de piete n'ayant nul icy de qui nous puissions avoir conseil et n'ayant empeschement de vacquer aux heures requises de servir a Dieu sil se faict quelque belle œuvre propre pour l'estude d'une prisonniere en Latin ou autre langage vulgaire. Je vous prie advertir mon ambassadeur de le menvoyer et prendre la peine de visiter mes pauvres Escholiers pour les admonester de faire prieres pour moy. Et faisant estat des vres et

de v're college a qui je vous prie que je sois recommandee l'offriray mes oraisons simples et indignes a Dieu pour la preserva'on de v're sainte Compaignie en son service. Auquel je luy supplie me donner la grace de vivre et morir. De Chefill, ce 9'e de Juing, Vottre bonne amye,

" Marie R.

Addressed: "A Mrs. Emond Augier docteur en theologie de la compaignie du nom de Jesus."

VIII. Letter from Queen Elizabeth to the Earl of Huntingdon, 22 Sept., 1569. (Coll. of Arms, Talbot Papers, E, folio 229.)

"Right trusty and right wel beloued Cosin, we greate you well. Where we understand that our cosin of Shrowsbury is moch trobled w'th sicknesses, and like to fall further into the same, in such sort as he nether presently is able nor shalbe to continewe in the charge w'ch he hathe, to kepe the Q. of S., we haue for a present remedy, and to auoide the danger that might insue, made choise of you to take the charge of the custody of her untill we shall otherwise order, and therefore we earnestly require you with all spede to repaire to o'r cosin of S. w'th some of yo'r owne trusty servauntes, and there to take the charge of the said Q.; wherew'th o'r said cosin wilbe so well content as we doubt not but you shall haue all that he can commaund to be serviceable unto you. And thoughe this direction of you may seeme presently sodayne and straunge for you to take charge of her in any other person's house then in yo'r owne, yet the infirmity of o'r said cosin, w'th the mistrust he hath of a greter, and the request he hath made vnto vs to haue some help in this cause, w'th other causes that we haue to doubt of some escape of the said Q. moneth us to use this speedy order, meaning as sone as occasion may further permit, to devise cyther shortly to deliuer you of this burthen wholly, or at the best to devise that she shalbe remoued to some other meter place where you may haue the whole comandement.

"We will haue you also, after conference w'th o'r said cosin of S., to devise howe the number of the Q. of S. servauntes might be diminished and reduced onely to thirty persons of all sortes, as was ordered, but as we perceiue to moche enlarged of late tyme. You shall also, jointly with the Erle of S., give order that no suchie common resort be to the Q. as hath bene, nor that she haue such liberty to send postes as she hathe don, to the gret burden of o'r poore subiects; and if she shall haue any speciall cause to send to vs, then you shall so permit her servaunt w'th the warrant of yo'r hand, and none to come otherwise. And if you shall thinke of any meter place to kepe her, we require you to aduertise us thereof, so as we may take order for the same. We haue written to o'r cosin of S., whom we haue willed to impart to you the contentes of o'r l're, and so we woll haue you to do these, trusting that you will consider thereof as the cause requireth for o'r hono'r and gretnes, w'thout respect of any parson.

"Yeuen under o'r signet at the Manor of the Vyne, the xxth of Septembre, 1569, the xjth yere of o'r raigne.

"P'tscript.—After we had considered of some part of the premisses, we thought in this sort to alter some part thereof. We woll that no parson shall be suffered to com from the Q. of S. w'th any message or l're;

but if she will write to us, you shall offer to send the same by one of yourres ; and so we will you to do, for o'r meaning is that for a season she shall nether send nor receive any message or letters w'thout o'r knowledge."

IX. "A minute of the newe order taken by my Lord of Shrewsburie w'th the Queene of Scotland and her seruants. (Brit. Mus., Cotton. MS., Caligula, C. iii, art. 71, folio 73.)

"To the M'r of the Scottes Queenes Houshold, Mr. Beton.
5'o May, 1571.

"First that all your people which appertayneth to the Queene shall depart from the Queenes chamber or chambers to their owne lodgings at ix. of the clock at night, winter and sommer, whatsoever he or she, either to their lodging within the house, or without, or towne ; and there to remaine till the next day at vj. of the clock.

"Item that none of the Queenes people shall at no tyme weare anie sword, neither within the house nor when her Grace rydeth or goeth abroad, unles the M'r of the Houshold himself do weare a sword, and no moe without my speciall licence.

"Item that there shall none of the Queenes people carrie anie bowe or shaftes at no tyme, neither to the feild nor to the butts, unles it be fower or fyve, and no more, being in the Q. companie.

"Item that none of ye Queenes people shall ryde or go at no tyme abroad, out of the house or towne, without my speciall licence ; and if he or they so doe, they or he shall come no more in at the gates, nether in the towne, whatsoever he or they be, or she.

"Item y't you or some of the Queenes chamber, when her grace will walke abroad, shall aduertyes the officiar of my warde, who shall declare ye message to me one hower before she goeth fourth.

"Item that none of the Queenes people, whatsoever he or they be, shall not once offer at no tyme to come forth of their chamber or lodging when anie alarum is given by night or daie, whither they be in the Queenes chambers, or in their chambers within the house, or without in the towne ; and yfe he or they keepe not their chambers or lodging, whersoener y't be, he or they shall stande at their perrill for deathe.

"At Shefeild the 26th daie of Aprill, 1571.

"Per me

Shrewsburie."

X. Letter from Lord Burghley to the Earl of Shrewsbury, 5 Sept., 1571. (College of Arms, Talbot Papers, F, folio 33.)

"After I had enclosed up these l'res, hir Ma'ty willed me to lett your L. vnderstand y't she wold have yow vse some rood speecche to ye Q. of Scotts in this sort, that it is now fully discovered to hir Ma'ty what practises that Quene hath had in hand, both w'th the Duke of Norfolk and others, vppon ye sendying away of Rydolfi into Spayne ; and though it is knowne to hir Ma'ty by wrytyng extant how she was in deliberation what wer best for hir to do for hir escape out of this realme, and thereof cause ye D. of Norfolk to be conferred w'thall, and that she made choise rather to go into Spayne then into Scotland or France, yet hir Ma'ty

thinketh it no just cause to be offended w'th those devisees tending to hir liberty. Neither is she offended with hir purpose to offer hir sone in mariadg to ye K. of Spaynes doughter, in which matter ye late Quene of Spayne had sollicitid hir; neither y't she thought to make the K. of Spayne beleve y't she wold gyve eare to ye offer of Don Jon de Austria. But ye very matter of offence y't hir Ma'ty understandeth certainly, *hir labors and devisees to stirre upp a new rebellion in this realme, and to have ye Kyng of Spayne to assist it*; and fyndyng the said Quene so bent, she must not thynk but y't hir Ma'ty hath cause to alter hir eurtuose dealynges w'th hir. And so in this sort hir Ma'ty wold haue you tempt hir patience, in this sort to provoke hir to answer somewhat; for of all these premisses hir Ma'ty is certainly assured, and of much more.

"Hir Ma'ty told me a whyle ago y't a gentleman of my L. of — [I dare not name ye party] coming to your L. house, was by your L. asked whyther he had sene ye Q. of Scotts or no, and he sayd no; then q. your L., you shall se hir anone; w'ch offer hir Ma'ty mislykyng, I sayd I durst saye it was not trew in y't manner. I perceve hir Ma'ty wold *have y't Q. kept very straitly from all conference*, in so much it is more lyke y't she shall be rather committed to ward than to have more liberty.

"Your L. shall do well to send ye names of those y't shall remayne, and of such as shall depart.

"Your L. at command,

W. B."

Endorsed, "The Queenes Ma'tys l'res to the Erle of Shrewsbury. W. Burghley. D. at ye Court the vth of Septembre, 1571, at ix in the night.

"To ye post of Doncaster. R. at Stylton the vi daye of September, at viii of elok in the fornoone."

Also, "1571. L'res of the vth of September, for reducing the Scottes Quenes people to the number of xvi persons."

XI. Letter from the E. of Shrewsbury to "my L. Treasourer", 24 September, 1572. (*Ibid.*, F, folio 39.)

"My very good L. These are to advertise you that this Q. remain stil w'thin these foure walles in sure kepyng, and these persons continewe very quiet, thanke be God. She is moch offendid at my restraint from her walkyng w'thout this castle; but for al her anger, I will not suffer her to passe out of these gates until I haue contrary comaundement expressly from the Q. Ma'tie; and though I was fully perswadid that my nombre of souldiers was suffieient for her sure keping, yet haue I thought good this tyme to encrease the same w'th xxx souldiers more, for the more terror of the evel disposed. And I haue giuen and do kepe precise order not only that no maner of conference shalbe had w'th her or any of hers, but also that no intelligence shalbe brought to her or any of them. And likewise I haue giuen [order] for walking and observing the woodes and other places herabout that are most to be suspected, to thend I may spedily vnderstand if any resort or haunt of suspected persons chaunce to be, or of anything els mete to be knowen. Herof I thought mete to aduertise y'r L., that you may please to declare the same, as ye think convenient, vnto her Ma'tie, whom I besech almightie preserve from al practise of her enemies; and so I ende.

"Shefeld Castle, the 24th of September" [1572].

XII. Letter from the Earl of Shrewsbury to Lord Burghley, 3 March, 1572. (*Ibid.*, P, p. 627.)

"My very good L., havyng this daye re' frome my l. of Huntynghdon let's impertynge some susspyton of devysing for this q. delyverie ow't of my handes, I have thought mete, not because I thinke hyr ma'tie unadv'tysed th'rof, but for of all dowtfullnes of this q. safekeepynge, to wryte to hyr ma'tie somethinge of her suretie, and w'th all to sende copie of my l. Huntynghdon his leters to me; and more have not to adv'tysse yo'r l., but wyshe yo'r l. as well as to mysele. Thys thyr'd of Marche, 1572.

Endorsed, "3'o Martii 1572. To the l. treasurer."

XIII. Extract from letter of Lord Burghley to "ye Erle of Shrewsbury", 10 August, 1573. (*Ibid.*, F, f. 65.)

"My good Lord, by Alexander bogg (?) bryngyng to me your L. l'res, I was glad to vnderstand of your L. well doyng, and am now commanded to wryte to your L. by hir Ma'ty that she is pleased y't if your L. shall thinke you may w'thout perill conduct the Q. of Scottes to ye well of Buckstone, accordyng to hir most earnest desyre, your L. shall so doo, vsyng such care and respect for hir person to continew in your chardg as hytherto your L. hath honorably, happely, and profitably doome; and whan your L. shall determynue to remove w't the sayd Quene thythar it wer good that as litle forknolledg abrode as may conveniently be gyven; and nevertheless, y't for ye tyme y't she shall be ther, y't all others, being straungers from y'r L. company, be forbydden to come thyther duryng ye tyme of ye Quenes abode ther. And this I wryte because hir Ma'ty was very unwillyng y't she should go thyther, imagenyng y't hir desyre was eyther to be ye more sene of strangers resortyng thyther, or for ye acheving of some furder enterprise to escape; but on ye other part, I told hir Ma'ty y't if in very dede hir sicknes were to be releved therby, hir Ma'ty cold not in honor deny hir to haue ye naturall remedy therof, and for hir surety I knew your L. wold have sufficient care and regard; and so hir Ma'ty commanded me to wryte to your L. y't you might conduct hir thyther, and also to have good respect to hir. And according to this hir Ma'tys determination the french ambassador being w't hir at Eridg, my L. of Burgencis house in Waterd forrest in Sussex, hath receaved knolledg from hir Ma'ty y't you shall thus do, etc.

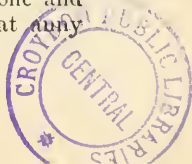
"From ye Court at Guldeforde house in Kent, x Aug., 1573.

"Your L. at command,

W. Burghley.

XIV. Letter from the Earl of Shrewsbury to Lord Burghley, 25 February, 1573. (*Ibid.*, P, folio 673.)

"My good lord, the cause of my longe cylens in nott wrytenge to yo'r lordship hathe bene that I was lothe to trobull you in yo'r sykenes, and now, thanks be to the Almighty, I here of yo'r good recov.... I have bene trobelyd this ij monethes w't an extreme coffe, whiche hathe brought me into sume gruggenge of a fevore, whereby I was myche weakened; but now, presed be god, I fynde parfett amendement. My coffe and fevor in effecte gone. I fynde my selfe bettar this daye than at any



tyme cynse it furste toke me. If I hadde doutyd any perell I wold advartesed the quenes ma'ty. My care hathe bene no lesse of my charge than when I was in parfett helthe, and toke syche ordar w't my wyfe and truste sarvauntes, what so evar hadde become of me, che shuld have bene safe and forthecuminge at the quenes ma'tes devoyson, and niente apon anny extremyte to have sente for S'r Thomas Gargrave to have joynd w't them tyll her ma'ties pleasure were further knowne.

"Now, my L., I can nott but say to you I thynke I have bene unkyndly used by ij vyle reprobrates that perfesses god worde w't ther lypes, but nethare in lyfe nore dedes followes it nott. I truste my sarvis hathe bene syche that [*paper torn away*] syche as they are nott abull to blemysche parte of it, or putt anny screpull ma'ties hadde of me that wyll nott by A mour dutyfull thought. I nothyng but that heer ma'tie wyll so respect as they shalbe brought to poblyke pe..... This praetes in my opynyon hathe Afordare than to touche me they doo not this contrare to ther owne consyens, if they have anny of them I cannott thynke but they have good her ma'tes grete I know to be syche as is abull to desarve the greatest thynges, and therefore doutes nott but wyll sone dyseyfure this. I pray yo'r L. that I maye here often from you, whyche wyllbe a grete comforte to me.

"So wysche of yo'r L. as my selfe w't my wyfes hartye commendacions to yo'r L. and my good lade, I take my leve.

"Sheffield, xxv of February, 1573.

"I pray yo'r L. move the quenes ma'tie for the synenge of the war-rante for this dratt. My L., I have bene longe unpayde, and have more nede than I wylle make showe offe.

"Yo'r L. moste assured frende duringe lyfe,

"G. Shrovesbury."

Addressed "To the Ryght honorabull my very good lord my L. Burghley, L. tresorer Englande."

Endorsed "25 Febr., 1573. Ye Erle of Shrewsbury to my L."

xv. Letter from the Earl of Shrewsbury to Lord Burghley, 13 June, 1574. (*Ibid.*, P, fo. 703.)

Understandenge my good lorde yo'r moste frendl.... delynge w't hir ma'tie & otharwyes in my behalfe, wher I have sondry wayes hadd good profe, and spesyally no[we] of late when the same was chiefly to be regarded. A most doutefull tyme, I thynke my self happye and most bounden to god to have founde so fethfull and assured a frende, in suche tyme as I have trye[d] so grete desymulasyon, and therby so myche beholdeinge to yo'r lordship as if I maye in anny thyng Requyte the same my good wyll shall thane in dede apere wherof I cannot no otherwyes than by fethfull promises assure you and that yo'r L. hathe orre shall answer for my fydelytie to hir ma'tie owre safe keepyng my charge w'towte anny othure respect than to hir ma'tie yo'r L. shall never reseve discredytt thereby if that maye take plase, for as my consyens before god and my delynges . . . beres wytnes of the onne so my dutyfull and carefull regard wt' godes helpe shall suffyeiently discharge the othar. I am and have bene of yo'r L. opynyon touchinge

my charge whyche I wysch w't all my harte I hadde nevar delt w't all, and if anny respect hereaftur move me to alter my mynde. I shall furst plenyly imparte the same to yo'r L. and chefly use yo'r advyse.

"As to the . . . of the gretenes of my alowans in respect of the . . . as yo'r L. hathe bothe frendly and truly answered, my care of my charge forsethe me to kepe nott only a myche gretter nombar of men w't the Alov. of 3 c. pounde yerly of . . . more then otherwyse shulde, butt also anof sodyars w't choitt contynually to wache and warde and to garde hir togeddar w't my owne men whyche w't they dyatt of hir and hir pepull othar extraordinar charges duly consydered, I thynke . . . as be of best . . . wyll nott esteme the alowance overe grete. For albeit there be smale acounte made of anny othar thyng than only mete and drenke for an ordinar compeny yett I fele and therby am abull to justefy that spoyle of all manner of stuffe hir removinges and accesse of syche as arr autorised to resort unto hir at sundry tymes w't fyre lyghtes and manny othar charges nott accounted off be sych as no man can kepe hir w't this alowans but to his owne losse (whyche I have nott regarded in respecte of my duty of hir ma'tie. So I ende wyscheinge to yo'r L. as to my dereste frende. Sheffield xiiijth of June 1574.

"Yo'r L. ever assured fethcfull frende durenge lyfe

"G. Shrewesbury.

Addressed. "To the Ryght honorabull my very good lyrde my L. burghley L. tresorar of Englande.

Endorsed. "13 Junii 1574 ye Erle of Shrewsbury to my l."

XVI. Letter from Sir Francis Walsingham to the Earl of Shrewsbury, 27 June, 1576. (*Ibid.*, F, folio 153.)

"My verie good lord. I have this daye receaved yo'r L. l're of the xxiiith of this present and imparted to hir Ma'tie suche reasons as you therein alleage to shewe have unfitt a place Tutburie is as well for the salfe custodie of yo'r chardge as also for all necessarie provisions: and shee allowynge verie well of yo'r sayd reasons and opinion notwithstandinge her former order given you in that behalfe, is now resolved that you conduct that Queen from Buxtones backe agayne to yo'r house at Sheffield, whereof for yo'r satisfaction and answeare to yo'r sayd l're shee commanded me to give you knowledge, and so I humbly commend your Lordshippe to god. From the court the xxviith of June 1576. Yo'r L. to command

"Fra. Walsyngham,"

XVII. Letter from the Earl of Shrewsbury to Lord Burghley, 4 August, 1577. (*Ibid.*, P, folio 837.)

"My lorde I render you my moste harty thanks for yo'r lettres yesterdaye but I am sory you found nott yo'r self so perfeth well as I wysched, but I hope the . . . is nott so mych the cause thereof as is the varyableness of the wedder, and for my owne parte I fynde sume change thereof in the wrste of my hand w'ch god wyllng shall nott hynder me from visyting of yo'r L. very shortly, and in the mene tyme I wysch yo'r L. in alle thynges as to my selfe, so take leve this 4 of August 1577. Ye'r L. most assured

"G. Shrewesbury.

"I have cent . . . a platte of a fronte of a loge that I am now in byldenge wych if it were nott for troblyng yo'r L. I wold wysch yo'r advyse theron.

Addressed. "To the Right honorabull the Lorde hyghe tresorar of England.

Endorsed. "4 August 1577. The Erle of Shrewsbury to my L. A Platte of a Lodge."

XVIII. Minute from the "Queen's Ma'tie to Thearle of Shrewsbury", 3 September, 1577. (Brit. Mus., Cotton MS. Caligula c. v, art. 78, folio 85.)

"Right trustye and right welbeloved Cousine and Counsaylor We grete you well whereas we are aduertised from sondry places beyond the Seas of brutes sown there that the Q. your chardge should be escaped and at her libertye and thereby great styrres and troubles fallen out w'ch brutes cannot rise but of some intended practise to that effect and therefore weyeinge the importance of the matter we thought mete to advertise you thereof to thend you may carrye a more heedfull eye towarde her And Forasmuch as booth o'r Cousine of Leicester and the Lord Thr'er have declared vnto vs how that at their late beinge in those partes w'ch you conferringe w'ch them of yo'r chardge of the said Q. you tolde them that you might a greate deale better warrant her safe kepeinge of the manner of her kepeinge and vsage towards her were remitted to yo'r owne discrecion to doe therein as you should se cause eyther in restrayneinge of her owne person more or lesse or removeinge from her such as you doe suspect to be evill instrumentes of her owne famely about her. We let you to wit that as we cannot but much commend for the great care you well declare to haue about this yo'r Chardge and likewise thank you for the same So o'r will and expresse pleasure is and by theas o'r l'res do fully authorise you from hencefurth to vse yo'r owne discrecion therein aswell in restrayneinge of the said Queene as you shall se cause and think mete and expedient as also in the removeinge altogether or otherwise restrayneinge for a tyme from her all such persons that be about her as you doe finde or suspect to be practisers and instrumentes for her to doe evill offices as aforesaid. Assureinge o'rselues that as hitherto you have most carefully and faithfully vsed yo'r selfe in this your chardge whereby booth we and o'r whole realme remaine in the better quiet (a service we have cause to make an especiall accompt of) So you will haveinge this further authoritie geue you vse the same in such sorte as the bryttes given out abroade shall prove vayne and we and o'r whole realme acknowledge this benefact to procede of yo'r greate and provident care had in the dischargd of the trust Comitted vnto you."

XIX. Devices respecting the Queen of Scots, in Lord Burghley's handwriting, 1577. (Brit. Mus., Cotton MS., Caligula c. iii, f. 534.)

"*Devices.*—The surest hath bene thought to have hir condemned as a comen enemy to this estate.

"The second to return hir to ye Regent with certenty yt ther she shuld be condemned and receave Justice.

"The thyrd is to devise that she may neuely affirm her sonnes estate, and therin all wayes to be though on how yt may be doone wt' assurances to contynew, wherin many thynges ar to be considered, though ther be no certenty, but yet probabillite.

* * * * *

"The last meane is, to have hir kept in better suerty than she is, and than if any forcible attempt shall be made or practised for hir delyvery ageynst the Q. Ma'tys will, her Ma'ty than may soone remedye the same."

xx. Letter from the Earl of Shrewsbury to Lord Burghley, 8 December, 1577. (College of Arms, Talbot Papers, P, page 867.)

"My good L. yo'r nobull delyng showes so many wayes towards me that they have bound me to you duryng my lyfe, I most hartely thanke yo'r L. for yo'r most frendly letters w'ch I reseved or knolege and perseve by any other advisementes (my L. lest by my sonne Gylbard yo'r L. myght be troblyd and[. . . .] by a late accydent that chaused to me by breking of a windowe into my study at my loge w'ch I [. .] nott my self and they as it aperes thought to have gotte money ther where was none but ij or iij hundred poundes weith of plate instead of the one tooke the other, now my L. by reson of the aprehendyng of those men that I fyrste suspected and examenyng them of ther founde one of my men that I putt [. . .] that wetyd in my chambare and kept sum tyme my and well acquainted w'th any [. .] thynkyng ther hadd bene money as hathe bene lyeng ther and wt' mych adoo and promeseng hym to obtane his pardon w'ch for [.....] hereafter I mynd to doo have gotten all my plate agen wherof thought good to advertise you of lest yo'r L. when you should here of it would [. . .] for the [. . .] my derest frende thus may yow see [. . .] you may commaunde and [. . .] Sheffield the viij of December, 1577.

"Yo'r L. evar assuredly

"G. Shrewsbury.

Addressed. "To the Right Honorabell my very good Lord the L. Burghley L. tresorer of England.

Endorsed. "8 Dec. 1577. The Erle of Shrewsbury to my L."

xxi. Letter from the Archbishop of York to "The Earle of Shrewsbury," 10 March, 1578. (*Ibid.*, F, folio 299.)

"My honorable goode Lorde. At my laste beinge w'th you I moved yo'r L. in the behalfe of Mr. Hollande, vicar of Sheffilde, yo'r answere was so honorable that I thought myselfe muche beholden to yo'r L. for it and I learne that synce he hath reaped firste wherof yf it would please yo'r L. to bestowe upon him a small benefice nere adioynninge now fallen wherof yo'r L. is patrone, as you might be sure of his faithfull and diligent service so in myne opinion you should do a greate good to that people in givinge them a preachinge pastor. I have many other thinges to imparte unto yo'r L. but another tyme will serve better. Thus I commende yo'r good L. to the good direction of godde holy spirite. Bushope Thorpe this xth of Marche 1578. Yo' L. in Christ most assured

"E. Ebor."

XXII. Letter from George Skargell to the [Earl of Shrewsbury] 8 May, 1579. (*Ibid.*, P, folio 973.)

"May yt plesse your honnar to understand that your L. howse ys quyete and welle god be pressed and the Quene ys sarved w'th her vetteles and well plesed, For these ij dayes, Farther to Lete your L. undarstand yt yestarday it abowtt ij of ellock I went downe to ye gardenes At Castelle to se watt ster ther wase of your L. Fockes and thear wasse At dycese, Mr. Andrewe Thorstone howlle Johne rogar George Rolland and Wm. Cravene, For money, and James Neckes and other whear in the gardene w'ch did not plley wyell I tared and thene I went upe in to the towne to se wat ster wase ther, And at John Sheldenes in A prllar Wm. Cllemanes and ij other was at cardes for money and wene the same they gave over and so there presently I mett w'th ij gllosope Dalle mene w'ch wold nott knoe me thene speek to me and my hart wase folle to se the stowttenes of they and I sayd to they and the tyme had bene they wold have knowene one and the tyme meght be the wold know one agene and then I retorned to ye manar A gene heryng ther wase x of the ame of Gllosope Dalle comene frome Londone devysed w'th my selve to go w't a preve wateche to ye end yt strongwies might know altho your L. wasse A. way and the baylley yet your L. had leaste wateche in the country and I send Dyck Kepper a nother wey and I took w'th me Raphe martene Cravene and otheres as barar hear of cane Lette yowre L. understand by tolcke and serched bothe bregges to se the wateche and coled at James Hodsworthes as welle as at other hosses be cosse the gllosope Dalle men by ther that they meght know no strongares cold be in the towne of Sheffield bott your L. offesares by oowr L. comondment wasse preve who they wasse and those for trobellyng your L. to moche. I take my leve for thes tyme tresting your L. welle note be A fended be cosse I ded do yt of my selve w'thowt your L. comondment. Sheffield Logge this viijth of May 1579, At xij of ye ellocke. At nowne your L. moste humble sarvand telle dethe.

"George Skargell.

Addressed. "To my Lorde."

XXIII. Letter from Francis Talbot to the Earl of Shrewsbury, his father, 29 May, 1580. (*Ibid.*, F, folio 383.)

"My humble deautie remembred ryght honorable my singuler good Lord and fater meay it please yo'r Lo. upon my frust cumminge to court, in speache with hir Ma'tie she asked for yo'r Lo. and after I had done yo'r dutie to hir she asked me where I sawe yo'r Lo. and of yo'r charge; for yo'r Lo. I tould hire I attended of you at Shefeld to know yo'r pleasure and yo'r Lo. came to a house w'ch you were abidinge and thier I toke my leave of yo'r lo. and you returned to your charge; but as for the Quene of Scots I had not sene manie yeres; I find yo'r lo. charge is great in respeeke ther is here so manie contrarieties
Savoye, this xxixth of Meay 1580. Yo'r lo. lovinge and most obedient sonne

"Francis Talbote."

XXIV. Extracts from a letter addressed by [Robert Beale]

to Secretary? Walsingham, 17 November, 1581. (Brit. Mus., MS. Harl., 290, fol. 131-134.)

"It my please y'r hi's yesternight after I had answerd y'r heiness letter of the 14 of this p'nt this lady sent for me vp on occasion that I sent to M. Naw to knowe howe she did. I found her at my com'ing in her bed co'playning that she had been much troubled w'th a distillie'on that fell a longe her left syde, and made her so sore and full of payne that she could not beare her selfe nor take eny rest, and therfore had not longe before layd certayne thinges to her forehed to provoke sleep. By that whiche I heare of others and see my selfe (yf I be not very muche abused and deseyued) I thinck her not to be well and my l[ord] and lady tell me she hath been so these 6 weekes and that for these 2 last winters she hath been in lyke plight. She imputith the cause therof to the closenes of the ayre and that she is not suffred to goe abroad as her bringinge vp hath been, in so much as being once sick of an Ague in fr[ance]: (as she sayth) the meanes howe to cure her was chiefly by takinge of the ayre. The want wherof had brought her into such a weaknes and impotency of her lymmes as she could not goe six steppes but was forcid continually to kepe her bed,

"At Sheffield: 17th of November, 1581."

xxv. Extract from a letter addressed by [Robert Beale] to Secretary? Walsingham, 23 Nov., 1581. (Brit. Mus., Harley MS. 290, ff. 137-40.)

"..... This lady, as I wrot befre seemith to be sickly, kepeth her bedd, and as it is told me, for the space of these six weekes taken phisick to prevent such diseases as it is said she was troubled with the last two winters, wherfore nowe and then for manners sake, and with my lord of Shrewsburyes assent I have used to send vnto Nau or some other of her folkes to knowe howe she doth: and on sonday last it pleased her to send for me into her chamb'r she then keeping her bedd, At which tyme ther passed no speach worth rehersall,

"Sheffield, the xxij of Novemb'r, 1581."

xxvi. Letter from the Earl of Shrewsbury to Thomas Baldwyn, 1 February, 1581. (Talbot Papers, G, fol. 113.)

"Baldwyn, I have in sekyng for my lese of . . . founde oute Mr. Potts quyttans which herin I have sent butt ca nott fynde my lrs I praye yow move Mr. . . . I maye have my lrs removed if it be possibell of . . . I have sent you a bond that Mr. Blyth that was sekretera . . . me consarnyng an offer I gave him in the exchekar, kepe it safe and whether he paste it over orr no and whether my . . . any for I would be lothe it shulde passe awaye from me in a cloude for I was offered a p't for it before I paste it to blythe, nowe this . . . will cutt thynges of . . . therefore . . . for thynges. I am gladd you can . . . lundes, and I longe nowe to her howe you doo w'th my sheppe because ther is so many . . . that see . . . thee prosedenges, my goute is also almoste gone but I fele gret wekenes in my fete still, and sune paine w't all that I dare nott ryde from home a nyght. I mynde w'en this x daies to remove to the castell there to remane all Lent in hope of my . . . to cum uppe because

Imyght leve her . . . tyll my retorne home agen (and so I sees this fyrst of February 1581). Yo'r l. and m'r

"G. Shrewsbury.

Addressed. "To my servaunt Thomas Bawdewin at Shrewsbury house in London."

XXVII. Letter from the Earl of Shrewsbury to Thomas Baldwin, 9 February, 1581. (*Ibid.*, G, fol. 118.)

"This is of February removynge wt' my charge to the castell and sendynge my wyfe to Chatsworth wt' her lyttell.....because she can nott abyde the castell and I lyk it well for the safte of my charge because ther is no lake.....whose... ..of that I saye no more. Nowe have I returned a letter of thanks to Mr.....agen because I fynde my self so much cared farr bye him I have returned ij daies cynse all those thynges yow wrytt to me forr bothe of.....and whitney lres Mr. Andersons opynon wt' his hand to it to be of my counsell wch I hope you have resolved before this shall cum unto you and not.....Whitney agen consernynge the privelege and wher I count you.....for comyssyonary forif it be thought good I thynk it good seeing the other comyssyonary hath delt ther in lett the same we for this that is.....and Mr. Chworth.....I perseve by the begynnyng of yo'r brothers letter that he hath sent.....trees to his father and yors, if you can send.....of them for.....I praye you doo what you can for the boye.....do the and.....is to defete the boye therfor I praye you loke to it, and so I praye you be carefull my.....lose nott ther tyme at.....as I truste you, I mynde about ester to cum upp to London to see my sufferynge, have in redynes all nedefull thynges or at the leste.....when you.....it for money and so I sees this ix of February removynge to the castell 1581.

"Yo'r lovyng l. and m'r.

"G. Shrewsbury.

"I kepe yo'r brothers letter because I have nott.....to rede it all if y'r brother by reson of.....be destytute of a servis lett me have hym and I wylle as good to him as he could have.

"I marvell I here nothyng of my cheppe from you.

Addressed. "To my servaunt Thomas Baldwin at Shrewsbury House."

XXVIII. Extracts from a letter addressed by the Earl of Shrewsbury to Queen Elizabeth, 15 August, 1583. (Brit. Mus., MS. Lansdowne, 37, folios 122-23.)

"Maye it please your most excellent Ma'tie. I have signyfyed vnto this Q. the contentes of yo'r highnes last Pres, beinge in effect that wheras your Ma'tie was resolved to haue sent vnto her S'r Walter Myldmaye for fynishinge of the treatye havinge synce intelligence of the vnkynndly proceedinges of her sonne against his former promises by his late ambassadors and besydes callinge to mynde how in her conferences with us she did declare that the said kynge was at her devotion and pryncipally directed by her advise and that the noble men that are about him ar such as had heretofore shewed them selves devoted vnto her, etc.

"Whervnto she answered that now it appeareth that her mystrust of the successe of the treatye was not in vayne havinge even at the begynnyng foreseene that her enemyes would never suffer the same to come to passe whereof she was right sorrye and the more for that vnder collar thereof she hath lost the benefyte of the bathe for her health, etc.

"She doth complaine not to be dealt withall accordinge to her well deservinge w^{ch} notwithstandinge she doth make many protestacions of the contynnauce of her syncertye and good will towardes yo^r Maⁱestie whom I beseeche god to prosper wth longe and happy raighe over vs.

"Worksope: the xvth of August, 1583.

"Your Maⁱties moste humbull fethfull servante

"G. Shrewsbury."

XXIX. Extract from an original letter from Queen Mary to Queen Elizabeth, 29 September, 1584. (Brit. Mus., Cotton MS., Caligula, c. viii, ff. 114, 114b.)

"Madame ma bonne sœur

"En vous remercyant comme Je faictz humblement de la consideration qu'il vous a plu avoir a la preservation de ma vie et sante par le change de *ce malheureux logis* ce que ie vous supplie commander estre effectue avec toute conveniente diligence, etc.

"Tuthbury ce 29 Septembre [1584].

"Vostre tres affectionnee bonne sœur et Cousin

"Marie R."

[An impression in red wax, of a small round signet seal, bearing, within a beaded border, a thistle slipped and leaved, is attached to the paper below the signature.]

XXX. "Articles agreed on by the Erle of Shrewsburye vnto his three sonnes the ixth of Sept., 1586. (College of Arms, Talbot Papers, G, folio 335.)

"Imprimis. The erle to have the castell of Sheffield wth certayne of ye demaynes belongynge therto and the parke wth the lodge, Handesworthe house and certayne of the demaynes therto all w^{ch} is now vsed only for cattell for the provision of his howsekopynge and for hays for his horses and not otherwise all that the erle to have frely to himselfe and to his own use wthoute any rente. His three sonnes to have all the reste of the erles lands, leases, tythes, yron, steele, leade, smale woodes and no other to theyr owne vse, wthoute powre to lette or any parte or parcell therof longer then for one yere and so from yere to yere duryng therles pleasure. Provyded that what groundes soever, leases, or tythes the sayde erle will have he to pay for the same so muche yerely as they can have of any others bona fide. It is mente that his three sonnes sholde have only all suche of his L. landes, leases, tythes and thynges whatsoever as the sayd erle meneth to leave and bestow on his sayd 3 sonnes and no other.

"Provyded that the 3 sonns have nothyng to doe with any of therles dere ether red or fallow in any of his parkes or chases and y^t they shall allow suche gates to the keepers as is now allowed them but not to pay any other wages or considerac^on to any of them.

"In consideracion wherof tharle to have 3 suche sufficient serventyes of any degree y't him selfe will appoynte to answere vnto him the yerely rente of x'en thousand poundes the one halfe wherof to be payed at Sheffield castell at Mychellmas and thother halfe at ye Lady day in Lente. Provyded yt vppon one yere's warninge beyng ge[en at ye] Lady day in Lente Tharle to.....agen at his pleasure the 3 souns never to aske or have any penny allowance.

Endorsed.—"York, 3000; Nott., 1500; War., 2000; Shrop., 2000; Staff., 500; Heref., 800; Ox., 200; Lest., 70; total, 10070.

"An offer made to the Earle of Sh. my father at the courte at Wynsore 9 of Sept. 1586. By his L. 3 souns to be farmers to his lyvyng."

XXXI. "A vewe of the trayned soldiers for Hallamshire, and taken before the right honorable George earle of Shrewsburie at Sheffield Castle the last daye of Januarye, 1589." (Talbot Papers, G, folio 542.)

"Sheffield. "

"Thomas Staniforth, Henry Yeouclay, John Nutter, Laurence Burton,—corsletts, 4.

"John Mosley, Marke Fayrebanck, Will'm Webster, Thomas Lee,—calliurs, 4.

"Hallamsh. cum Ecclesale.

"Thomas Greene, Frauncis North,—corsletts, 3.

"Hughe Fox, Lawrence Hall,—bowes, 2.

"Bradfield.

"Ralf Bromheade, Will'm Shawe, Will'm Reauell, John Hawkesworth, Nicholas Whiteley, Edmond Hobson, Walter Hunt, John Spoons, Richard Tomson, Robert Vernon, Richard Smalbent,—corsletts, 11.

"Ralf Greaues,—bowe, 1.

"Brightside.

"Thomas Creswick, Peter Perryngs,—Corsletts, 2.

"Ecclesfield.

"Lawrence Creswick, Richard Hobson, Will'm Wilkinson, Richard Shartclif,—Corsletts, 4.

"Godfrey Byrley, James Greaves, Will'm Parkyn,—Muskett, 3.

"Handworthe.

"Will'm Taylor, Will'm Frith, James Taylor,—Corsletts, 3.

"Edward Taylor,—Bowe, 1.

"Richard Allen, Hughe Stamforde,—Corsletts, 2.

"Geofrey Savadge,—Bill, 1.

"Somme of men vewed and in readynes, 41."

ADDITIONAL NOTES ON PICTURE-BOARD DUMMIES.

BY H. SYER CUMING, ESQ., F.S.A. SCOT., V.P.

No sooner was the paper on picture-board dummies launched upon the world than a whole host of such quaint objects emerged from obscurity. Big eats were quickly on the *tapis*, armed soldiers in goodly numbers seemed ready for the fight, and sailors, inactive and horn-piping, and all sorts of odd characters were speedily on the scene of action. Neither time nor space will allow of anything more than a very brief notice of these offsprings of an ingenious fancy and whimsical conceit, which pervaded every rank of society, and found development in all sorts of ways during the seventeenth and following century.

Most of us have seen framed pictures on canvas of bread and cheese, with a dish of onions and radishes, and jugs and glasses, but at times these "still-life" limnings were executed on board sawed into proper outline, and then placed in such situations as would best tend to aid deception and make shadow pass for substance. Such tempting looking dummies were special favourites at suburban ale houses and roadside inns, for the sight of the solids made the tired traveller more hungry, and that of the vessels for beer and wine augmented his thirst, and thus helped in filling the pockets of mine host.

Previous mention has been made of pictorial dummy tabbies, and to these may be added the great Tom eats, in which black velvet took the place of pigments, and amber-coloured glass beads on either side the flat board served the purpose of eyes to the bifrontal effigies. The life-sized semblance of nature dwindled down at last to the dimensions of a shelf ornament, but one of the genuine velvet-coated old Toms is still preserved at Pant-y-goitre, Monmouthshire, and another was seen in the suburbs of London a few years since.

The skill and craft of the dummy maker was chiefly exhibited in his imitations of human beings, and to these we must now turn.

The tobaceonist did not entirely monopolise the Highlander, for in days of yore a life-sized full-faced picture-board North Briton stood on the right side of a target in a racket court attached to the White Bear in the Kennington Road, and was subsequently transplanted to the Oval, a well known cricket ground lying between Kennington and Vauxhall. And this incidental allusion to Vauxhall is remindful of the hermit which there sat within a picture-board cavern, and this devotee calls to mind a brother anchorite in the grounds at Frogmore, near Windsor, which was as much like life as a carpenter could fashion out of a flat panel, and a painter give animation with brush and colour.

Picture board dummies of jolly Jaek tars were frequent embellishments to the gardens of waterside taverns, and formerly a large portion of the end of the private garden of No. 4, Dean's Row, Walworth, was encumbered with the fore part of a ship, on the deck of which stood a well painted dummy sailor holding a flagstaff, to which on high days and holidays, bunting was attached. Sixty years and more



have passed away since the old inch-thick, weather-beaten mariner loosed his hold of the flagstaff and descended from the deck; the timbers of the old vessel have long since been converted into firewood, and these few words are in all probability the only record of two things which were once the theme of public conversation, and lures to many to visit the domain of their eccentric owner.

Numerous as the dummy sailors may once have been they were certainly insignificant in number when compared with the soldiery who were not merely placed in the pleasure grounds, but kept guard within doors in private mansions as well as in public establishments.

Sir Henry Dryden has kindly communicated to me a most curious instance of the presence of a number of picture-board dummies in a religious house in Germany, namely in the monastery of St. Florian, near Lintz on the Danube, where as late as 1846 in the grand apartments were to be seen about a dozen of such soldiers standing near the doors of different rooms, one or two at a door. I know of no other dwelling where so many dummy soldiers have been billeted at one time as there appears to be at this Austrian monastery.

I am further indebted to Sir Henry Dryden for the information that many years since there were two life-sized soldiers, of the kind now under review, at Alconbury Hill, from whence they were removed to Bulwich, Northamptonshire, passing into the possession of the Rev. T. Tryon. And that at Well Vale, near Alford, Lincolnshire, were three life-sized sentries, which after a time migrated to Bilsby Hall, in the same neighbourhood, where in 1838, they were observed keeping guard in the garden of the mansion.

Within a few years a picture board dummy soldier was peeping through an aperture in a wall at Seaford, in Sussex. And in the tea gardens at Shoreham, in the same county, were four such effigies flanking a doorway in a wooden building. Two were full faced, one right half face, and its companion left half face. Each dummy had a tall sugar-loaf cap, tunic, cross belt, leggings, and black gaiters. The firelock at the side, with the hands in the position of "attention." These figures were not examples of high art, and when seen some years back were in a very faded condition.

Two picture board dummy sentinels, with sugar-loaf caps, were within these forty years on duty in the tea gardens at Bayswater, but I cannot learn whence they came, nor whither they have fled.

At our meeting held on the 21st of March last Mr. Loftus Brock announced that he had seen on the staircase of the Station Hotel, Carlisle, a couple of dummy soldiers bearing a certain degree of resemblance to the one in the possession of Sir Henry Dryden at Canons Ashby, and these "men of war" have lately been examined by Sir Henry, who informs me that they were formerly in the old Bush Hotel at Carlisle, but the owner of the said establishment having built the Station, marched his old soldiers off to the new quarters. Sir Henry describes these brave fellows as in very good condition, habited in broad skirted red coats with blue facings, breeches, and leggings. One has a sword on the left side, and a cartouch case on the right, and a bayonet, but no gun; but his companion is provided with a "Black Bess." The caps of both figures are of the sugar-loaf type, with the Prince of Wales' plume, and motto *Ich Dien* in front, and under it a limb, with the words *Pristinæ Virtutis Memores* (mindful of our former valour), the chosen motto of the Eighth Hussars.

Mr. Hillary Davies has cognisance of a superannuated dummy, huddled away among a lot of lumber at Picklescott, near Dorrington in Shropshire, which is worthy of remark on account of its being a sentry in profile, an aspect rarely adopted by the makers of such objects. The figure in question is life sized, with lofty sugar-loaf cap, pigtail, and coat with white facings, and two or three stripes on the left arm, black gaiters, and accoutred with cartouch box, and curved sword; and seems to stand at "attention," with the old fashioned firelock reaching from the ground to the shoulder. This now neglected effigy once probably graced some Salopian mansion, but its history seems lost, and it has no tongue to tell its own story.

Hitherto we have spoken only of picture board dummies of "still life" and active vitality, but there is another, and infinitely rarer, class of such matters which demand a passing notice, viz., the mimicry of busts and statuary, most of which was painted *en grisaille*, though a few were of brazen hue. Busts of the twelve Cæsars, and full lengths of heathen divinities, were almost the only subjects found in this class of dummies. The former were placed above interior doorways and bookshelves, and the latter both in the house and grounds. A river god, locally known as "old Father Thames," long reclined beside a lake at Stourhead, Wiltshire, and looked as stony, venerable, and roundlimbed as an artist could make him look with a few shades of paint on flat boarding shaped to the contour of the figure.

Having said thus much on dummies it is time to be silent as a dumb show respecting them. Nor would an additional word have been uttered in their behalf had it not been felt due to those who have kindly forwarded information on the subject that their contributions should be formulated, and recorded in our pages. These contributions are weighty evidence of the general and diverse character, and wide-extended presence of dummies; and of how they have journeyed from place to place, and been welcomed as honoured guests in mansions, and hailed as agreeable features in pleasure grounds, both private and public. These counterfeits of life have had their day, have well nigh vanished from their old haunts and been forgotten; but fashions oft times repeat themselves, and who can tell that there may not be an age of *renaissance* for picture board dummies as there has been and will be, for other things, and that the time may not come when the mimic sentry will again guard the door, the mimic maiden confront us on the staircase; the fictitious dog and cat resume their wonted places on the hearth-rug, and deceptive busts and statuary adorn the halls of our dwellings, and add a charm to the alcoves and shady nooks of our gardens.

Proceedings of the Association.

27TH MAY, 1874.

H. SYER CUMING, ESQ., F.S.A. SC., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

THE election of the following members was announced :

James Bramble, Esq., Redlands, near Bristol
William Murray Tuke, Esq., Saffron Walden.

Thanks were returned for the following presents :

To the Society, the Essex Institute, Massachusetts, for Historical Collections, vol. xii, Part I; 8vo; Salem, 1874. And for Bulletin, vol. v; 8vo; Salem, 1874.

To the Author, Andreas Edward Cockayne, Esq., for Cockayne Memoranda; Collections towards a Historical Record of the Family of Cockayne. 8vo. Congleton, 1873. (*Issued for private circulation only.*)

Mrs. Baily sent for exhibition two German keys of iron, of peculiar character and interest, and differing in many respects from any hitherto laid before the Association. The earliest key is of the sixteenth century, of massive fabric, and little less than one pound in weight. Its entire length is $6\frac{3}{4}$ inches; but only $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches of this is taken up by the quadrangular stem, which is hollow, to fit a quadrangular broach or pin in the lock, and has its lower edge wrought with a double chevron. The bit or web is perforated with three crosses, and has its front cut into eight teeth. The most striking feature in this curious key is its great trefoil bow and enormous cubical fillet which supports it, and which is $1\frac{3}{10}$ inches in diameter, and fluted on the four sides, the top and bottom being smooth.

The second specimen submitted by Mrs. Baily is the gilt key of the chamberlain of the Emperor Francis I and his consort, the renowned Maria Theresa (1745-65). It is $7\frac{1}{2}$ ins. in length. The corded bow, $2\frac{3}{8}$ ins. in height and width, rests on a shield charged on one side with F. I, and on the other with M. T., in cipher. This shield is surmounted by a lofty imperial crown terminating with the monde and cross. The stem of the key is tubular, and the piercings in its web look somewhat

like the letter Y, with a horizontal bar across it, just beneath its bifurcation.

Mr. H. Syer Cuming said that the query, when was the key first recognised as the badge or ensign of the *camerarius hospitii*? was one he had never yet heard discussed; but it was, nevertheless, of much interest. The office of chamberlain was undoubtedly of considerable antiquity; but he did not remember ever meeting with a chamberlain's key of earlier date than the close of the sixteenth century.

There is a good series of chamberlain's keys in the South Kensington Museum; and two of our former associates, viz., the late Ralph Bernal and the late H. F. Holt, possessed a number of fine examples; but none of these were wrought before the second half of the seventeenth century, and most of them appertained to Germanic potentates, though a few in the Holt cabinet, of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, belonged to Spain, Denmark, Poland, and Russia.

A key nearly 7 ins. in length, of a German chamberlain, of the seventeenth century, is described in our *Journal*, xiv, p. 352; and in vol. xiii, p. 352, mention is made of the exhibition of "the key carried by Lord Rochester as Lord Chamberlain to Charles II." In Captain John Logan's *Analoguea Honorum, or a Treatise of Honour and Nobility* (p. 104), is a portrait of Henry Bennet, Earl of Arlington, and "Chamberlaine of His Ma'tys Household", in which is shown the key of office depending at his side. The late Lord Boston possessed the gold key worn by his grandfather when chamberlain to Frederick Prince of Wales, which was of much smaller size than many of those formerly in use on the Continent.

Mr. J. T. Irvine forwarded drawings of the seals of Reginald Fitz-Joceline and Savaric, successive Bishops of Bath and Wells, accompanied by the following memoranda:

"While at Wells, understanding that among the Corporation documents there were charters by Bishops Reginald Fitz-Joceline and Savaric, to both of which the seals remained, through the kind influence of F. H. Wilkinson, Esq., of King's Weston, exerted with the Town Clerk, Mr. Foster, I was permitted to make drawings of them. In the case of those of Bishop Reginald, the impressions of seal and counter-seal, in green wax, remain in a good state. In a document in the possession of the Dean and Chapter of Wells only fragments of the seal and counter-seal remain hanging to it. To the grant by Bishop Savaric the seal remains, but it is not a good impression, and there is no counter-seal; but it is curious that he states he had caused the seal of the church of Wells to be attached to it. This has crumbled into dust and fragments contained in a small red silk bag. The first seal of the church of Wells known to me is that used as early as 1247, and as late as 1539. The counter-seal to that is used to the document in

1247; but I have not seen it employed afterwards. The counter-seal seems to be the oldest of the two. I am doubtful if the seals of the above-named Bishops have been engraved, and therefore venture to lay drawings of them before the Association."

The seal of Reginald Fitz-Joceline (1174-91) displays the effigy of the Bishop with his right hand raised in benediction, and the left holding the pastoral staff, the volute of which is turned towards the person. The mitre is cleft in the centre. Legend, + REGINALDVS DEI GRATIA BATHONIENSIS EPISCOPVS. The small counter-seal bears a like figure of the prelate, with this legend, + RAINAVL' DEI GRATIA BATHONIENSIS EPISCOPVS.

The seal of Bishop Savaric (1192-1205) is small, and in bad condition. The effigy wears a conical or sugar-loaf mitre, and the volute of the pastoral staff is turned towards the prelate. Only a few letters of the legend can be read, + SAVA.....N. EPS. (*Savaricus Di gra' Bathon' et Glaston' Ep'?*). For a notice of Reginald Fitz-Joceline and Savaric, see *Journal*, xii, p. 351.

Mr. Irvine further contributed drawings of two curious moulds wrought of white lias, both having been exhumed in Bath. The earliest is designed for the casting of three objects which look a little like the ornamental hands of a clock, each consisting of a slender shaft with a cordate point, and a crescent placed some distance below it. The other mould, which may be as old as the seventeenth century, is for casting eight dumps, rather less in size than a threepenny-piece. Seven of the discs are incised with one of the following letters, H. A. W. K. J. N. S. The remaining circle has on it five pellets. For an account of leaden dumps and a dump-mould, see *Journal*, xxiii, p. 96.

Mr. Edward Levien read the following communication, also forwarded by Mr. Irvine: "In the north transept of the church of Faversham there lay a very large marble slab which had held brasses of a man and his wife. All the brasses from it were gone; but under part which had been covered by the seats remained two brass shields, each bearing the arms of the town of Faversham; from which I suspect the person had been a mayor. From the decay of the marble both brass shields were loose. Both have been parts of older brasses, and re-used. The first had been cut from the figure of a lady, of probably rich late Decorated work; the hands raised in prayer. On the fingers were represented three rings on the right, and one on the left hand fingers: one in each case on the fore-fingers. The other shield had been simply an earlier shield reversed, and engraved on what had been its original back. Of this older shield I send a full-sized drawing. Parts of two other brasses have been found there, which had been hidden since the raising of the floors in 1745 or 1746. The restoration of the church being in the hands of Sir Gilbert Scott, he is taking care

that every fragment of these old indents and slabs are preserved, and replaced in the floor." The shield sent by Mr. Irvine bears first and fourth, quarterly per fess indented; second and third, quarterly a bend; but as these are the bearings of many families, it is impossible to say precisely to whom it may have belonged.

Mr. H. Syer Cuning directed attention to several well executed drawings by Mr. Watling, illustrative of Suffolk topography and history respecting which little more need be said than is stated in the memorandum accompanying each subject. The first to notice is a "Plan of the evident route of the Ninth Iter of Antoninus."¹ Starting from Norwich the road in this plan proceeds from Caistor (*Venta Icenorum*), passing between Yaxley and Eye, so as to leave Stoke Ash and Mendlesham on the right, until it reaches Stonham (*Sitomagus*). Then cutting through Crecting touches on Coddenham (*Cambretonium*) and taking a turn across the river Stour at Stratford (*Ad Ansam*)² goes onward to Colchester (*Camulodunum*). The remaining stations in this *Iter* named by Antoninus are *Canonium* (Canewdon), *Cæsaromagus* (Widford), *Durolitum* (Romford), and *Londinium* (London). On the same sheet with this plan Mr. Watling has sketched a west view of the site of *Sitomagus*, and several groups of Roman fictilia found along the route.

2. View of the interior of the east end of an ancient Chapel at Bures St. Mary, regarding which Mr. Watling writes: "This interesting ruin stands on an exceedingly elevated position, about three quarters of a mile north-east of the picturesque little village of Bures St. Mary, Suffolk, and may be seen from a considerable distance from the surrounding country. Many learned men have been puzzled with respect to its erection on so secluded a spot, but I have but little doubt upon the subject, as to the purpose of its erection, and consider it originated in a Saxon temple erected on the spot where St. Edmund was crowned, if we may judge by the foundation, which is evidently Saxon. The present fabric was doubtlessly erected when the saint's fame had gained its highest renown, and probably by Sampson the Subsacrist, who presided over the workmen of the great Abbey at Bury, and ruled from 1182 to 1211, the date of the above, if we may judge by the style. It is now used as a barn and stable alternately, and on my recent visit was occupied by pigs and horses. It is now fast going into decay. Galfridus de Fontibus tells us that being unanimously approved they brought Edmund to Suffolk, and in the village called Burum made him king; the venerable prelate Hunibert assisting and anointing and consecrating him king. Now Burum is an ancient royal hill, the known bound between East Sexæ and Suffolk, and situated upon the Stour, a river most rapid both in summer and winter."

¹ For remarks on this *Iter*, see *Journal*, xix, p. 281.

² For a note on *Ad Ansam*, see *Journal*, xxv, p. 288.

3. "Ruins of the gateway of St. Saviour's Hospital at Bury St. Edmund's. Without the North Gate. Here Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, was murdered at the instigation of the monks, 1447. These remains are fast going to decay, as in 1764 the window was entire." This hospital was begun by Abbot Samson in 1184, but the existing remains are not of so early a date. Henry VI held a Parliament here in 1446.

4. "View of the interior of Framlingham Castle looking east." This fine old fortress was erected by Bigod Earl of Norfolk, and there still remain large portions of very strong walls. The ramparts were 44 feet in height, and 8 feet in thickness, and flanked with thirteen square towers. In the time of Henry VIII one of the apartments was hung with tapestry displaying the story of Hercules, and in the chapel was an arras with Christ's Passion. In 1553 this castle received a visit from Queen Mary I.

5. Front view of "Wrentham old Hall, the seat of the Brewster family, taken down in 1810, when the property was bought by the Gooch family. Copied from the deed by permission." This substantial old brick mansion was erected in the sixteenth century. Above the window in the room over the entrance door was a stone tablet, nineteen inches square, on which was carved the arms of Brewster and Forrester, impaled; the angles of the slab being occupied with the following:
AN.DO. 15.50. After the demolition of the building this veritable piece of sculpture was employed as part of the loading of a mangle, from which degrading use it was rescued and purchased by Mr. Watling for fifteen shillings.

To the foregoing drawings Mr. Watling added the rubbing of the brass of Humphrey Brewster, Esq., 1593. This brass and its two accompanying shields have been removed from their matrices and fixed against the north wall of the chancel of Wrentham Church. One of these shields is charged with the arms of Brewster (*sable*, a chevron *ermine*, between three estoiles *argent*), surmounted by the crest (a bear's head erased *azure*). The other, and larger shield, is quarterly, 1 and 4, Brewster; 2 and 3, Edmondes (*or*, on a cross engrailed *sable*, five cinquefoils of the first) impaling Forrester (*argent* three buglehorns *sable* stringed *gules*). The effigy of Brewster is 25 inches high, of coarse execution, representing him standing, with bare head and clasped hands. His armour is of clumsy fashion, the pauldrons and broad cuisses having scalloped edges, and the spurs large mullet-shaped rowels of six points.

Mr. Watling states that the manor of Wrentham at the time of the Domesday Survey was held by William Earl Warren. Michael de Poinings had it in 1368, and Richard de Poinings in 1387; the latter bestowing it on his wife the Lady Isabel; and after her it passed to

Robert de Poinings, who was slain at the siege of Orleans in 1446. The manor was purchased in 1547 by the Brewster family, several members of which are heard of in Suffolk history. In 1654 Robert Brewster, Esq., was returned M.P. for Dunwich; and in 1656, and again in 1658-9, elected Knight of the Shire; and he is said to have tried to make Cromwell a king. His brother Francis Brewster, Esq., represented Dunwich in 1656. Philip Brewster, Esq., was Lord of the Manor of Wrentham in 1764.

The Brewsters of Essex and Northampton bear the same arms as those of Suffolk, but their crests differ, that of the first named branch of the family being a leopard's head erased; that of the second a demilion holding in its dexter paw a club resting on its shoulder.

Mr. Watling made a further contribution in a coloured tracing of a scene in the east window of St. Stephen's Church, Norwich, the subject represented being by no means clear. Two standing figures are depicted in conversation, the one a female, possibly St. Barbara, the other may be her father Dioscorus, who appears in a ruby-coloured cap, and long gown with full sleeves of the same hue. The lady with the nimbus wears the netted head-dress denominated a *crespinette*, and over it a crown. The bodice, sleeves, and under-skirt are purple, and her white mantle is bordered with gold and closed on the breast with a golden boss. A town, tower, trees, etc., occupy the distance. This curious painting is of the fifteenth century.

Mr. Henry W. Henfrey exhibited a contemporary folio broadside, entitled "His Late Highness's Letter to the Parliament of England. Shewing his Willingness to Submit to this Present Government: Attested under his Owne Hand, and read in the House on Wednesday the 25th of May 1659. London, Printed by D. Maxwell, 1659." Mr. Henfrey remarked that single sheets of this period were necessarily scarce, being so liable to destruction from their perishable and unprotected nature. The broadside in question was no exception to this rule, for he only knew of the existence of three other specimens: 1st, that in the British Museum, among the King's Pamphlets, folio sheets, vol. xiv, no. 32 (which has the date of publication "May 26" written on it in a contemporary hand). 2nd, that in the library of the Duke of Northumberland, mentioned on p. 89, Third Report of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts. 3rd, one formerly in the possession of the Rev. William Beloe, 1807. The original manuscript of this interesting State Paper is not known to be in existence, and there is no copy of it in the Public Record Office. This letter has been several times printed, viz.: *Journals of the House of Commons*, vol. vii, p. 664; Rapin's *History of England*, vol. ii, p. 606 of the 2nd edition, 1733; Rev. W. Beloe's *Anecdotes of Literature and Scarce Books*, 1807, vol. ii, pp. 425 *et seq.*; *The Harleian Miscellany*, 1808, vol. i, p. 28; and Cob-

bett's *Parliamentary History of England*, 1808, vol. iii, cols. 1556, 1557, etc.

Mr. H. Syer Cuming exhibited a sketch by Mr. Watling of the figure of St. Pancras, in the south window of Blythburg Church, Suffolk, and offered the following remarks on St. Pancras: "Near King's Cross lies the ancient Manor of St. Pancras, which once boasted of its Holy Well, in the ward of Cheap is Pancras Lane, a Pancras-wyke is in the parish of Bradworthy, Devon; and scattered about the provinces are some ten or eleven churches dedicated to the youthful martyr; but beyond the name little is now heard, seen, or known of one who was once regarded as the patron of children, whose festival was celebrated on the 12th day of May, and the efficacy of whose relics drew many a pilgrim to Northumbria. The history of St. Pancras, Pancrate, Pancratius, or Pancradge, as his name is variously written, is meagre in the extreme, but, if the legend is to be trusted, he was of noble Italian parentage, and only fourteen years of age when he suffered martyrdom at Rome during the persecution of the Christians by Diocletian, A.D. 304. The fame of, and veneration for, St. Pancras was imported into Kent by St. Augustine and his followers in the year 596; and it has been affirmed that the first church which this first "Bishop of the English" consecrated in this country was St. Pancras, Canterbury.¹ Beda (lib. iii, c. 29) relates that in 665 Pope Vitalian, "the servant of the servants of God," sent Oswy, King of Northumbria, certain relics, those of St. Pancratius being among them. It is difficult to say what induced the Londoners to take a fancy to St. Pancras, but a church was dedicated to his honour, "in the Fields," as far back as A.D. 1180:² and certainly as early as the middle of the fourteenth century there was one in Soper Lane, which was destroyed in the great fire of 1666, and never rebuilt. But though St. Pancras has been thus honoured in England, has been accepted as the patron of Leyden and other places, and many churches in Italy, France, and Spain are named after him, his effigy is rarely met with. When it is seen he appears as a youth holding some object in either hand, such as a sword and stone, book and palm branch; and he is occasionally shown trampling on a pagan, symbolic of his spiritual victory over his persecutors. The figure in the south window of Blythburg Church, Suffolk, is about seventeen inches high, and represents the saintly boy standing with a great stone in his right and a palm branch in his left hand. His hair waves about the head, which is encircled by a rich nimbus. He wears a red undergarment and a long sleeved outer vest of blue, lined with green. The shoes have pointed toes, such as were worn in the fifteenth century, to which period this elegant little figure seems to belong. Beneath on a

¹ *Lives of the Saints*, 4to, 1729, ii, p. 293.

² For a notice of St. Pancras in the Fields, see *Journal*, iv, p. 151.

label is the remains of the child's name S'e Pan... Mr. Watling affirms that during many years of extensive wanderings through churches the only representation of St. Pancras which he has ever seen or heard of is the one now under review."

Mr. Loftus E. P. Brock read the following notes on the Church of St. Martin Outwich, Threadneedle Street, illustrated by engravings and drawings taken by himself on the spot. "A relic of the ancient church of St. Martin Outwich, has recently been disclosed during the demolition of the modern building, which superseded the former one at the end of the last century. It consists of one of the windows of the south aisle of the old building, and is shown in the sketch which I produce. It is a gothic window of the style known as "perpendicular," consisting of three lights having quatrefoiled heads, and plain tracery over it. The window owes its preservation to the fact of its being in part of the party wall of the adjacent house in Bishopsgate Street. The thickness of the wall seems to have been cut away, and the stonework has now the appearance of an external window, but the face now exposed is the internal one. The stonework was quite hidden from view by a brickwork casing of the modern building recently removed. The age of this relic may be guessed at perhaps a little more closely than its architectural style would determine. In Wilkinson's scarce pamphlet, describing the former building, it is stated that a coat of arms in stained glass existed in the east window of this aisle having the arms of Naylor impaling Nevil, and underneath the date 1483. Richard Naylor, Taylor and Alderman, being buried in this church, and also Elizabeth Nevil, his wife, Lady of Burgavenny. Since the east window agreed with the style of the ancient one to which your attention is called, it is probable that both were inserted at this date. This is the more probable, since these windows were of later date than the foundation of the church, but it must not be taken for granted that stained glass is always of the same exact date as the stonework. I submit, for the sake of reference, the ground plan of the ancient building, taken from Wilkinson's pamphlet, and the position of the window just discovered is shown on it. Also a north-east view of the church. The old window is still visible, but the vacant site of the church being now about to be sold for building purposes, this curious relic of old London will soon be either covered over again or else removed."

The Rev. S. M. Mayhew exhibited some polychromic tiles, one of others from an old house, Bethual Green, the drawing representing a bouquet of flowers with birds; also another with portrait of a military horseman at the gallop, which Mr. Cuming, V.P., stated to be a portrait of Charles II in retreat from Worcester field; another, found in Moorfields, almost romanesque in character, coloured in buff, white, and blue; and a fourth of larger size, elaborately designed, and one of

a quadrilateral, from the house at Canterbury, of Margaret Roper, daughter of Sir Thomas More.

A harness boss of iron, three inches in diameter, in form of a Tudor rose, found in Moorfields. A very beautifully shaped cup of white Fulham ware, from the same locality. This cup is remarkable also for the fineness of its paste and thinness of its structure. Two Roman *canthari*, of rare shape, and dense chocolate coloured material, respectively four and six inches in height. A Saxon Olla, somewhat conical in form, twelve inches in height, and lathe turned; also a vessel, very much resembling the above in manufacture and material, but assigned to a later period. Mr. Mayhew also exhibited a Roman *calathus*, obtained by him at Colchester, identical in material with the London found *canthari*.

Mr. H. Syer Cuming read the following note on the game of Pope Joan:—

“The mention of the game of Pope Joan in the paper on the origin of the title of curse of Scotland for the nine of diamonds raised the question of the age of the said game, but I was not then, nor am I now in a position to throw much light on the subject. Fosbroke (*Encyclopedia of Antiquities*) says, ‘Pope Joan, a very old game, and called Pope Julio, *temp.* Elizabeth;’ citing as his authority Sir John Harrington’s *Nugæ Antiquæ*, ii, 195. Of the three Popes named Julius, the first, called Saint, filled the see of Rome from 337 to 352. The second, who is reported to have been a better statesman than a Christian, was raised to the Papal chair in 1503. And the third Julius became Pontiff in 1550 and died in 1555. There does not seem to be anything in the history of these sovereign ecclesiastics which would cause their names to be bestowed on a round game of chance, but it is otherwise with the story of that strange personage known as Pope Joan, who is stated to have flourished in the ninth century, but whether he, or rather she, be the same as Pope John VIII, is a matter of doubt. The reports of Joan’s scandalous doings with the young monk Felda and other lovers, might connect her name with intrigue and matrimony, which form such important elements in the game of Pope Joan, and in which the nine of diamonds represents the head of the Roman church.

“It is said in Pulleyn’s *Etymological Compendium* (p. 13) that ‘The Pope Joan board makes its appearance on Christmas Eve, and continues for some time after to amuse the domestic circle, old and young.’ Common as this old pastime has been for centuries there seems but few early relics of it left, and this fact induces me to lay before you a rubbing of a Pope Joan board of silver, made apparently at the close of the seventeenth century. In shape it is a cinquefoiled rose, about nine inches and three-quarters in diameter, the flat surface graved with a central circle three inches and one-eighth in diameter, across which

is the word GAME, and from which diverge five lines, dividing the field into as many equal spaces, and in each of which is an engraved representation of a card about two inches high by one and three-eighths wide, all belonging to the suit of diamonds, and arranged in the following manner, King, Queen, Ace, Knave, and Nine. It will be observed that the words matrimony and intrigue, which occur in the convex rims of the modern revolving boards of Tunbridge ware, are here absent, and that the cards succeed each other in different sequence than that now adopted, the present order, including words, being nine of diamonds, king of ditto, MATRIMONY, queen of diamonds, INTRIGUE, knave of diamonds, ace of ditto, and GAME. It would be curious to know when this shuffling of the cards first took place, and the rota-shaped board, with its sunken receptacles, came into vogue.

"I remember seeing a Pope Joan board, which did not probably differ much in date from the silver one just described, which was a flat disc of wood with a round pool in the centre, the sides of which were about one inch in height, the field being divided into five spaces by broad black lines, and each of which was affixed a card, the whole being thickly coated with varnish. And it was pierced near the edge with a round hole, seemingly for the purpose of suspension on a wall. This brief notice of the game of Pope Joan may serve to keep the question of its age in the minds of our members, and induce them to produce any old boards they may happen to possess."

JUNE 10.

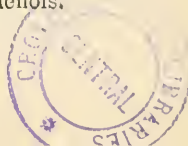
H. SYER CUMING, ESQ., F.S.A., SCOT., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

Thanks were returned for the following presents :

- To the Society*.—The Royal Historical and Archæological Association of Ireland for vol. iii, No. 17, Fourth Series, 8vo, Dublin, 1874.
To the East India Association, for vol. viii, No. 1, 8vo, London, 1874.
To the Author, Rev. Beaver H. Blocker, M.A., for Brief Sketches of the Parishes of Booterstown and Donnybrook, Dublin. Small 8vo, Dublin, 1872.

Mr. C. H. E. Carmichael sent the following communication respecting a reported discovery in France of Merovingian tombs with Runic inscriptions.

"I forward the following statement of an archæological discovery in France, and if I can obtain further information from M. Cartailhac, or other French archæologists, I will communicate it on a future occasion. The *Journal des Débats*, 8th June, 1874, contains the following, as an extract from the *Echo de l'Aisne*, sent to them from Fère en Tardenois.



"On 20th May last a workman employed in digging sand outside the town of Fère en Tardenois laid bare three stone Merovingian tombs. In one there was found a funeral vase of a brown hue, ten centimetres high by thirteen wide at the mouth. This vase bears on its exterior two rows of that kind of Runic characters which has already enjoyed so much attention at the hands of the Archæological Society of Château Thierry. These vases may be ranged in the class of Merovingian vases by comparing them with the products of Caranda. A Merovingian cemetery, therefore, exists in this place, but investigations will be difficult, inasmuch as it extends underneath twenty small properties and gardens in one of the populous suburbs of Fère.

"On this I should like to remark—1, that the fact, if such it be, of the tombs belonging to the Merovingian period does not necessarily constitute them Merovingian tombs; 2, that, if they are Merovingian, the Runic inscriptions might be the work of invading Northmen, but cannot in themselves be Merovingian; and 3, that more precise information, both concerning the tombs at Fère, and the funeral vases, which engaged the attention of the Château Thierry Society of Archæology, would be requisite before pronouncing any definite opinion as to the nature of the tombs, and the value of the discoveries."

Mr. J. W. Grover exhibited examples of forged daggers and keys, portion of a gipciere, early sixteenth century, found in the city; and shoes of late fourteenth century, found near Billingsgate.

Mr. Loftus Brock exhibited a series of relics found a few weeks ago in Bucklersbury during the rebuilding of a house on the west side, the site of which extended from Bucklersbury to the grave-yard in the rear, the site of the ancient church of St. Benet Sherehog, burnt in the great fire of 1666, and not rebuilt, and made the following remarks:

"The area excavated was of very limited extent, and of no very great depth (hardly 15 feet), nevertheless the objects discovered extend over a long period of time and are curious in illustration of the many changes that have occurred on the site of the city of London and as evidence of the various races that have occupied it. It is very seldom that so many relics extending over so long a period are met with in one spot of such limited extent.

"First in order of time were three bone relics of prehistoric date, two being small spear-heads formed from a portion of the thigh bone of some animal and roughly pointed, the other a fine bone skate about a foot long with a flat polished surface.

"Of Roman date two pieces of Samian ware bowls were met with, both being elaborately ornamented. One, the fragment of a bowl about eighteen inches diameter, having a handsome border of vine leaves above another formed of chimeræ. Among the other Roman relics were an iron lamp-stand, having four feet, a few small glass

bottles for toilet purposes, a large collection of bronze pins, and an ornament stamped with the figure of the sun, surrounded by rays; a second bronze coin of Germanicus having also the name of Claudius on the reverse, and another of Domitian.

"Of mediæval date were two iron keys, a glass female head, probably Venetian; two spoons, one of iron plated, and the other of pewter, bearing the initials E. S. Along with these early remains were found a small china cup very neatly painted, and a small earthenware ink-stand, probably of the date of the great fire."

Mr. Loftus Brock stated that the Church of St. Martin Outwich, which was in the gift of the Merchant Taylor's Company, from its proximity to the hall of that body had been not unfrequently the burial place of its members. He thought that the chairman's remarks as to the probability of these curious reliquaries having been buried in the church about the time of Elizabeth, when England was no longer Romish, might obtain some support from the records we possess of the lingering feeling for the old ceremonials that seemed to have existed on the part of some of the members of the Merchant Taylor's Company. This was attested by the fact that the Act made 1 Edward VI, to put in force the former one of Henry VIII for the surrender of monies and lands devoted to superstitious uses, revealed that at that time no less than twenty-three chantry priests officiated in various churches, and who were paid by funds in the hands of this company.

It may be probable that the reliquaries exhibited were interred with the body of some member of this company whose feeling for the Roman faith had continued until his decease in Elizabeth's reign.

The Rev. S. M. Mayhew exhibited several London finds, of which the following is a brief summary: 1. Saxon (?) implement, nine and three-eighths long; the haft and blade wrought of a single piece of iron. The upper portion of the blade is formed like a spike or piercer, the lower is sharp edged and broad backed like a knife. Found in Finsbury, May, 1874.

2. Brooch of hard white metal, nearly two inches diameter, consisting of the crescent moon with pearled edges, within which rests the sun in its splendour, surmounted by an estoile of eight wavy rays. This trinket appears to be an astrological talisman of great potency, Luna and Sol being in conjunction, with Jupiter as the presiding star. Date, fifteenth century. Found in Lower Thames Street, May, 1874.

3. Gipeiere or hawking pouch, about twelve inches high by eleven wide, of leather, with the front tastefully decorated with small studs of white metal, arranged in bands, circles, rosettes, etc. Date, early fifteenth century. (For notice of the Gipeiere, see *Journal* xiv, 133).

4. Two plaques of exceedingly thin latten, seemingly the central, and one of the lateral, facings or veneers of a feretrum or shrine of

Nuremburg manufacture, of the sixteenth century, which were discovered during the demolition of the older portion of the church of St. Martin's Outwich, in May, 1874. One of the plaques is about twelve inches high by ten inches wide; the other about ten inches high by eight and a half wide. Both are richly and elaborately decorated with *repoussé-work*, representing Gothic arches, etc., the larger arch being flanked by finials inclosing flowers, resting on fluted pilasters; the smaller having spiral columns supporting graceful beau-pots. These various devices are embellished with brilliant lacquer of a red, green, blue, white, and golden colour. Each plaque has a round opening in its centre, measuring respectively about three inches and two and a quarter diameter, once no doubt covered with glass, through which relics were discernible. The margins of these apertures are stamped with the figures 331, which are probably nothing more than trade numbers, like those on Passau sword blades. How a German shrine or its adornments of the time of Elizabeth got into an Anglican church in London is a mystery, unless we suppose that some member of the Romish faith was here interred with portions of some highly venerated reliquary; but, however the case may be, the discovery now made is one of peculiar interest, and suggestive of further inquiry. Near these curious plaques were picked up five pretty rosettes of stamped latten of later date, which have been thickly painted over, and probably had no connection with the veneers in question. (For a notice of shrines and reliquaries see *Journal* xviii, 153, xxvi, 271).

5. Spoon of pewter plated with silver, the straight hexangular haft slantingly truncated at top, and the ovate bowl displaying the manufacturer's stamp of two keys placed side by side; and also the initials of the former owner I. P. M. Date, *temp.* Elizabeth. Found in Finsbury May, 1874. Similar spoons are figured in this *Journal*, viii, 365.

6. Salt cellar of hard pewter, about two inches and three quarters high; altar shaped, the shaft cylindrical with expanded rim and base, the latter decorated with a pattern derived from the egg and tongue mouldings of classic antiquity. On the base is the manufacturer's mark, consisting of two interlaced triangles with a T in the middle. Date seventeenth century. Found in Finsbury during May, 1874.

7. Costrel of well baked stone-coloured earthenware, the upper part covered with pale yellow glaze. It is above five inches in height, with two little perforated ears or handles resting on the shoulders of the globose body, which latter is provided with a low foot. For general form this bottle may be compared with that given in our *Journal*, v, 33. Date seventeenth century. Found in St. Martin's Le Grand, 1870.

Mrs. Baily contributed a costrel or pilgrim's bottle of the sixteenth century found on the site of Gooch and Cousen's warehouse, London Wall, 1866. This vessel is about six inches and three quarters high,

with short neck, and spreading rim round the mouth, from just beneath which springs a pair of broad reeded handles resting on the edges of the lenticular shaped body, which is five inches diameter and two and seven-eighths thick in the centre; and on the outer face of which is painted a species of thrush, with brown plumage, perched on a branch of yellow broom. The neck of the bottle is decorated with two blue stripes, and the foot with a yellow band. The paste is of a pale reddish hue, covered with an opaque cream-coloured glaze.

Mr. H. Syer Cuning said that the costrels most usually met with in London excavations are of the tall decanter type with marble-like glaze, such as are delineated and described in this *Journal*, v, 33, xxii, 312. Next to these in abundance, and of earlier date, are the unglazed stoneware *cucurbites*, of which an example is engraved in our vol. v, p. 28. These are two well known forms of costrels, but the one submitted by Mrs. Baily is rare both in respect to contour and fabric, so far as City finds are concerned. Though no older than the sixteenth century, it displays in an eminent degree the outline of the classic *cothón* or traveller's bottle, a fact due in all probability to its having been manufactured in Italy, for it is doubtlessly a production of either Gubbio or Urbino, its compact pale reddish paste, and cream-coloured stanniferous glaze, being identical with majolica ware. The bird depicted on its convex front is of spirited execution, dashed off with a few strokes of the brush, with no pretence at high finish, nor should we look for the skill of a Maestro Giorgio or Maestro Xanto on the cheap vessels of inferior makers. Mr. Cuming exhibited the mouth and neck, with the gracefully shaped handles, of a costrel of nearly similar type but larger size than Mrs. Baily's specimen, and evidently wrought in the same workshop, which was exhumed in the Minories, Tower Hill, April 10th, 1866. Mr. C. observed, in concluding his remarks, that though remains of majolica-ware were rarely turned up in London, he possessed a few examples, and the portion of the beautiful Gubbio costrel found in Cannon Street, and exhibited by Mr. Roberts on March 12th, 1873, must be fresh in the recollection of our members.

Mr. J. T. Irvine exhibited a drawing of a curious pair of sixteenth century nut-crackers, of carved wood, nearly eight inches and a half in length, representing a monk with a shaven head, clothed in a long gown, and holding in the right hand his great goggles or nose-spectacles. As usual with this class of implements, the crushing or cracking portion is the mouth, the lower jaw being worked with a lever at the back of the image. The original is in the possession of Mr. Vines, sub-sacrist of Wells Cathedral. (For an account of nut-crackers see *Journal*, xiii, 249.)

Mr. Edward Chester exhibited a Dutch medallion of William and Mary, of wood stained black, two inches and three-eighths diameter, and

upwards of five-twelfths of an inch in thickness. Obverse, profile busts of the royal pair looking to the right, the king laureated and in armour, the neck of the queen being encircled with a string of pearls. Legend, WILH. III. D.G. ANG. SCO. FR. ET. HL. REX. ET. MARIA. REG. Reverse, in the foreground three figures engaged in charging a cannon, in the mid-distance a cannon planted between gabions, and beyond a view of a town, several of the buildings having rather lofty spires. Legend, EIN IETEN RECHT DAN IST NIEMANT DERS KAN.

Mr. H. Syer Cuming remarked that the medallion kindly submitted by Mr. Chester was a fine and interesting example of what was formerly known as "moulded wood," the mode of producing which is fully explained in this *Journal*, xxvii, 373. For sharpness of outline and distinctness of detail the medallion in question may fairly be compared with the twelve draughtsmen exhibited by Mr. Holt on January 11th, 1871, the dies or moulds for which were executed at Augsburg by the celebrated Philip Heinrich Muller. It has been stated, and perhaps with truth, that such wooden medallions as the present were employed as draughtsmen, the strong thick rim being intended as a defence to the subjects on the two sides of the piece. These old medallions are far more ligneous in aspect than the modern French ones, which might almost pass for great cameos of jet or canal coal were it not for the words BOIS DURCI being stamped on their backs.

Mr. H. W. Henfrey read a paper on "National Flags of the Commonwealth," illustrated by drawings made by himself, which will be printed in a future number of this *Journal*.

Mr. Cuming read the following paper on a medallion of St. Benedict:

"In the year 1858 some interest was excited by the exhibition of a medallie talisman picked up at the Graig, Monmouth, and upon which our late associate, Mr. Wakeman, the Rev. R. S. Gray, and Dr. Husenbeth favoured the Association with remarks. This little bauble is of brass, displaying on one side St. Benedict, the founder of the order bearing his name, and on the other the saint's cruciferous sigil, thickly set with the initials of words which are clearly explained in the pages of our *Journal* (xiv, 280).

"Some time since, in rummaging over a lot of old brass at a marine store dealer's shop, I met with a fine oval medallion, looped for suspension, and having on one side St. Benedict and his mystic sigil, and on the other St. Gregory the Great and St. Jerome, in seeming converse. There is much elegance in the design of this piece, reminding us of the school of the Caracci, and it is in every respect superior to, and far more curious than the one found at Monmouth. We have here the three-quarter effigy of St. Benedict seen in profile, nimbed, and in the habit of his order. He points with his right hand to an open book

upheld by a youthful figure, and on the pages are the words *AVSCVLTA O FILI PRE*, the first words of the *Rule of St. Benedict*. Above this group is inscribed *S. PATER BENEDICTUS*, and in the field is the sigil. The initials on the vertical bar of the cross stand for the words, *Cruz sacra sit mihi lux*; those on the horizontal bar, for the words, *non draco sit mihi vna*, those between the limbs of the cross, for *Cruz sancti patris benedicti*. The first letters on the margin of the sigil are the initials of the words *Iesus nominum salvator*, and these are succeeded by those of the words of the two following verses:

‘*Vade Retro, Satana, Nunquam Suade Mihi Vana;
Sunt Mala Que Libas, Ipse Venena Bibas.*’

“Medallions bearing this cruciferous sigil of St. Benedict were regarded as charms against the machinations of evil spirits, for though the saint was invoked for the cure of calculus, and to avert the effects of poison, his aid was chiefly sought on account of his influence over demons, with whom, according to Alban Butler, he had many a stout encounter, and in all of which he came off the victor.

‘Benedict banged the devils about,
And with his cross made a pretty rout
Among the imps both great and small,
And sent them flying, one and all.’

“On the rood-screen of Burlingham St. Andrew, Norfolk, Benedict is represented with a devil on either side, one of whom he pierces with his crosier.

“The reverse of the medal now before you is not without interest, for on it appears the compiler of the life of St. Benedict, the celebrated Gregory the Great, and St. Jerome, the author of the vulgate version of the Holy Scriptures. The former is decked as a Pope with the triple-crowned tiara, although the third crown was not added to this insignia until the time of Benedict XII, *circa* 1334.¹ In his right hand is a pen, and at his right ear hovers a dove, emblematic of the gift of the holy spirit; John the deacon (who was secretary to Gregory) declaring that he saw the dove whispering in the saint’s ear whilst he was dictating his far-famed Homilies, a volume of which he holds in his left hand and places before St. Jerome. The latter is semi-nude, just as he appears in one of Titian’s paintings, and is seated on a rock, and above is his usual attribute, a trumpet. The names *S. GREGORIO : S. GIROLAMO* leave no doubt as to the parties represented, and in the exergue is the word *ROMA*, where this fine medallion was executed in the last half of the seventeenth century.

¹ John XIX, in 1276, first encircled the papal tiara with a crown. Boniface VIII added a second crown in 1295, and Benedict XII a third about the year 1334, as above stated.

"Two out of the three saints here shown were Italians, viz., Benedict, who was born at Norcia in Umbria A.D. 480, and Gregory, who came into the world at Rome in 540. Jerome drew his first breath on the very confines of Italy, his nativity occurring at Stridonum (now Idrigni) near Aquileia. All these foreigners were held in high esteem in England, particular days being set apart for their festivals, and certain plants dedicated to their honour, beside other tokens of reverence. To St. Benedict was assigned the 21st of March, and the bulbous fumitory (*Fumaria bulbosa*), and to him or his namesake of Wearmouth were dedicated sixteen churches, to say nothing of sundry chapels and altars in various sacred edifices.

"The Council of Oxford ordered the 12th of March to be kept throughout England as the festival of St. Gregory, in remembrance of his sending hither St. Augustine to convert the Saxons. Twenty-five churches were named in his honour, and one at Frithelstock, co. Devon, to St. Mary and St. Gregory conjointly. The channeled ixia (*Ixia Bulbodium*) was devoted to St. Gregory, and he was adopted as the special patron of students. Barnabe Googe in the *Popish Kingdom* (London, 1570) tells us, from Naogeorgus, that—

‘St. Gregorie lookes to little boyes, to teach their A, B, C;
And makes them for to love their bookes, and schollers good to be.’

"Gregory, in his *Posthuma, Episcopus Puerorum* (p. 113) relates that ‘Some are so superstitiously given as upon the night of St. Gregorie’s day to have their children asked the question in their sleep, whether they have anie minde to book or no; and if they saie yes, they count it a very good presage; but if the children answer nothing, or nothing to that purpose, they put them over to the plough.’

"The arm of Pope Gregory was one of the precious relics formerly preserved at Canterbury.¹

"St. Jerome was honoured on Sept. 30, and by the golden amaryllis (*Amaryllis aurea*) being appropriated to him. And like St. Gregory he was regarded as the protector of students. Canterbury once boasted possession of ‘part of the arm of Saint Jerome.’² And the church of Doberan, in the Duchy of Mecklenburgh-Schwerin, rejoiced in a hair from his moustache.³

"A love for the three venerable saints here spoken of took deep root in England during the middle ages, and the medal now submitted is of peculiar interest as displaying their conventional effigies and attributes, together with a talisman, which, like the seal of Solomon, put devils to the rout, and triumphed over all the powers of darkness."

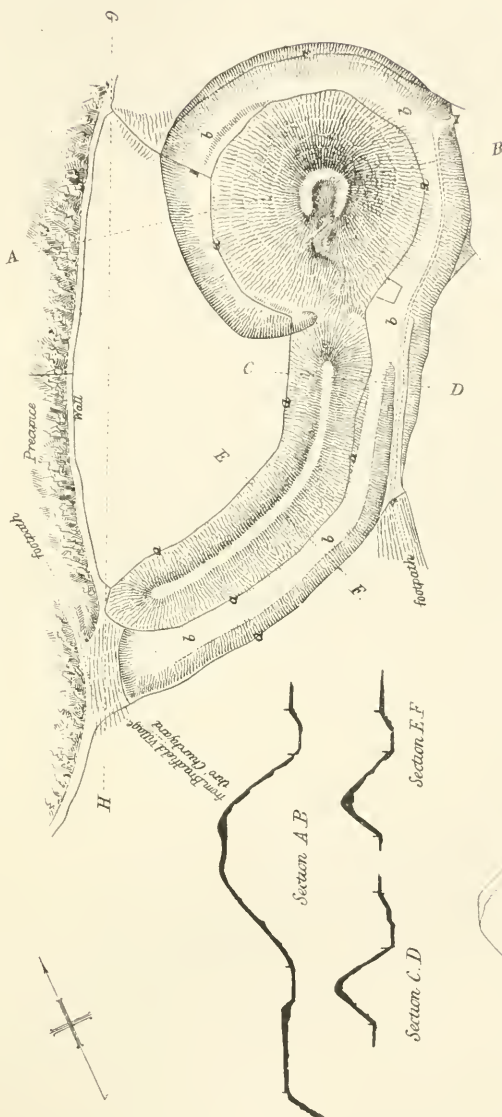
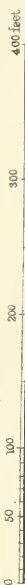
¹ See Dart's *History of Canterbury Cathedral*, Appendix.

² *Ibid.*

³ Nugent's *Travels in Germany*.



The Bailen Hill, Bradford, Yorkshire



a a a a modern fences
b b b b bottom of fosse

Edwin J. Munt, m. p. et al.

J. Jobbins

Section A B

Section C D

Section E F

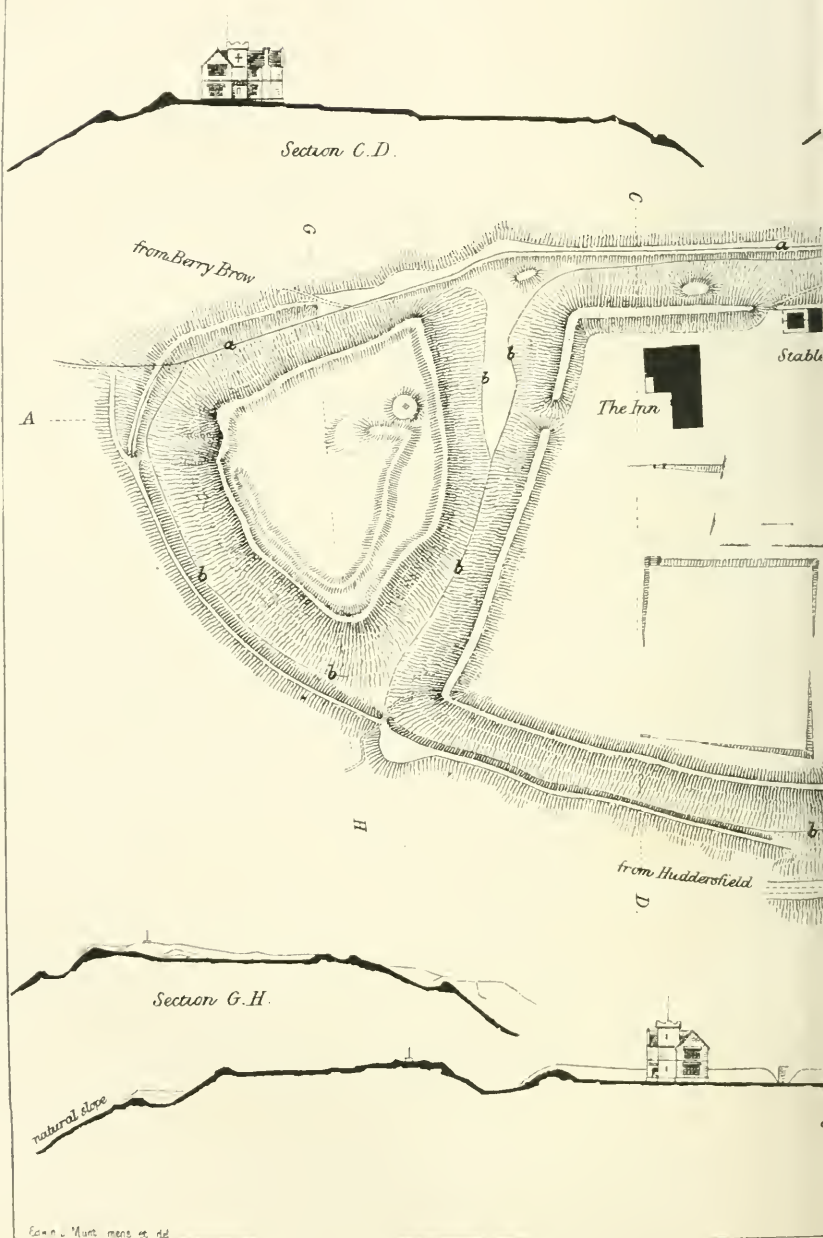
Section G H





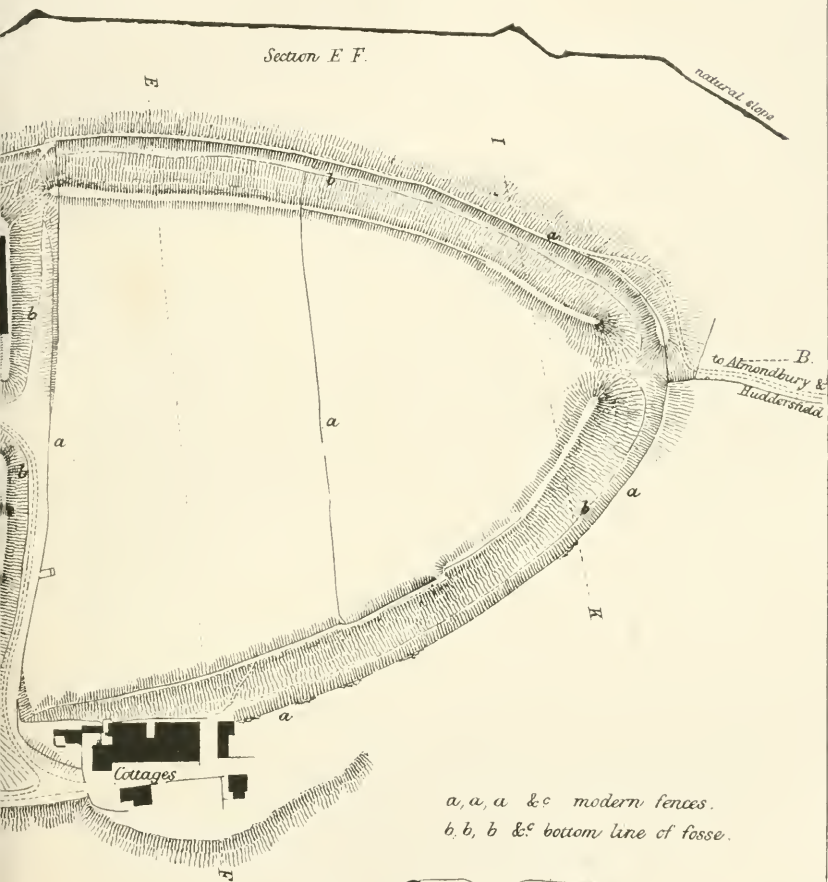
The Castle Hill, A

0 50 100

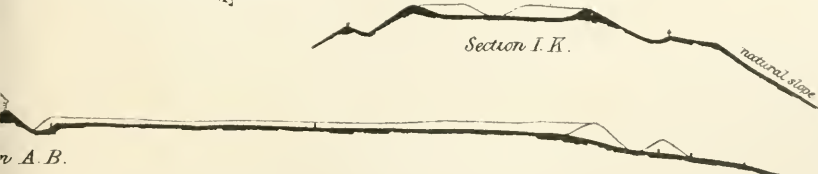


ndbury, Yorkshire.

340 400 feet



a, a, a &c modern fences.
b, b, b &c bottom line of fosse.



r A. B.



Biographical Memoirs.

JOHN BRODRIBB BERGNE, Esq., F.S.A., died suddenly, of disease of the heart, on the 15th of January, 1873. He was a member of our Association from its commencement. He was a distinguished numismatist, and his name as a contributor and authority on this important branch of science often occurs in the pages of our *Journal*. Mr. Bergne entered the Foreign Office in 1817, where for nearly twenty years he held the responsible post of head of the Treaty Department, in which capacity he invariably won the confidence and respect of the various eminent statesmen who from time to time acted as his official chiefs. His collection of Greek and English coins, which was one of the most complete and valuable in the country, was disposed of by auction after his death; and the high esteem in which he was held was marked by the attendance at his funeral of Lord Granville and a numerous body of official and private friends.

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE EDWARD GEORGE EARLE LYTTON BULWER LYTTON, Baron Lytton of Knebworth, and a baronet of the United Kingdom, died on the 18th of January, 1873, at Argyll Lodge, Torquay. He was a peer of the realm and a doctor of civil laws. Edward George Earle Bulwer was the third and youngest son of General Bulwer of Woodalling and Heydon Hall, Norfolk, by Elizabeth Barbara, the heiress of the very old family of the Lyttons of Knebworth, co. Herts. He was born in the year 1806, and assumed the additional surname of Lytton, in pursuance of his mother's will, in 1844. By her, and at home, he was mainly educated; and he does not seem to have been at any public school, properly so called; but was entered very early at Trinity College, and afterwards at Trinity Hall, Cambridge, where he gained the Chancellor's gold medal for an English poem on "Sculpture." He took his degree of B.A. in 1826, and that of M.A. in 1835. In 1853 he was made an honorary D.C.L. of Oxford, and in 1856 and 1858 was Lord Rector of the University of Glasgow.

His first novel, "Pelham; or the Adventures of a Gentleman," was published anonymously in 1827; but this was not his first essay as an author. So early as 1820, when a mere schoolboy, he had published an Oriental tale entitled "Ismael," a bold attempt in emulation of the equally precocious production of William Beckford, although it failed to gain the permanent popularity enjoyed by the "Caliph Vathek."

Again, in 1826 he printed for private circulation, in Paris, a few copies of a collection of poems and apologues called "Weeds and Wild Flowers;" and in the following year appeared "O'Neil, the Rebel," a tale in verse, and "Falkland," a love story. "Pelham" was soon followed by "The Disowned," published in 1828; "Devereux," in 1829; "Paul Clifford," in 1830; and "Eugene Aram" in 1832. In 1831 appeared that fascinating book of travel, "The Pilgrims of the Rhine," associated with which was the graceful poem on "Milton;" and to which quickly succeeded "Godolphin," a nobly eloquent fiction, in which the future statesman first began to show himself. In 1833 Edward Bulwer succeeded Thomas Campbell in the editorship of the "New Monthly Magazine," to which he contributed a series of thoughtful but somewhat abstruse essays, subsequently republished under the title of "The Student;" and about the same date were put forth his racy and caustic sketches of national manners, called "England and the English."

By this time the novelist, the poet, the essayist, and the satirist, had become likewise a politician, and Mr. Bulwer first entered Parliament in 1831 as a Liberal member for St. Ivo's; and in 1832 he was returned for Lincoln, a seat he held for some years. A certain defect in his intonation prevented his becoming a thoroughly effective speaker in the House, and this defect increased with his years. Thus, although many of his finest speeches were somewhat marred in the delivery, they were invariably well worth reading. The technical shortcomings in his oratory were probably due to a constitutional deafness with which he was early afflicted, and which at last became incurable. He spoke frequently, however, and to the purpose, on the subjects of slavery and education. The orations of his later years were admirable both as regarded literary composition and profundity of political knowledge.

Meanwhile he had achieved greater and brighter fame in the fields of classical and picturesque romance, and the results of a residence in Naples and in Rome were gloriously manifested in "Rienzi" and in the "Last Days of Pompeii." In 1835 two minor romances, "Leila; or the Siege of Granada," and "Calderone the Courtier," made their appearance; and in the year following the first essay of Bulwer as a dramatist was made in the five-act play of "The Duchesse de la Vallière," which failed to become popular. In 1836 two volumes, which were, however, never completed, of an historical and critical novel entitled "Athens, its Rise and Fall," came once more to prove the versatility of Bulwer's genius. After this he once more reverted to his favourite path of melodramatic romance, and the two powerful fictions, "Ernest Maltravers" and "Alice, or the Mysteries," captivated public attention, and added considerably to the already amazing popularity of their author.

On the occasion of the coronation of Her Majesty, in 1838, Mr. Bul-

wer was made a baronet, his colleague in distinction being Sir John Herschel, and the honours being avowedly bestowed on both as representatives of British literature and science. In the same year Sir Edward Lytton Bulwer produced the notable dramatic poem of "The Lady of Lyons." Admirably aided by the talent and art, both as actor and manager, of William Charles Macready, who sustained the part of Claude Melnotte, "The Lady of Lyons" (the plot of which is remotely derived from a melancholy incident in the life of Angelica Kauffmann the painter) achieved a great and brilliant success, and has ever since remained a "stock-piece," constantly sure to draw good audiences, on the London and provincial stage. Success as genuine, although not quite so universal, attended the production of "Richelieu" in 1839, Macready again playing the principal part. Another five-act play, "The Sea-Captain," was produced in 1839, and virtually failed; nor when revived, under another title, nearly thirty years afterwards, at the Lyceum, did it obtain more than a moderate degree of success. On the other hand, the comedy of "Money," with Macready, Webster, Strickland, and Helen Faucit, in the principal rôles, was triumphantly greeted at the Haymarket in 1840, as it has recently been at the Prince of Wales' Theatre under the auspices of Mrs. Bancroft. Another comedy, written many years after "Money," and called "Not so Bad as We Seem," scarcely courted the deliberate verdict of the public, as it was composed only for the amateur performers, Dickens, Jerrold, Foster, Mark Lemon, and others, who, with the active concurrence and assistance of Sir Edward Bulwer, organised the originally promising but ultimately disappointing enterprise known as "The Guild of Literature and Art."

Early in 1841 Sir Edward was associated with Dr. Lardner and Sir David Brewster in a half scientific, half political, periodical called "The Monthly Chronicle;" but the speculation was not successful, and so he again betook himself to the fields where he had gathered such plenteous laurels. The melodramatic novel of "Night and Morning," published in 1841, was succeeded in 1842 by the ingenious and imaginative romance of "Zanoni,"—"the well-loved work" (to use his own expression) "of his mature manhood"; and this was followed in its turn by "Lucretia, or the Children of Night." Soon after this, losing his seat in Parliament, Sir Edward travelled long in Germany, studying sedulously the language and literature of the Fatherland. He collected materials for a comprehensive Life of Schiller, but contented himself with writing a brief biography of the poet, appended to an admirable translation of his "Poems and Ballads." Early in 1843 he produced the historical romance of "The Last of the Barons;" and at the close of this year, upon the death of his mother, he succeeded to the estate of Knebworth, and assumed by royal licence the final sur-

name of Lytton. In 1852 he re-entered Parliament as member for the county of Herts, as a Conservative. Between 1845 and 1852 had appeared a satire from his pen, entitled "The New Timon," in which a few lines seemingly reflecting on Alfred Tennyson drew from the poet a terribly stinging retort published in the pages of "Punch." This, with the exception of a slight passage of arms, soon after 1830, with Jules Janin, was the only literary quarrel Lord Lytton ever had.

In 1853 the indefatigable author published another historic novel, "Harold, the last of the Saxon Kings;" and about this time also he issued an epic in thirteen books, with King Arthur for its hero. This poem, which was in parts very beautiful, gained not much popularity; but the charming domestic romance of "The Caxtons" (published by instalments in "Blackwood's Magazine"), and "My Novel," and "What will he do with it?" (the last published in 1858) added vastly to the renown of their author, and were deservedly ranked among the most remarkable literary productions of the age. In 1862 the author's penultimate work of fiction, "A Strange Story," appeared in the pages of "All the Year Round," with the conductor of which, the late Charles Dickens, he had been for many years on terms of close and affectionate friendship. At the memorable banquet given in honour of Dickens, before his departure for the United States, the chair was taken by Sir Edward Bulwer, who then delivered one of the noblest of his speeches. In 1858 he was selected by the late Earl of Derby as one of his colleagues in the administration, in the capacity of Secretary of State for the Colonies; and it was during his brief but successful tenure of office that British Columbia and Queensland were added to our dependencies. He resigned, with Lord Derby, in 1859; and in 1866, on the accession to power of another Conservative administration, he was raised to the peerage as Baron Lytton. Since the "Strange Story" appeared, he published "Caxtoniana," a series of essays; a semi-poetical collection called "The Lost Tales of Miletus;" and the "Coming Race."

For the last few years of his life he had been a sad invalid, suffering mainly from his old infirmity of deafness; an aggravation of which, in the shape of auricular inflammation, ultimately proved fatal. It was only shortly before his last illness that he had sent to London the last corrected proofs of a new novel called "Kenelm Chillingly;" and after his death appeared his posthumous work, "The Parisians." Lord Lytton honoured our Association by becoming its President at the St. Alban's Congress in 1869, and those who then heard him deliver his masterly opening address will not readily forget the eloquence and the learning that he displayed; while his courtesy throughout the whole week of the meeting, and the splendid hospitality with which he received and entertained our members and friends at Knebworth,

will probably never be forgotten by those who had the good fortune to be present on the occasion.

The Rev. Dr. THOMAS BARCLAY, Principal of the University of Glasgow, died of bronchitis at his residence at the College, Gillmore Hill, on 23rd of Feb., 1873, ætat. eighty-one. The venerable principal was the son of the Rev. James Barclay, minister of Unst, Shetland, and was born there in 1792. He received his university education at King's College, Aberdeen, and subsequently was employed as a teacher of elocution in that city. He afterwards became one of the Parliamentary reporters for the *Times*, in which capacity he remained for four years, from 1828 to 1822. He was licensed in 1831, and was successively minister of the parishes of Lerwick, in Shetland, and Currie, in Midlothian. He was appointed Principal of the University of Glasgow by Lord Palmerston in 1858, on the death of Principal Macfarlan.

The learned doctor, who joined our Association in April 1863, was admitted to be one of the best, if not the very best Scandinavian scholar in this country, and an able paper by him on "Runic Inscriptions at the Tumulus of Maes Howe in the Orkney Islands" is printed in the volume of the *Collectanea Archæologica*, issued by this Association.

JOHN WALKER BAILY, Esq., whose death we have now to record, was born on January 9th, 1809, in the Kent Road; received his education at an academy in the Walcot Place Road, passed the earlier part of his life in Kennington, and his later years at Camberwell, so that he may be truly described as a Surrey man. When a mere child, Mr. Baily manifested a strong bias for scientific pursuits, electricity and chemistry being his special favourites, the latter leading him to collect minerals, much of his pocket money being expended on stones and metals at the shop of the late Thomas White, of Cross Street, Newington, from whose dingy repository of curiosities many of the South London savants have gathered valuable items for their various cabinets.

In the year 1825 a main sewer was carried through the Walworth Road, and often between school hours did our young virtuoso visit the excavations and pick from the earth, and buy from the navvies old horse-shoes, and trace buckles, or a fragment of a gunlock, and odd shaped bit of iron, as the case might be, and these trifles seem to have directed his attention to arms and armour, and led, as time advanced, to his forming a collection of weapons and knightly harness of considerable value, and selected with consummate acumen. In the year 1840 Mr. Baily erected a Jacobean house in Champion Park, Denmark Hill, where, in the entrance hall and upon the walls of the staircase, he arranged in the most tasteful and effective manner the relics of joust and tourney, and deadly war strife, representing the military modes

and caprices of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, mingled with a few choice objects of earlier and later date.

Though we have spoken of Mr. Baily as essentially a Surrey man, it must be stated that his intellectual powers were enlarged and his knowledge augmented by home and foreign travel, and that during his rambles he acquired many objects of great beauty and rarity. In the autumn of 1863, Mr. Baily visited Aldborough in Yorkshire, the site of *Isurium Brigantium*, and whilst there witnessed the exhumation, and gained possession of a Roman olla, and on his homeward route purchased at York a seventeenth century stoneware "Galonier." The acquisition of these classic and mediæval vessels opened a new field for Mr. Baily's thoughts and studies, and the sight of some of the antique articles discovered at the Steelyard, Upper Thames Street, induced him to make a vigorous and eminently successful effort to form a collection of London antiquities, which he continued to increase until within a few days of his lamented death. This collection of City finds accumulated so fast and to such an extent that every corner, shelf, landing, and lobby of the house became crowded with it, and constituted, to use Mr. Baily's own words, "a perfect nuisance to its indwellers." To remedy this growing "nuisance," and for the safer preservation and better display of the treasures, their owner in the year 1869 added a northern wing to his mansion, which he devoted to his museum, which, so far as London relics are concerned, stands without a rival; and the illustrated MS. catalogue of which is a noble monument of Mr. Baily's untiring industry and artistic talents.

Mr. Baily was most liberal in the exhibition of his treasures. He was an extensive contributor, as well as the grand mover, in the memorable exhibition of works of art at Ironmongers' Hall in May 1861, and many of his finer specimens were displayed at the opening of the Guild Hall Library in Nov. 1872.

It is now time that something was said respecting Mr. Baily's connection with our Association. He was proposed as a member by our vice-president, H. Syer Cuming, on Dec. 6th, 1865; and in May 1869 he was elected on the council. His first exhibition was made on Jan. 10th, 1866, and he continued a constant and ample exhibitor until the last meeting which occurred during his valued life, viz., that held on Feb. 26th, 1873, when he sent a number of British, Roman, and Mediæval relics lately found in London. Shortly before Mr. Baily's decease, a quantity of curious objects were selected by his direction for exhibition, and the pages of our *Journal* testify how loyally and lovingly his dying wishes have been carried out by his family. And the fact that his son, Mr. Walker Baily, has joined our ranks may be taken as a highly gratifying proof of an hereditary interest in our welfare and proceedings.

Mr. Baily's last illness was a long and most distressing one. Towards the close of the year 1871, and before he made any particular complaint of indisposition, it was painfully evident that he was suffering from an internal disease; but it was not until the opening of 1872 that many of his friends felt any serious apprehensions as to his condition, which soon became most alarming and utterly hopeless. But in the midst of protracted suffering Mr. Baily maintained his full vigour of mind, his unabated passion for science, his kindly thought and consideration for those both near and far, and in the evening of March 4, 1873, sunk to rest, honoured and respected by all with whom he had to do, and fondly loved by those who knew him best.

SIR WILLIAM TITE, C.B., F.R.S., F.S.A., M.P. for Bath, died at Torquay on Sunday 20th of April, 1873, in his seventy-first year. An architect by profession, he was very successful in early life, and designed many public and private buildings, including some of the largest railway stations in England and France. In 1840 he was appointed architect of the new Royal Exchange. He was President of the Architectural Society, and of the Royal Institute of British Architects, and one of the Governors of Christ's Hospital Blue Coat School. He was also a member of the Metropolitan Board of Works, having represented Chelsea in that body for some years past. In 1869 he was knighted, and on the 12th of October, 1870, received the additional dignity of C.B. Sir William joined our Association as a Vice-President of our Bridgewater and Bath Congress in 1856, and contributed a paper on "The Gradual Improvement in the Social Manners and Condition of the People of England during the Middle Ages," which is printed in vol. xiii of the *Journal*. He also wrote a descriptive catalogue of the antiquities found in the excavations at the new Royal Exchange, which was privately printed in 1848. Besides his professional pursuits, Sir William was connected with various important monetary and commercial undertakings. Amid all his numerous avocations, however, he found time to amass a large and valuable collection of rare printed books and manuscripts, many of the latter being finely illuminated. The choicest of these he exhibited at the Society of Antiquaries in June and December, 1861, upon which occasions he delivered two addresses upon the specimens then before the Fellows and their friends. This library, together with his collection of autograph letters, engravings, and a great variety of miscellaneous literary curiosities, which his ample means gave him every facility for acquiring, were disposed of by public auction at the rooms of Messrs. Sotheby, Wilkinson, and Hodge, during the latter part of May of the current year.



WILLIAM POWELL HUNT, Esq., was elected a member of our Association on the 23rd of November, 1864, and died at his residence, St. Matthew's, Ipswich, the 20th of April, 1873, aged sixty-eight, after a long illness. He was an enthusiastic lover of antiquities, and a great collector of books, drawings, prints, etc., illustrative of the history of his native county, many rare and valuable examples of which he exhibited to us during the Congress held at Ipswich in 1865. A list of them will be found in vol. xxi of our *Journal*.

ISAAC HENRY STEVENS, Esq., architect, of Holly Bank, Normanton, near Derby, died on the 30th of April, 1873, aged sixty-six. Shortly after Mr. Stevens entered the profession, a great demand arose for church accommodation, and more attention was given to ecclesiastical architecture. By his talents and accurate technical knowledge Mr. Stevens soon took high rank as a church architect, his early buildings being far in advance of the architecture of that day. A very large number of churches in his own neighbourhood were built and restored by him, and will bear favourable comparison with many of the same date, amongst which may be mentioned St. Alkmund's Church and St. Michael's Church, and the London Road Congregational Chapel, Derby; Trinity Church, Nottingham; and the village churches of Mackworth, Allestree, and Mickleover. It is not, however, as a church architect alone that Mr. Stevens' name will be remembered. Many public buildings and private residences bear witness to his skill in their compact and convenient internal arrangements and their pleasing exteriors. Amongst these last may be enumerated the Training College for Mistresses, on the Uttoxeter Road; Osmaston Manor, built for the late Francis Wright, Esq.; the improvements at the Derbyshire General Infirmary; and many other buildings. Mr. Stevens was elected a Fellow of the Royal Institute of Architects in the year 1850, and for some years acted on the Council of that body, and he was also associated with most of the architectural and other societies connected with the profession.

ALDERMAN SIR DAVID SALOMONS, Bart., of Broomhall, Tonbridge, Kent, M.P. for Greenwich, J.P. and D.L. for Kent, Sussex, and Middlesex, died on the 18th of July, 1873, at his residence in Great Cumberland Place, Hyde Park, after an illness of several months, in the seventy-seventh year of his age. The deceased Baronet, who was elected an associate on the 23rd of November, 1854, was at the outset of his life engaged in monetary and commercial pursuits, but was ultimately called to the Bar of the Middle Temple in 1849. He served the office of Sheriff of London in 1835-36, and was High Sheriff of Kent in 1839-40. He was elected Alderman of Aldgate Ward in 1835, of Port-

sofen Ward in 1844, of Cordwainers' Ward in 1847, and was Lord Mayor of London in 1855-56. His two former elections as Alderman, namely for Aldgate Ward and Portsoken, were, however, set aside owing to his unwillingness, from religious scruples, to subscribe to the declaration "on the true faith of a Christian," then required from all corporate officers. In 1845 the declaration was altered by Act of Parliament, mainly through his exertions, and the "Sheriffs' Declaration Act" was passed to enable him to serve as one of the Sheriffs of London. He unsuccessfully contested Shoreham in 1837, Maidstone in 1841, and Greenwich in 1847; for which latter borough, however, he was elected in June, 1851. At the next general election he lost his seat; but was re-elected in 1859, in July 1865, and at the general election in November 1868. On his election in 1851, on being sworn, he omitted the words "on the true faith of a Christian," but claimed his seat in the House, and voted in three divisions, maintaining that he had lawfully taken the oaths at the table,—a circumstance that gave rise to protracted proceedings in the courts of law. Sir David was created a baronet of the United Kingdom in 1869, with special remainder to his nephew, Philip. He was the author of "Works on the Corn Laws," "Banking," "English and Foreign Railways," etc., and had served as Chairman of the Select Committees of the House of Commons on Metropolitan Bridges, and on Australian Coinage.

THE RIGHT REVEREND SAMUEL WILBERFORCE, D.D., F.R.S., F.S.A., F.R.G.S., Chancellor of the Order of the Garter, late Lord High Almoner to the Queen, and a Trustee of the British Museum, was killed suddenly by his horse falling with him at Evershed's Rough, near Dorking, while he was riding from Leatherhead in company with Lord Granville on the 19th of July, 1873. He was the third son of the celebrated philanthropist, William Wilberforce, M.P., by Barbara his wife, eldest daughter of the late Isaac Spooner, Esq., of Elmdon Hall, Warwickshire. He was born on the 7th of September, 1805, and was educated at Oriel College, Oxford, where he graduated as B.A. in 1826, and took his M.A. degree in 1829. He was subsequently rector of Brightstone, Isle of Wight, 1830; of Alverstoke, 1841; and successively Archdeacon of Surrey, Canon of Winchester, Dean of Westminster, and chaplain to the late Prince Consort. He was consecrated Bishop of Oxford in 1845, and in 1869 was translated to the see of Winchester. He was one of the ablest and most finished writers and orators of his time; and his varied accomplishments, his great kindness of heart, his tact, his geniality of disposition, his brilliant conversational powers, and his varied social qualifications, not only endeared him to those who enjoyed the privilege of friendship and intimacy with him, but rendered his character well known and deservedly popular with all

classes of his countrymen. His Lordship was elected a member of our Association on the 23rd of November, 1859; and the tidings of his sudden and melancholy death spread a feeling of universal grief, so to speak, from one end of the kingdom to the other.

GEORGE ORMEROD, Esq., D.C.L., F.R.S., F.S.A., of Sedbury Park, Chepstow, died in September, 1873. He joined our Association in 1848. He was born at Manchester in 1785, and was educated at Brasenose College, Oxford, where he took the degree of M.A. in 1807, and was made an Honorary D.C.L. in 1818. He was a deputy lieutenant for Gloucestershire, and also justice of the peace for that county and for Monmouthshire. He was an accomplished archæologist, and a prolific writer on genealogical, topographical, and historical antiquities in the "*Archæologia*," the publications of the Cheltenham Society, and elsewhere. The works, however, on which his most lasting fame rests, are his "*History of the County Palatine and City of Chester*," 3 vols., folio, London, 1819; and his "*Parentalia*," or genealogical memoirs, published in 1859.

JOSEPH SHEPHERD WYON, born in 1836, was the son of Benjamin Wyon, and grandson of Thomas Wyon, who successively held the appointment of chief engraver of his majesty's seals from the year 1816. To this appointment Mr. J. S. Wyon succeeded on the death of his father in 1858. Mr. Wyon was educated in the School of Design, Somerset House, and in the Royal Academy, where he obtained two silver medals. His first work of importance was a medal of James Watt, which so pleased the late Mr. Robert Stephenson that at his recommendation it was adopted as an annual prize medal by the Royal Institute of Civil Engineers. The principal works executed by him afterwards were the great seal of Queen Victoria, the medal struck by order of the City of London to commemorate the reception of the Princess Alexandra in the year 1863, the medal struck for the same corporation to commemorate the visit of the Sultan in 1867, the medal struck for the Canadian Government to commemorate the confederation of the four provinces of the dominion of Canada in 1867, the great seal of the same government, medals to commemorate the marriages of T. R. H. Prince and Princess Christian, the Princess Louise and the Marquis of Lorne; the Victoria Faithful Service medal, besides various others which are too numerous to mention. The late Mr. J. S. Wyon was a juror in the London Exhibition of 1862, and in conjunction with his brother Mr. A. B. Wyon (who succeeds him in the appointment of chief engraver of Her Majesty's seals) obtained the only medal awarded to British exhibitors in the class of sculpture in the Paris Exhibition of 1867, and also two medals in the recent

Vienna Exhibition of 1873. Mr. J. S. Wyon was also decorated by the Sultan of Turkey with the order of the Medjidie; he was elected a member of our Association on the 25th of May, 1859, and died 12th of August last, at the early age of thirty-seven.

The Rev. THOMAS SALE, D.D., who was vicar of Sheffield for twenty-one years, died suddenly at Belmont, Sheffield, on the 20th September, 1873. He was a canon of York and a rural dean, and those who were present at the Sheffield Congress will remember with gratitude the courtesy he exhibited to the Association upon that occasion, and the assistance which he rendered in elucidating various points connected with the history and antiquities of the town and its neighbourhood.

J. THURNAM, Esq., M.D., F.S.A., died at Devizes on the 24th September, 1873, at the Wilts County Lunatic Asylum (of which he was medical superintendent from its opening in 1851) in the sixty-third year of his age. He joined our Association in 1850, and was a frequent exhibitor at our evening meetings. He was an accomplished antiquary, and his collection, which comprised British wares, stone, and bronze implements, a rare Roman arm-purse found at Farndale in Yorkshire, and a great number of valuable miscellaneous antiquities, chiefly acquired by him in his explorations of British *tumuli*, now forms part of the national collection and is deposited in the British Museum.

EDGAR BOWRING, Esq., of Mole Bank, East Moulsey, was elected an associate 13th March, 1867, and died 31st October, 1873.

JOHN TIZARD, Esq., of Weymouth, who acted as our local secretary during our Congress there in 1871, and rendered us much valuable assistance upon that occasion, died 11th November, 1873.

EDWARD L. BETTS, Esq., who joined the Association on the 23rd of November, 1854, died at Preston Hall, Kent; but we have been unable to ascertain the precise date of his decease.

We have also to record the loss of a distinguished honorary foreign associate in the person of M. de Canmont, founder of the Société Française d'Archéologie, who died in May 1872. M. de Canmont was born at Bayeux 28th of August, 1802, and the greater portion of his life was devoted to the study of antiquities and the arts. He was the author of a large number of essays on his favourite subjects, especially in reference to Frankish, Gallo-Roman, and mediæval antiquities in France. Among the more considerable works of this admirable

savant are “*Abécédaire ; ou Rudiments d’Archéologie*,” the value of which is attested by the fact of its having passed through five editions. The “*Bulletin Monumental*” was founded by him, carried on under his direction, and enriched by many contributions from his pen. No man imparted his knowledge to others with more freedom and fulness, and the archæological world has suffered a great loss by the decease of such an amiable and accomplished scholar.

THE JOURNAL

OF THE

British Archaeological Association.

DECEMBER, 1874.

ON THE MEASURE OF THE WOUND IN THE SIDE OF THE REDEEMER,

WORN ANCIENTLY AS A CHARM; AND ON THE FIVE
WOUNDS AS REPRESENTED IN ART.

BY THE REV. W. SPARROW SIMPSON, D.D., F.S.A., V.P.

IN a short paper, "On the Pilgrimage to Bromholm in Norfolk," printed in the *Journal* of the Association,¹ I called attention to a small painting which I had discovered in a MS. in the archiepiscopal library at Lambeth, and I expressed a hope that at some future time an opportunity might be afforded me of making some observations upon another pictured charm preserved in the same volume. I gladly fulfil that intention in the present memoir.

As far back as the year 1867 I brought under the notice of the Association a charm which I had found in a somewhat scarce little volume in the library of St. Paul's Cathedral. In order to make intelligible the remarks which I shall have to offer upon the illumination in the Lambeth MS., it will be necessary for me, at the risk of some little repetition, to transcribe a portion of the communication then laid before our members.²

At the end of *Les Heures Notre Dame à l'Usage de Sees*, imprinted at Rouen by Nicholas Mulot, circa 1595, a copy of which is preserved amongst the rarer books in St. Paul's Cathedral,³ is a life of St. Margaret in French verse, from the same press, and probably of the same date.⁴

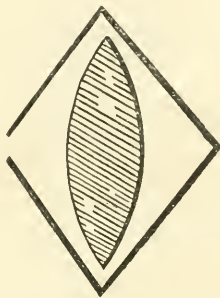
¹ *Suprà*, pp. 52-61.

² *Journal*, xxiii, pp. 212, 285, 286.

³ Its press-mark is 38 D. 7.

⁴ *La Vie ma dame Sainte Marguerite, vierge & martyre. Avec son Antienne & Oraison.* A tract of eight pages.

On the *verso* of the last page of this life of St. Margaret is a small woodcut showing, within a lozenge-shaped border, what purports to be a measure of the wound in the side of the crucified Redeemer. The wound, as here exhibited, is of *vesica piscis* form, and is about 1.2 inch long, and .4 inch in width at the widest part. I subjoin an exact facsimile of this representation. We are not left to wonder for what



Measure of the Wound in the Side of the Lord.
From *La Vie ma Dame Saincte Marguerite*, c. 1595.

purpose this woodcut is added to the volume, for the picture is, so to speak, embedded in the following account of its manifold virtues :

“¶ Cest icy la mesure de la Playe du coste de nostre seigneur Jesu christ : la quelle fut apporter de Cōstantinople a Lempereur Charlemagne dedans un coffre dor comme relique tres precieuse : affin que nul enemy ne luy peust nuyre. Et a telle vertu que celui un celle qui la lira ou lire la fera ou sur foy la portera : ne feu ne leauc ne vent ne tempeste cousteau ne lance ne espee ne diable ne luy pourra nuyre. Et la femme qui enfantera le jour quelle verra la dicte mesure ne mourra point de mort soudaine a lenfâtemēt : mais sera deliurce legierement. Et tout homme qui la portera sur foy par deuotion & en fera mention aura hōneur & victoire sur le ennemys et ne le peut on greuer ne luy faire doūage. Et le jour que on la lira de mauuaise mort on ne mourra. Amen.”

Hence we learn that this woodcut, or copies of it, formed a charm to be carried about the person, and that it was supposed to be possessed of very remarkable virtues.

I have been fortunate enough to meet with another example of this charm in a manuscript Book of Hours preserved in the library at Lambeth.¹

¹ Lambeth MSS., No. 545, “Codex membranaceus, in quarto min.,” sec. xv. *Hore B. Marie Virginis, cum Calendario*, “pulchre descriptæ et depictæ.” Dr. Todd’s *Catalogue of the MSS. at Lambeth*. The *verso* of fol. 78 was left blank by the original scribe, and to this page the representation of the wound, which is contemporary with the MS. itself, has been affixed.

It will be at once observed that although, in each case, the charm purports to give the measure of the wound, yet the two have no points of agreement; the charm from the *Vie de S. Marguerite* measuring, as we have said, 1.2 inch in length, whilst that from the manuscript Book of Hours measures no less than 2.5 inches in length. The former gives 0.4 as the width; but the latter, 1.2. The former exhibits the wound as being of the *vesica piscis* form, whilst



Measure of the Wound in the Side of the Lord.
From MS. Book of Hours, fifteenth century.

the latter gives it a lozenge-shaped outline. And as if to make the divergence more complete, whilst in the first example the wound takes a perpendicular direction, in the second it is placed diagonally. Each, however, is contained within a lozenge-shaped enclosure.

I am indebted to Mr. H. Syer Cuming for pointing out to me an illustration of this lozenge-shaped enclosure which is to be found in D'Agincourt's *History of Art*.¹ The author

¹ D'Agincourt, *History of Art by its Monuments*, vol. i, pl. xcii; fol., London, 1847.

figures a painting in distemper on wood, which he considers to have been executed in Italy during the twelfth or thirteenth century, though it can scarcely be so early. The original is preserved in the *Museum Christianum* in the Vatican, and represents Our Lord as the gardener appearing to Mary Magdalene. In His right side a large *lozenge-shaped* opening is seen in the gracefully disposed garments, in order to display the wound. Mr. Cuming has also exhibited to the Association a small ivory image of St. Francis of Assissi, of sixteenth century work,¹ which exhibits a *fusiformed* wound in the right side, together with the other *stigmata*.

Mrs. Jameson, in her *Legends of the Monastic Orders*,² gives an outline of Giotto's fresco in the Upper Church at Assissi, which exhibits a seraphic figure floating in the air, from whose person rays of light touch the kneeling figure of St. Francis on the hands, feet, and *left* breast, where there is a lozenge-shaped opening. D'Agincourt also represents this painting; and in his etching the lozenge-shaped mark is seen on the left breast;³ but in a similar painting by Cigoli, of which Mrs. Jameson gives an outline, the ray touches the *right* breast of St. Francis; and in a very noble figure of "St. Francis in a glory of Seraphim", by Sassetta, 1444, also figured by Mrs. Jameson,⁴ the wound in the *right* side is seen through a fusiform opening in the robe. The same subject is very boldly treated in a window at St. Gudule, Brussels. Here rays of light flow from the five wounds of the Saviour, and touch the hands, feet, and *right* side of St. Francis. An early example of the treatment of the same subject may be seen in a woodcut on the title of the *Compendium Privilegiorum Fratrum Minorum, necnon et aliorum fratrum mendicantium ordine alphabetico congestum*, printed at Venice in 1532.⁵ Here rays of light fall from a crucifix on the hands and feet and right side of St. Francis, the large wound in the side being, as usual, of the *vesica piscis* form.

With a view to this paper I have examined a considerable number of ancient and modern pictures and engravings, to ascertain the usual position of the wound in the side. Of

¹ *Journal*, xxiii, p. 283.

² Mrs. Jameson, *Legends*, p. 252.

³ D'Agincourt, *History of Art*, iii, pl. 114, No. 3.

⁴ Mrs. Jameson, *Legends*, p. 250.

⁵ There is a copy in the library at Lambeth. Press-mark, 86. D. 13.

twelve representations in ancient MSS. in Lambeth Library,¹ all, without exception, display the wound upon the *right* side of the Lord. Of twelve plates in D'Aginecourt's *History of Art*, of objects from the sixth to the fifteenth century, one only figures the wound on the left side, the remaining eleven representing it on the right side. Five plates in the *Archæological Journal* agree in depicting the wound on the right side, and six out of seven illustrations in the *Journal* of the British Archæological Association.

Christian art, in representing the subject of the Crucifixion, very generally, though not invariably, places the soldier (St. Longinus as the later traditions call him) on the dexter side of the picture, and depicts him as piercing the *right* side of our Blessed Lord. Protestant commentators, however, appear not infrequently to have taken up a different opinion. Thus Alford says:² "The lance must have penetrated deep, for the object was to secure death, and (see St. John, chap. xx, 27) probably into the left side, on account of the position of the soldier, and of what followed." The place referred to is the account of the incredulity of St. Thomas; but I fail to see its bearing on the matter. Calvin, Grotius, the physician Gruner, and Olshausen, are clear as to the lance piercing the *pericardium*; Hengstenberg, that it reached the heart; as to Tholuck, I am not quite sure that he expresses a decided opinion. It is possible, however, that many of these expositors may mean that the lance, having entered at the right side, traversed the whole body, and thus pierced the heart; though I am disposed to think that the popular view now-a-days is that the lance entered at the left side; and, indeed, in Poole's *Synopsis*, on the word *latus*, Lucas Brugensis is quoted as saying "*sinistrum* scilicet, ubi cor." The following passages from St. Bernard will show very plainly that in his opinion at least there could be no doubt as to the question:

"Et quidem dominus meus Jesus, post cætera inestimabilis Suae erga me beneficia pietatis, etiam *dextrum* sibi propter me passus est *latus* fodi: quod videlicet non nisi de dextera mihi propiure vellet, non nisi in dextera locum parare refugii. Utinam ego talis merear esse columba, quæ in foramine petrae habitat, et in foramine lateris dextri."³

¹ MSS. Nos. 65, 209, 455, 459, 496.

² Alford, *Greek Testament*, St. John, xix, 34.

³ D. Bernardus, *Sermo VII in Psalmum "Qui habitat."* Opera (1620), p. 530 B.

“Ut autem integram crucifixi imaginem me portare glorier, illud quoque, quod post mortem Tuam insatiabilis malitia impiorum in Te exercuit, hanc in me similitudinem exprime. Vulneret cor meum vivus et efficax sermo Tuus, penetrabilior omni lanceâ acutissimâ, perstringens usque ad divisionem animæ meæ, et produicens ex eâ, tanquam de *de-tero* latere meo, vice sanguinis et aquæ, amorem Tuum, Domine, et fratrum Tuorum.”¹

The lines of Prudentius will, doubtless, occur to many readers :

“Trajectus per utrumque latus,² laticem atque cruorem
Christus agit : sanguis, victoria ; lymp̃ha lavaerum est.
Tunc dno discordant crucibus hinc inde latrones
Contiguïs : negat ille Deum : fert iste coronam.”³

To which we may add those of Sedulius :

“Jam spiritus artus
Liquerat ad tempus, patulo jam frigida ligno
Viscera pendebant, et adhuc furor arma ministrans
Cuspide perfossum violat latus : ecce patenti
Vulnere purpureus cruor, et simul unda ecurrit.
Hæc sunt quippe sacræ pro religionis honore,
Corpus, sanguis, aqua, tria vitæ munera nostræ,
Fonte renascentes, membris et sanguine Christi
Vescimur, atque ideo templum Deitatis habemur.
Quod servare Deus nos annuat immaculatam,
Et faciat tenues tanto mansore capaces.”⁴

Those who care to enter into the broad field of the Roman Catholic legendary stories, will find a great fund of most curious information in the writings of F. Francis Quaresmius, “ordinis Minorum Theologus, olim Terræ Sanctæ Præses et Commissarius Apostolicus.” In his *Historia Theologica ac Moralis Terræ Sanctæ Elucidatio*,⁵ he figures the *S. Sudarium Bisontinum* and the *S. Sindon Taurinensis*, and gives an account of these celebrated relics.⁶ I take a few notes only from his memoir on this subject. “Sindon Taurinensis refert corpus Christi cruentum, et recens de cruce depositum ; Sudarium vero Bisontinum exhibet illud idem jam lotum ac perunctum, et in sepulchro compositum.”

¹ Id., *Sermo de Passione Domini*. Op., p. 155 L.

² Claudian uses the phrase “per utrumque latus” of the two sides or banks of a river :

“Sic nobis Scythicus famuletur Araxes,
Sic Rhenus per utrumque latus.”

In Prob. et Olyb. Cons. 160.

³ Prudentius, *Enchiridion V. et N. Testamenti. Passio Salvatoris*, xlii. Maittaire, p. 1649.

⁴ Caius Sedulius Presbyter, *Paschale Opus*, lib. v, p. 282. Maittaire, p. 1670.

⁵ Two volumes, folio, Antwerp, 1639.

⁶ Vol. ii, p. 534.

The former claims to be “mundam illam sindonem quam emit Joseph ab Arimathea, quæ primò Domini de cruce depositum corpus excepit”; the *Sindon Bisontina* or *Vesontina*, to be that which was actually deposited in the sepulchre.¹ The *Sindon Taurinensis* exhibits the impression of the back as well as of the front of the sacred figure; the *Sudarium Bisontinum* exhibits the front only. In each of these the wound is seen on the *left*, as it would naturally be, regarding them as impressions taken from the figure, and hence as reversing the actual features.

Quaresmius discusses many other curious questions, of which one example may suffice: “Christus in cruce non habuit Jerusalem à tergo, sed à sinistro latere, et quare.”² He also enters into minute details as to the “statura corporis Christi in Sindone Taurinensi et Vesontina”:³

“Staturam corporis Christi, a vertice ad calcem usque, in Sudario Vesontino reperi sex pedum geometricorum, tribus digitis minus; seu, quod eodem recidit, quinque pedum et trium quartarum unius pedis, duodenum enim digitorum, ut solet, pedem mathematicum facio.”

He further says, “vulnus lateris (dextri utique, ut certa fert traditio)”;⁴ and adds, moreover, many particulars “de variis linteaminibus quibus sacratissimum Servatoris nostri corpus de cruce depositum, involutum, et sepulturæ mandatum fuit; quibusque, in sepulchro, relictis, gloriosus resurrexit.”⁵ From this portion of his work I will transcribe one passage only:

“Præter staturam, apparet in sacris linteis tota Christi externa facies et conformatio corporis, si unum colorem excipias. Latitudo humerorum unius pedis, duorum digitorum sesqui: cæsaries prolixior, non admodum densa, leniter ad crispas declinans, et juxta morem Nazaræorum in vertice discriminata: barba mediocriter promissa, et in medio bifurcata; frons plana ac serena; nasus leni et modico tractu diffusus; recta brachia et crura; omnia demum, quæ speciosum forma præ filiis hominum deceant, nec aliena ab iis, quæ de Christi specie scripta reliquit Nicephorus ac Lentulus, Romanus in Judæa Præses, apud Eutropium in Annalibus.”⁶

Quaresmius gives a plate of a crucifix,⁷ described in chapter x, which treats “de mirabili radice lili, Christi Jesu crucifixi expressam effigiem referente, in suburbiis Sanctæ Civitatis inventa.” Here the wound is exhibited on the dex-

¹ See, however, the dissertation, *ibid.*, § v, pp. 535-540.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 447-8.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 532.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 531 b.

⁵ *Ib.*, § iii, pp. 529-31.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 532.

⁷ *Ibid.*, vol. ii, p. 19.

ter side of the figure, and "in dextera faciei parte" is to be seen "signum alapæ a sacrilego ministro Salvatori impactæ." He also figures¹ "exemplar argenteæ patellæ, qua opertum est cavum sanetæ crucis." On this plate are represented the crucifixion, the taking down from the cross, and the resurrection, in each of which subjects the wound is depicted on the right side.

Representations of the five wounds of the Redeemer are, as every antiquary knows, very frequently found in mediæval art. Sometimes they occur on monumental brasses, as at Kympton, Hampshire, on the brass of Robert Thornburgh, 1522, where we find a small cross engraved with the five wounds; at New College Oxford, where an ecclesiastic holds a *tau*-cross bearing the same symbol; at St. Andrew's, Norwich, where Bishop Underwood (suffragan to the Bishop of Norwich, 1541) was represented kneeling at a cross marked with the five wounds, the heart being placed at the intersection of the arms of the cross;² whilst the emaciated, shrouded figure of Richard Foxwist,³ who died in 1500, represented on a quadrangular plate in the south wall of the chancel of Llanbeblig Church, Carnarvonshire, bears in his hands a shield on which the wounds are displayed.

Sometimes they are found engraved upon finger-rings. A very good example is figured in the *Gentleman's Magazine*.⁴ It is a gold ring weighing one ounce, thirteen pennyweights, supposed to be of the time of Henry VI, found during the autumn of 1803, in the park at Coventry. In form it is a broad flat hoop, rather more than five-eighths of an inch in width. The principal subject engraved on the ring is the resurrection of the Lord, whose figure is surrounded by the instruments of the Passion. The five wounds are then represented, together with short inscriptions relating to them. The wound in the side is inscribed "The well of euerlastingh lyffe", and the other wounds are marked respectively as "The well of pittty", "The well of comfort", "The well of mercy", "The well of gracy". On the inner side of the ring

¹ *Ibid.*, vol. ii, opposite p. 456.

² This brass is no longer in existence. See the Rev. H. Haine's *Manual of Monumental Brasses*, p. ciii.

³ Figured in Haine's *Monumental Brasses*, p. cxxix, and in *Archæological Journal*, vol. vi, p. 414.

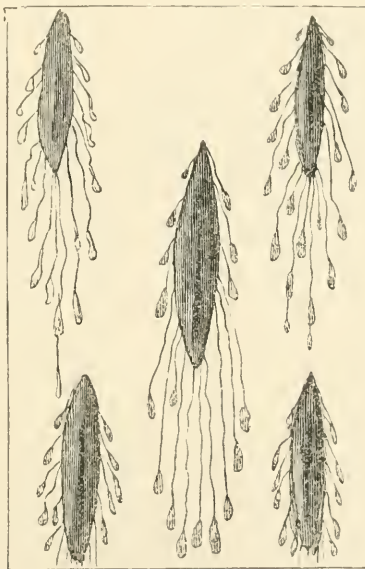
⁴ *Gent. Mag.*, vol. lxxii, plate opposite p. 497. Described in *Archæologia*, vol. xviii, p. 306.

occurs the following inscription, arranged in three lines, as here printed :

+ Wulnera . quinq'. dei . sunt . medicina . mei . pia .
+ Crux . et . passio . x'pi . sunt . medicina . michi . jaspas .
+ Melchior . baltasar . ananyzapta . tetragrammaton + ."

The wounds are of the *vesica piscis* form. It would appear that the word *ananyzapta* is a charm against epilepsy, if pronounced in a woman's ear when she is afflicted with that malady ; for a man the prescribed form is *anamzaptus*.¹

Sometimes the five wounds are found in illuminated books of devotion, as in a good example from the collection of the Rev. W. J. Loftie, exhibited not long since at the Burlington Fine Arts Club ; which, by the courtesy of Mr. Loftie, I am here permitted to include amongst the illustrations of this paper.



The five Wounds of the Redeemer.

From a MS. in the collection of the Rev. W. J. Loftie.

In the famous insurrection in Yorkshire, in 1536, known as "The Pilgrimage of Grace," the five wounds were the

¹ For *anamzaptus* we should probably read *ananizaptus*. See *Archæological Journal*, iii, pp. 358-9, for a notice of a similar inscription ; and *ibid.*, vol. xxvi, p. 230 and p. viii, where it is suggested "by that eminent Hebrew scholar, the Rev. R. Sinker," that "the word ANANIZAPTA is a slight corruption of Chaldee words signifying "Have mercy upon us, O judge."

badge of the rebels. Thus Latimer, in a sermon on the Epistle for the twenty-first Sunday after Trinity, says: "In like manner these men in the north country... I hear say they wear the cross and the wounds, before and behind..... They arm themselves with the sign of the cross and of the wounds, and go clean contrary to Him that bare the cross, and suffered those wounds."¹ Bishop Grindal, writing from London to Henry Bullinger, 18 Feb., 1570, thus describes a rising in the North: "The rebel army had on their colours the five wounds, as they are called, and the representation of a cross with this inscription, "*In hoc signo vinces.*"² And in Carte's *General History of England* we read that "every one wore on his sleeve, as the badge of the party, an emblem with the five wounds of Christ, with the name of JESUS wrought in the middle."³ Archbishop Sandys, in a sermon upon St. James, iv, 8-10, says: "In a paper which of late came from the Pope as a token to his dear children, there were printed the five wounds of Christ with this posy:—"*Fili, da mihi cor tuum, et sufficit.*"⁴

A detailed account of "The Pilgrimage of Grace" will be found in Mr. Froude's third volume.⁵ He thus describes the rising at Horncastle, co. Lincoln, on Tuesday, 3 October, 1536: "Dr. Mackarel, the abbot of Barlings, was present, with his canons, in full armour. From the abbey came a waggon-load of victuals; oxen and sheep were driven in from the neighbourhood; and a retainer of the house carried a banner on which were worked a plough, a chalice and a host, a horn, and the five wounds of Christ."⁶ To this passage a note is appended, from which we learn that "the plough was to encourage the husbandmen; the chalice and host in remembrance of the spoiling of the church; the five wounds to the couraging of the people to fight in Christ's cause; the horn to signify the taking of Horncastle."⁷ And again, on 29 November, 1536, "Lord Darcy, Robert Aske, and three hundred of the most eminent of their party, passed the bridge of the Don, with a safe conduct, into the town [Doncaster], wearing their pilgrims' badges, the five wounds

¹ Latimer's Works, Parker Society, vol. i, p. 29.

² *Zurich Letters*, Parker Society, vol. i, p. 218; see also vol. i, p. 214, note.

³ Carte, *England*, vol. iii, p. 140.

⁴ Archbishop Sandys' Works, Parker Society, p. 130.

⁵ Froude, *History of England*, vol. iii, pp. 86-186.

⁶ *Ib.*, p. 105.

⁷ *Ib.*, Philip Trotter's examination (Rolls' House MS., A. 2, 29).

of Christ, crossed on their breasts.”¹ At the close of the conference “the said Aske, in the presence of all the lords, pulled off his badge crossed with the five wounds; and in a semblable manner did all the lords there, and all others there present, saying all these words, ‘We will wear no badge nor figure but the badge of our Sovereign Lord.’”²

As the five wounds became the badge of an insurrection, so also were they used in the profane speech of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Amongst the choice morsels with which even kings and queens used to interlard their conversation, one of the most usual was “*Zounds!*” that is, *God’s wounds*. The following passages from Shakespeare will serve to illustrate the repulsive habit of garnishing ordinary talk with references to the passion of the divine Redeemer :³

“HOTSPUR. Zounds! How has he the leisure to be sick?” (*1 Hen. IV.*, act iv, sc. i.)

“CAPULET. God’s bread! It makes me mad.” (*Romeo and Juliet*, act iii, sc. 5.)

“HAMLET. ‘Sblood! There is something in this more than natural. (*Hamlet*, act ii, sc. 2.)

“HAMLET. Odds bodikin, man, much better! Use every man after his desert, and who shall ‘scape whipping?” (*Hamlet*, act ii, sc. 2.)

A favourite oath of William Rufus was “*Per vultum de Luca*” and sometimes “*Per vultum Dei*”, as we read in William of Malmesbury’s treatise, *De Gestis Pontificum Anglorum* (see Mr. Hamilton’s edition, p. 83, note, p. 273, and p. 104, note).

Many confraternities have been founded in the Roman Catholic Church for the greater veneration of the five wounds. I have before me two little volumes which may possibly be deemed worth a brief notice in passing. The first contains the “*Statuta Confraternitatis Quinque SS. Christi Vulnerum in Choro S. Wilibaldi Eystadii, inter Sacerdotes hujus Diocesis Auctoritate Pontificia et Facultate ordinaria insti-*

¹ Froude, p. 176.

² *Ib.*, p. 179, Aske’s narrative (Rolls’ House MS., A. 2, 28).

³ To these examples I have sometimes thought that *Zooks* might be added. Is it *God’s looks*? a reference, perhaps, to the Veronica. This is a mere guess founded on the analogy of *Zounds*. See also Lancelot Gobbo’s exclamation, “By God’s souties” (*Merchant of Venice*, act ii, sc. 2), supposed by Stevens to be corrupted from “God’s sanctity”; but by Nares to be a corruption of “By the health (*santé*) of God.” And see the words of Paris, “By God’s lid, it does one’s heart good” (*Troil. and Cres.*, act i, sc. 2). To which must be added the exclamation, “‘Sdeath!” The subject is disagreeable enough; but he who

tutæ.”¹ It comprises an allocution of Joannes Eucharius, Bishop of Eystadt, addressed “ad cultores SS. Quinque Vulnerum Servatoris nostri, seu devotos eorumdem confratres”: two bulls of Innocent XII, granting certain privileges and indulgences to the confraternity; the statutes of the confraternity in six chapters; a “*Fasciculus Indulgentiarum; Virtutes exercendæ circa V. SS. Vulnera Jesu Crucifixi*”; an *Officium Parvum SS. Vulnerum*; together with other devotions. The second volume is the *Rosetum Sacerdotale quinque SS. Fontibus irriguum, almæ Confraternitatis sanctissimorum V. Vulnerum D. N. J. Christi in Ecclesia Collegiata SS. Joann. Constantiæ inter Sacerdotes institutæ*, etc.,² a still larger collection of statutes and of devotions.

Devotions to the five wounds are common enough in Roman Catholic books of prayers. The Lambeth MS. No. 455³ contains a series of prayers “*ad crucem Christi, ad caput Christi, ad vulnus dextræ manus, ad vulnus sinistræ manus*.” Mr. Maskell⁴ reprints “two deuoute prayers in englisshe to Iesu”, from the *Hore ad usum Sarum*, in which these words occur: “What tyme Thou offredst Thy gloriouse body, god and man, vnto the crosse ther to be crucifyed and wounded, and vnto Thy glorious hert a sharp sper.” In the *Hore Beatissime Virginis Marie ad legitimum Sarisburiensis Ecclesie Ritum*,⁵ we have some very curious matter relating to this particular devotion. Thus at fo. lxxviii B we read:

“Our holy father the pope Innocentius hath graunted to all them that say this prayer devoutly, in the worship of the wounde that our lorde had in hys blessed syde whan he was deed hangynge in the crosse, .iiii. dayes of pardon.

“*Oratio.*

“Ave vulnus lateris nostri Salvatoris
Ex quo fluxit fluminis fons atque cruoris
Medicina miseris esto nunc doloris
Sana simul criminis plagam et erroris
Ave plaga lateris larga et fecunda
Lava multitudinis sordes et emunda

would understand the real condition of a people, may learn much even from their ejaculations in ordinary conversation.

¹ A volume of 96 pages, 12mo, “Typis Francisci Strauss, Aul. Typogr., 1713.”

² Pp. 264, 12mo, Constantiæ, 1781.

³ Codd. Lambeth, No. 455, fo. 78.

⁴ Maskell, *Monumenta Ritualia Eccles. Angl.*, vol. ii, p. 263. The edition of the *Sarum Hore* cited is that by Simon Vostre. 8vo, Paris, 1508.

⁵ Paris, by Francis Regnault; 4to, 1534. There is a copy in the Lambeth Library; press-mark, 78, I, 10.

Ne ledat in inferis tuos mors secunda
Sed in visu numinis fiat meus jucunda.

Pater noster. Ave Maria. Credo in Deum."

It is not unlikely that the pictured charm figured in this paper may have been placed before the eyes of the worshipper as he recited this prayer. At another place in the same volume, fo. lxix, is the following noteworthy passage :

"Our holy father Sixtus the — bath graunted to all them that be in the state of grace sayenge thys prayer folowyng immediatly after the elevacyon of the body of our lorde, clene remission of all theyr synnes perpetually endurenge. And also John the iij, pope of Rome, at the requeste of the quene of englonde, hath graunted to all them that devoutly say thys prayer before the ymage of our lorde crucified, as many dayes of pardon as there were woundes in the body of our lorde in the tyme of hys bytter passyon, the whyche were v. m. iiij. hondred iij. scoure and v."

I quote this passage only for the sake of the curious statement with which it concludes, viz., that the number of wounds in our Lord's body was five thousand, four hundred, and sixty-five. John III was Pope for a little less than thirteen years, A.D. 560-73; but I am afraid that I cannot inform my readers who was the "quene of Englonde" at whose request this indulgence was granted. It would appear, however, from this volume of *Horæ*, that miraculous virtues like those indicated in the charm printed above were attributed to other objects also. Thus at fo. lxxv we read :

"Thys epystell of our Savyour sendeth our holy father pope Leo to the emperour Carolo magno, of the whiche we fyndest wryten who that bereth thys blessinge upon hym, and sayth it ones a daye, shall obteyne .xl. yerres of pardon and .lxxx. lentyge, and he shall not perysshe wyth soden deth.

"Crux + Christi sit mecum.

Crux + est quam semper adoro.

Crux + Christi est vera salus.

Crux + Christi superat omne gladium.¹

Crux + Christi solnit vincula mortis.

Crux + Christi invincibilis per arma.

Crux + Christi immobile signum.

Crux + Christi sit michi via virtutum et virtus.

Per crucem diuinam + aggrediar iter.

Crux + Christi pandit omne bonum.

Crux + Christi fugat omne malum.

Crux + Christi abstulit penam eternam.

Crux + Christi salua me, sique super me, ante me, et post me; quia antiquus hostis fugit ubicunque te viderit.

¹ Gaudium. (*Horæ B. M. ad Usam Sarum*, 1535. Paris, Regnault, fo. lvi.) Lambeth, 78, I, 9.

"O altitudo crucis + quam nunquam altitudo tetigit, et profunditas quam nunquam profunditas vallauit, et latitudo¹ quam nunquam latitudo comprehendit: libera me N. famulum tuum ab omnibus diabolicis artibus et pessimis cogitationibus que in me manent. + Tu diabole fuge a me vt nesciam te: et sicut tu es abscisus a celo, sic te abscedat² spiritus sanctus a me: et sicut tu es alienus ab omni felicitate, sic tu sis alienus a me: et sicut nunquam desideras deum, sic nunquam desideres ad me venire. Fuge diabole a me famulo dei per signum sancte crucis +. Ecce crucem domini + fugite partes aduerse: sicut leo de tribu iuda radix dauid alleluia. Et benedictio dei patris + omnipotentis et filii + et spiritus sancti +. Crux Christi descendat super me et mecum maneat semper. Amen. Pater noster. Aue Maria."

And, indeed, faith in the miracles of the sainted King Henry VI was to be similarly rewarded, for a prayer at fol. xcix B reads thus:


"Presta quesimus omnipotens et misericors Deus: ut qui devotissimi regis henrici merita miraculis fulgentia pie mentis affectu recolimus in terris: ejus et omnium sanctorum tuorum intercessionibus ab omni peste febre morbo ac improvisa morte ceterisque cruamur malis: et gaudia superna adipisci mereamur. Per dominum nostrum Jesum Christum filium tuum. Qui tecum."

On the worship of Henry VI at Westminster and at York, the reader may consult Dean Stanley's *Memorials of Westminster Abbey*.³

In the same spirit, pieces of paper which had touched the skulls of the Three Kings of Cologne were supposed to possess remarkable virtues, according to the following charm against the falling sickness:

"Jaspar fert myrrham, thus Melchior, Balthasar aurum,
Hæc tria qui secum portabit nomina regum
Solvitur a morbo, Christi pietate, caduco."

I possess such a charm, which I was fortunate enough to meet with a few years ago. I had taken up, at a curiosity shop, a silver dollar bearing on its obverse and reverse the inscriptions,

 LEOPOLDVS . D . G . ARCHIDVX . AVSTRIÆ.
DVX . BVRGVND . COMES . TYROLIS.

Its lightness caused me to examine it more closely, and I discovered that the whole inner substance of the coin had been removed, and the coin itself converted into a box. On opening the box I discovered two pieces of paper. Upon the one was printed the first fourteen verses of the first

¹ Latitudo crucis. (*ib.*)

² Abscedat tc. (*ib.*)

³ Third edition, pp. 162-64, and 616-18.

chapter of the Gospel according to St. John, being the Gospel for Christmas Day; and on the other was a rude woodcut representing the adoration of the Magi, with this inscription :

“TRES-SAINTS ROYS. Priez pour nous maintenant & a l'heure de nôtre mort.

“Ces billets ont touché aux trois Têtes des Saints Rois à Cologne, ils sont pour les Voyageurs contre les malheurs des chemins, maux de tête, mal caduc, fievres, sorcelleries, & toute sorte de malefice, & mort subite.”

In Larwood and Hotten's *History of Signboards*¹ it is noticed that “in the trial of the smugglers for the murder of Chater and Galley, excisemen of Chichester, in the last century, one of the prisoners was found with this charm” (the Latin verses above printed) “in his pocket. With this scrap of paper in his possession he had considered himself quite safe from detection.” Mr. Roach Smith, in his *Collectanea Antiqua*,² prints a similar charm. In his example, however, the first lines are in Latin :

“Sancti Tres Reges, GASPAR, MELCHIOR, BALTHASAR, orate pro nobis nunc et in hora mortis nostræ.”

The remainder reads as in my copy. The woodcut represents the city of Cologne, with the Cathedral surmounted by the famous crane; above the city, resting on a cloud, the Virgin and Child, and the Three Kings; in front of the walls flows the Rhine. And he observes that “a man named William Jackson was in January, 1748-49, tried for and convicted of murder at Chichester. He was sentenced to be hung in chains, but died in prison soon after being measured for the chains. On his person was found a ticket which had touched the heads of the Three Kings.” Perhaps the cases mentioned by Mr. Roach Smith and by Messrs. Larwood and Hotten are one and the same.

Representations of the five wounds are not confined to the person of the Lord. Dr. Husenbeth, in his *Emblems of Saints*,³ enumerates no less than four saints who are represented as marked with the sacred *stigmata*: St. Catharine of Sienna, V, 1380; St. Francis of Assissium, c. 1226; B. Bridget, O. P., of Holland; St. Margaret of Hungary, 1271. Of these, perhaps the best known to art-students is

¹ Fifth edition, p. 302, note.

² Vol. i, p. 122.

³ Husenbeth, *Emblems*, second edition.

the familiar figure of St. Francis. The 17th of September is observed in the Roman Catholic Church as the *Festum Impressionis SS. Stigmatum S. Francisci*.¹ Alban Butler gives an account of the reception of the *stigmata* by St. Francis, and after describing the wounds in the hands and feet adds, "there was also in his *right* side a red wound, as if made by the piercing of a lance."²

In St. Catherine's Chapel at Sienna is a fresco by Razzi representing St. Catherine fainting in a trance before a crucifix, according to the legend: "When Catherine was at Pisa she was praying at early dawn in the Chapel of St. Christina, before a crucifix venerable for its sanctity; and while she prayed, being absorbed in rapturous devotion, she was transfixed; that is, received the *stigmata* as St. Francis had done before." Mrs. Jameson, whose words I am quoting,³ adds that this crucifix "is a painting on panel by Giunta Pisano, about 1260. It was afterwards removed from Pisa by a special decree of the Pope, and placed in the Oratory of St. Catherine at Sienna, where I saw it in 1847." In the woodcut three of the wounds are seen,—those in the hands, and that in the *left* side.

Nor, according to Roman Catholic writers, are later instances of stigmatisation wanting. I possess a copy of each of the editions of a *Letter from the Earl of Shrewsbury to Ambrose Lisle Phillipps, Esq., descriptive of the Ecstatica of Caldaro and the Addolorata of Capriana*.⁴ Here an account is given of the stigmatisation of Catherine Emmerich, the *Ecstatica* of Caldaro, on 29 December, 1812. The wound on the right side of the apparition of Our Lord is mentioned; and it is said that triple rays from this figure, seen in vision, "struck upon her hands, her feet, and her *right* side";⁵ whilst of Domenica Lazari, the *Addolorata* of Capriana, it is said that "her whole head was encircled by small wounds, fifty-three in number, which opened and bled profusely every Friday."⁶

It may be necessary here, in order to guard myself from

¹ *Vesperale Romanum*, 8vo, Mechliniæ, 1848.

² Butler's *Lives of the Saints*, Oct. 4.

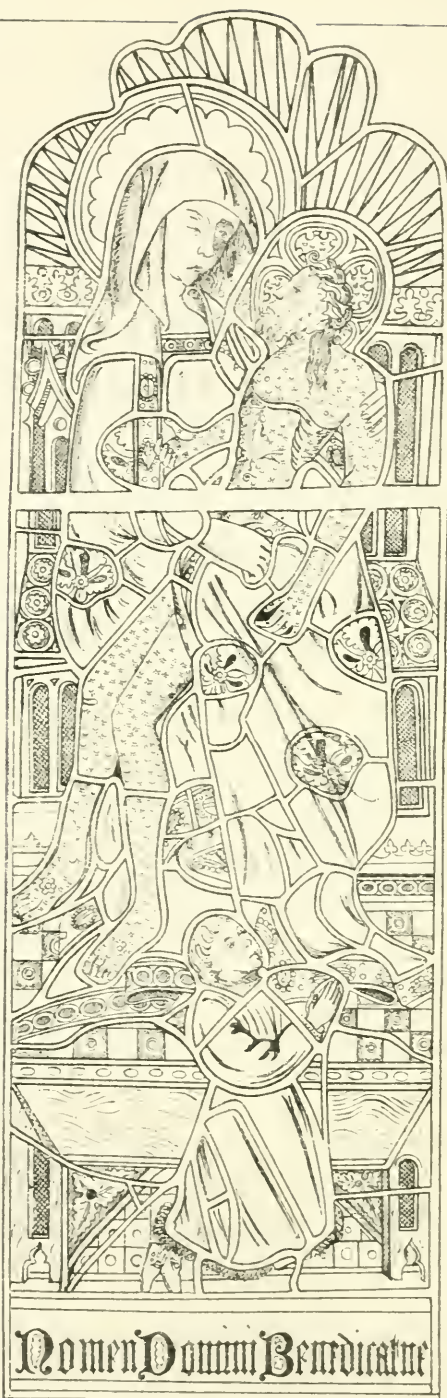
³ Mrs. Jameson, *Legends of the Monastic Orders*, pp. 388, 394.

⁴ The first edition of this remarkable tract (8vo, London, 1841) contained two plates and 44 pages, and was published by Charles Dolman of 61, New Bond Street; the second edition, enlarged to 143 pages, was published in 1842, but the plates were omitted.

⁵ *Ib.*, p. 43. Catherine Emmerich died in 1824.

⁶ *Ib.*, p. 35.





Window at Long Melford Church Suffolk

any misapprehension, to say distinctly that I am referring to these matters purely from an art point of view, and, as all who know me will be well aware, that I am not to be misunderstood as if I were expressing any approbation of, or belief in, the legends here repeated.

The form of the wounds and their direction vary greatly. Sometimes, as in a painting on the north wall of St. John's, Winchester, the wound in the right side is represented by a long horizontal gash;¹ whilst in a sculpture discovered at Stoke Charity Church, Hampshire, the subject of which is the Mass of St. Gregory, triangular wounds are seen in the hands and nearly in the centre of the body.² At other times the wounds are circular in outline, crescent shaped, lozenge shaped, or, as we have seen, of the *vesica-piscis* form. In direction the wound in the side is horizontal, or vertical, or diagonal. In a window at Long Melford Church, Suffolk, the body of the dead Christ is depicted as actually semée of large bleeding wounds; each wound being crescent shaped, and having three drops of blood falling from it (see Plate 19).

I cannot conclude this paper without saying a word upon the subject of the lance by which the wound in the side of the Redeemer was inflicted. In the twentieth volume of our *Journal* Mr. Syer Cuming has figured a holy lance "preserved in the monastery of Kickart, a few leagues from Erivan, in Armenia, and traditionally reported to have been brought thither by St. Matthew. A copper-plate of this famous weapon is given in Tavernier's *Persian Travels*, vol. ii, p. 13." And in the course of his remarks Mr. Cuming refers to other "holy lances" preserved at Nuremberg, at Paris, and at Rome.³ Hone, in his *Every Day Book*, quoting from Alban Butler, observes that the "holy lance" kept at Rome wants the point", and that "the point was conveyed to Paris";⁴ and he engraves the "holy lance" preserved at Nuremberg. But those who care to pursue the matter further must open the pages of another great work of Francis Quaresmius, his *De Quinque Vulneribus Jesu Christi D. N., varia, pia, et luculenta tractatio: opus in quinque tomos distributum*.⁵ In vol. ii, cap. xi, sect. 1, at p. 77, will be found a plate of the lance preserved at Rome; and the point, broken from it, is figured at p. 91. It is of iron, and

¹ *Journal* of the British Archaeological Association, ix, pp. 8, 10.

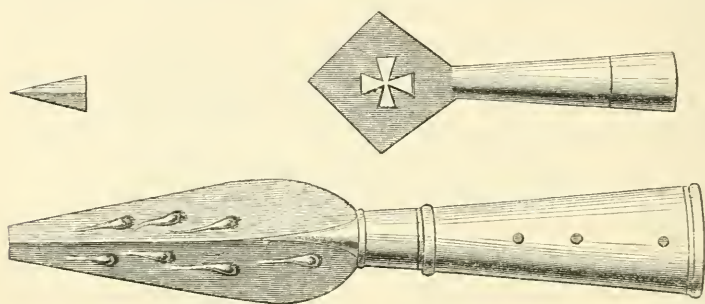
² *Ib.*, v, p. 258.

³ *Ib.*, xx, p. 203.

⁴ Hone, *Every Day Book*, vol. ii, p. 215.

⁵ Five vols., fol., Venice, 1682.

its dimensions are thus given : "Formam et figuram lanceæ, ait Franciscus Collius, esse longitudine palmarem, latitudine semipalmarem, ferrique apice carentem formatam fuisse, non semel oculis ipsis nostris contemplati sumus in expresso ejusdem cuspidis typo." Quaresmius, in his *Elucidatio Terræ Sanctæ*, already referred to, has some remarks upon the *lancea Christi*:¹ "Romæ in Basilica S. Petri asservatur." And he says that by some the Empress Helena is said "simul crucem, claves, et ferrum lanceæ reperisse"; but yet he observes that the lance, being the arms of the soldier, would probably be retained by him. He proceeds to relate that the genuineness of the relic was authenticated by a miracle, and affirms that a priest "ad flammæ judicium nudus descendit, sacrum lanceæ ferrum manu gestans."



The holy Lance, as depicted by Tavernier and by Quaresmius.

The Rev. M. Hobart Seymour² supplies us with a translation of the inscription over the image of St. Longinus at St. Peter's : "The spear of Longinus, which Innocent VIII, chief Pontiff, received from Bajazet, the Sultan of the Turks, Urban VIII transferred to a decorated shrine, raising an image, and erecting a shrine underneath." He states that the four "great relics of St. Peter's," the Veronica, a portion of the cross, the head of St. Andrew, and the spear of St. Longinus, are publicly exhibited at St. Peter's on November 18, and several times during the Holy Week.

The illustrations inserted in this paper will certainly show that, whatever may have been the original intention of the veneration of relics, by the fifteenth century (and, indeed, long before) the practice had degenerated, as it could not fail to do, into the most wretched and childish superstition.

¹ Vol. ii, pp. 420-21.

² *Pilgrimage to Rome*, 2nd edition, pp. 407, 408.

THE DRAGON OF WANTLEY.

BY LLEWELLYNN JEWITT, F.S.A.

AMONG the numerous ballads and ballad-heroes with which the immediate neighbourhood of Sheffield is closely associated, are two which, more than any others, retain their hold on the popular mind. These two, which possess an unusual amount of local as well as general interest, are *Robin Hood* and *The Dragon of Wantley*—ballads whose names are known far and wide, and whose incidents, startling and sensational in the extreme, differ widely from each other. With the great ballad-hero, Robin Hood, the “bold outlaw” of Barnsdale and of “merry Sherwood,” I have nothing to do in this paper. My dealings must be confined to that terrible monster, “Wantley’s sacrilegious Dragon,” and to the renowned hero, “Moore of Moore Hall,” by whom he was vanquished.

And now, first of all, for the ballad itself—simply premising that its scene is laid at Wharnccliffe, and that the name *Wantley* is merely a corruption of that name; in fact is simply a provincialism for *Wharnccliffe*. The ballad, which I will proceed to describe from an original broadsheet in my own possession, is entitled “An excellent Ballad of that most Dreadful Combate fought Between Moore of Moore Hall and the Dragon of Wantley. To a pleasant Tune much in Request.” At the head is a curious woodcut of the monster in a very sacrilegious mood, eating up one monk, dispersing others, and a king looking on in astonishment in the distance. It runs thus :

“Old stories tell how Hercules
 A dragon slew at Lerna
 With seven heads and fourteen eyes
 To see and well discern-a;
 But he had a club
 This dragon to drub,
 Or he had ne’er done it, I warrant ye.
 But Moore of Moore Hall
 With nothing at all
 He slew the Dragon of Wantley.

“This Dragon had two furious wings,
 Each one upon each shoulder,

“ With a sting in his tail as long as a flail,
Which made him bolder and bolder.
He had long claws,
And in his jaws
Four and forty teeth of iron,
With a hide as tough
As any buff,
Which did him round environ.

“ Have you not heard that the Trojan horse
He'd seventy men in his belly?
This Dragon was not quite so big,
But very near, I tell ye.
Devour did he
Poor children three
That could not with him grapple,
And at one sup
He eat them up
As one should eat an apple.

“ All sorts of cattle this Dragon did eat.
Some say he did eat up trees,
And that the forest sure he would
Devour up by degrees,
For houses and churches
Were to him geese and turkeys,
Eat all, and left none behind,
But some stones, dear Jack,
Which he could not crack,
Which on the hills you will find.

“ In Yorkshire, near fair Rotherham,
The place I know it well,
Some two or three miles, or thereabouts,
I vow I cannot tell;
But there is a hedge
Just on the hill-edge,
And Matthew's house hard by it.
O! there and then
Was this Dragon's den;
You could not chuse but spy it.

“ Some say this Dragon was a witch,
Some say he was a devil,
For from his nose a smoke arose,
And with his burning snivel
Which he cast off,
When he did cough,
In a well that he did stand by,
Which made it look
Just like a brook
Running with burning brandy.

“ Hard by a furious knight there dwelt,
Of whom all towns did ring,

For he could wrestle, play at quarter-staff, kick, cuff, and huff,
 Do any kind of thing.
 By the tail and the mane,
 With his hands twain,
 He swung a horse till he was dead ;
 And what is stranger,
 He for very anger
 Eat him all up but his head.

“These children, as I told, being cat,
 Men, women, girls, and boys,
 Sighing and sobbing, came to his lodging,
 And made a hideous noise :
 ‘ Oh ! save us all,
 Moore of Moore Hall,
 Thou peerless knight of these woods !
 Do but slay this Dragon ;
 He won’t leave us a rag on ;
 We’ll give thee all our goods.’

Moore, the “peerless knight”, however, did not want their goods. “Tut, tut,” quoth he, “no goods I want”; but having made a bargain about a maid, which may be well passed over, with those who came to him, he agreed to fight the monster.

“This being done, he did engage
 To hew this Dragon down ;
 But first he went new armour to
 Bespeak at *Sheffield* town,
 With spikes all about,
 Not within, but without,
 Of steel so sharp and strong,
 Both behind and before,
 Arms, legs, and all o’er,
 Some five or six inches long.

“Had you seen him in this dress,
 How fierce he look’d, and how big,
 You would have thought him for to be
 An Egyptian poreupig !
 He frightened all,—
 Cats, dogs, and all ;
 Each cow, each horse, and each hog,
 For fear did flee,
 For they took him to be
 Some strange, outlandish hedgehog.

“To see this fight all people there
 Got upon trees and houses,
 On churches some, on chimneys too ;
 But these put on their trowsers
 Not to spoil their hose.
 As soon as he rose,

To make him strong and mighty,
 He drank by the tale
 Six pots of ale
 And a quart of *aqua vitæ*.

“It is not strength that always wins,
 For wit doth strength excel,
 Which made our cunning champion
 Creep down into a well
 Where he did think
 This Dragon would drink;
 And so he did in truth;
 And as he stoop'd low,
 He rose up and cry'd *Boh!*
 And hit him in the mouth.

Astonished at this unlooked for assault,

“‘Oh!’ quoth the Dragon, ‘come out,
 Thou that disturb'st my drink’,

and instantly retaliated in his own peculiar way, which I need not quote. Moore, however, was a fair match for him, and—

“Our politick knight on the other side
 Crept out upon the brink
 And gave the Dragon such a douse
 He knew not what to think.
 ‘By cock,’ quoth he,
 ‘Say you so? do you see?’
 And then at him he let fly
 With hand and with foot,
 And so they went to ‘t
 And the words were—‘*Hey, boys, hey!*’

“‘Your words,’ quoth the Dragon
 ‘I don’t nnderstand.’
 Then to it they fell at all
 Like two wild boars so fierce, if I may,
 Compare great things with small.
 Two days and a night
 With this Dragon did fight
 Our champion on the ground,
 Though their strength it was great,
 Their skill it was neat,
 They never had one wound.

“At length the hard earth began to shake,
 The Dragon gave him such a knock
 Which made him to reel, and straight he thought
 To lift him as high as a rock
 And then let him fall!
 But Moore of Moore Hall
 Like a valiant son of Mars
 As he came like a lout
 So he turned him about.....

And administered such a severe kick, that—

“ ‘ Oh !’ quoth the Dragon, with a deep sigh,
 And turned six times together
 Sobbing and tearing,
 Cursing and swearing,
 Out of his throat of leather,
 ‘ Moore of Moore Hall—
 Oh, thou rascal—
 Would I had seen thee never !’

* * * * *

‘ I am undone for ever !’

The mortal wound having been given, the “dreadful combat” was soon over—the “last dying speech,” if not “confession,” of the monster being

“ ‘ Murder, murder.....
 Alack, alack, for grief.’
 “ Then, his head he shook,
 Trembled and quaked,
 And down he laid and cry’d;
 First on one knee,
 Then on back tumbled he,
 So groaned, then kicked, and died.”

Those who have studied this quaint old ballad will quickly perceive what an analogy, in some respects, there is between it and the more popular national ballad of St. George and the Dragon. There is the same idea of the den, the well, the pestilent breath and foulness, and the eating up of human beings ; the same idea of the pure virgin (in one instance to be led as a sacrifice for the saving of the lives of the multitude, and to be eventually rescued by the knight ; in the other to anoint the knight and gird on his armour before going to attack the monster) ; and the same deadly conflict and ultimate vanquishing.

Dragon stories are of frequent occurrence, and, did time permit, might all, or nearly so, be traced to one common origin. This has been so well and ably accomplished by Mr. Baring-Gould that I abstain from entering into it. The writer of the ballad of the Dragon of Wantley, whoever he may be, has, I apprehend, seized upon the general idea of St. George and the Dragon and worked it up in connection with a local event. What that event was it will be well now to inquire.

The late Rev. Joseph Hunter, the historian of Hallam-

shire, after long and patient research—research which has been well continued by his able and energetic editor, Dr. Gatty—brought to light a curious allusion to this ballad, made two hundred years back by the Rev. Oliver Heywood of Coley, in the same county. Mr. Heywood wrote, “Sir Francis Wortley’s great-grandfather being a man of great estate was owner of a towne near unto him, only there were some freeholders within it with whom he wrangled and sued until he had beggared them and cast them out of their inheritance, and so the town was wholly his, which he pulled quite downe and laid the buildings and town fields even as a common, wherein his main design was to keep deer, and make a lodge, to which he came at the time of the yeere and lay there, taking great delight to hear the deer bell. But it came to pass that before he dyed he belled like a deer, and was distracted. Some rubbish there may be seen of the town; it is upon a great moor between Penistone and Sheffield.” There is also a tradition to the same effect. The town, to which tradition gives the name of Stanfield, is said to have stood on the top of Wharncliffe Moor, near the pond. Some small remains of a building on the moor, near the road from the Haystack Coppice to the Lodge, are said to have been Whitley Church. Some years ago, the foundation of some edifices were distinctly visible on this spot. Some unevennesses in the ground, not far from the site of the supposed church, are said to mark the spot where the town of Whitley stood. Remains of one kind or other have been found here. The site of Stanfield is the highest ground in this neighbourhood and commands a view of marvellous extent, embracing the Cathedral of York on the one hand, and that of Lincoln on the other. The destruction of both these places is ascribed, as just stated, to Sir Thomas Wortley, who is supposed to have allowed nothing to stand in the way between him and his fondness for the chase. He is said not only to have built the lodge, but to have much enlarged the limits of the chace itself; and in order to do so to have violently disfranchised some ancient freeholders who were seated on its borders.

How well this tradition of the destruction of these towns is carried out in the ballad!

“ Houses and churches
Were to him geese and turkies ;

Eat all, and left none behind
 But some stones, dear Jack,
 Which he could not crack,
 Which on the hills you will find”;

the *stones* on the hills being, without doubt, the remains of the houses of Stan or *stone* field. Then, again, the violent disfranchisement of ancient freeholders is aptly allegorised in the lines—

“Devour did he
 Poor children three
 That could not with him grapple,
 And at one sup
 He eat them up,
 As one should eat an apple.”

And then the breaking up of the pastures around the homesteads, and the felling of trees for purposes of the chase, are clearly meant in these words :

“All sorts of cattle this Dragon did eat,
 Some say he did eat up trees,
 And that the forest sure he would
 Devour up by degrees”,—

the popular expectation being that, in his greed, he would not stop at destroying the villages and seizing the land, but would ultimately take violently to himself Loxley Chase and Sherwood Forest!

Sir Thomas Wortley (son of Nicholas Wortley by Isabel his wife, daughter and heir of William Tunstall of Thurland) was knight of the body to four successive kings, Edward IV, Richard III, Henry VII, and Henry VIII; “and”, as the old Wortley pedigree says,

“Did serve them with great credit in their warres, having great government in this commonwealthe, being, as it may appeare, in great truste with the said kings; for as yet there remaineth a great number of letters in the house of Wortley, which were sent by the aforesaid kinges to the said Sir Thomas, sealed with their private signates..... And also had the same princes gyft of the stewardship of Midlame Castelle, with all thinges thereto belonging, with the putting in of all officers to the said Castell. And also he had and was Steward of Kimberworth with all the commodities thereunto belonging..... Nowe to speak of his recreation. First he was much given to showtinge with the longe bowe, and many of his men were cunning archers, and in them he did much delite. Also he had much delite in huntynge that he did build in the midst in his forest of Wharnclyffe, a house or lodge, at which house he did lye at for the most part of the grease tyme; and the worshipful of the countrie did there resorte unto him, having there with him pastime and good cheare. Many times he

would go into the Forest of the Peake, and set up there his tent with great provisyon of vitales, having in his company many worshipful persons, with his owne family, and would remain there vii weeks or more huntinge and making other worthy pastimes unto his companye. He had such a kinde and breede of hounds, and their cunning in huntinge it was such that the fame of them went into Scotland, so that the Kinge of Scots did write his letters desiring him to have some of his houndes ; at the which request he did send him x copple, with his owne huntsman, which did remayne there ii whole yeares."

Sir Thomas married thrice,—first, Catherine, daughter of William Fitz-William of Sprotborough ; secondly, Joan, daughter of William Balderston, and widow successively of Thomas Langton and Sir John Pilkington, whom he divorced ; and thirdly, Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Richard Fitz-William, and widow of John Fitz-William. He died in 1514. His "house or lodge" does not remain in its original form ; but still there it stands, and near it the kennels said to have been erected by him in 1500. "But the most curious local object," says my late dear friend, John Holland (whose name can never be uttered in Sheffield, or within sound of Sheffield ears, without awakening feelings of love and veneration, and whose memory will ever be cherished in his native town), "and after which an intelligent stranger would probably first inquire, is the 'Inscription Rock.' This memorial of the name and taste of one of the Wortleys of the Tudor age has been pronounced unique. Finding a portion of the native rock which presented a tolerably flat surface, he caused to be engraven upon it, in letters of a span long, the following inscription :¹

Pray for the soyle of
 Thomas Wortteley knyght
 for the kynngs bode to Edward
 the forth Richard therd Mare
 bii and Hare biii
 Hows faults God perdon Wlhyche
 Thomas causyd a loge to be made
 Don thys crag in mydst of
 Wercliff for the plesor to her the
 hartes bel, in the yere of our
 lord a thousand ccccc.

The inscription is in Gothic letters, 3½ inches high, cut on

¹ The text of this inscription has been specially examined on the spot for the Association.

a surface of about 8 feet by 5. It has suffered considerably by exposure to the weather, from which, however, it is now protected by walls and a roof."

The idea of building a lodge on this crag, in the midst of Wanciff, for his pleasure, to hear the hart's bell, and the cutting of this inscription to perpetuate the fact, are so poetical in conception, that one may surely be tempted to forgive Sir Thomas the wrong he may have done in removing the villages which tradition says he effected.

Taylor, the "Water Poet," visited the Lodge in 1639 with Sir Francis Wortley, great-great-grandson of Sir Thomas, and his account of it, which appears in his *Newes from Hell, Hull, and Halifax*, etc., is so curious that it is worth here again introducing :

"From Leeds I went to Wakefield, where, if the valliant Pinder had been living, I would have played Don Quixotte's part, and challenged him; but being it was so happy he was dead, I passed the town in peace to Barnsley, and so to Wortley, to Sir Francis Wortley's ancient house. The entertainment which himself, his good lady, and his most faire and hopeful daughter, gave mee there, as I never did or can deserve, so I never shall be able to requite. To talke of meate, drinke, money, and free welcome for horse and man, it were but a meer foolery for me to begin, because then I should run myself into a labyrinth out of which I should hardly find my way. Therefore to his Worship my humble thanks remembered, and everlasting happiness wished both to him and all that is his. Yet I cannot forbear to write a little of the further favour of this noble knight.

"Upon the 14th of September afternoon he took horse with me, and his lady and daughter in their coach, with some other servants on horseback; where three miles we rode over rocks and cloud-kissing mountains—one of them so high that in cleer day a man may, from the top thereof, see both the minsters or cathedral churches, Yorke and Lincolne, neere 60 miles off us; and as it is to be supposed that when the Devil did looke over Lincolne, as the proverb is, that he stood upon that mountain, or neere it. Sir Francis brought me to a Lodge, the place is called Wharnccliffe, where the keeper dwells who is his man, and keeps all this woody, rocky, stony, vast wilderness under him; for there are many deere there, and the keeper were an asse if he would want venison, having so good a master.

"Close to the said Lodge is a stone, in burthen at least a hundred cart loads. The top of it is four square by nature, and about 12 yards compasse. It hath three seats in the forme of chaires, made by art, in the front of the rocke, wherein three persons may easily sit, and have a view and goodly prospect over large woods, townes, cornfields, fruitful and pleasant pastures, valleys, rivers, decres, neat, sheep, and all things needful for the life of man; contayned in thousands of acres, and all for the better parte belonging to that noble knight's ancestors and himselfe. Behind the stone is a large inscription engraven, where, in an old character, is described the ancient memory of

the Wortleys (the progenitors of Sir Francis now living) for some hundreds of years, who were lordes and owners of the sayd landes and demaynes, which hee now holds as their righte heir.

"About a bowshot from thence (by the descent of as many rings of a ladder) his Worship brought me to a cave or vaulte in a rocke, wherein was a table with seats and turfe cushions around; and in a hole in the same rock was three barrels of nappy liquor. Thither the keeper brought a good red-deer pye, cold roast mutton, and an excellent shoeing-horn of hanged Martinmasse beefe; which cheere no man living would think such a place could afford. Soe after some merry passages and repast, we returned home."

The "cave or vault" here spoken of by the "Water Poet" is "The Dragon's Den," a wildly romantic spot still existing, and sharing with its neighbours, "The Dragon's Well" and "The Dragon's Cellar," the interest of the locality in the eyes of visitors.¹

And now a word as to the Moores of Moore Hall, immortalised in the ballad.

Moor, or More Hall, still standing, is situated in the Yewden valley, and may be distinctly seen from Wharnccliffe Lodge, the apocryphal den in which the Dragon, Sir Thomas Wortley, resided, and, naturally, within but a short distance of the site of the destroyed towns.

In this house and others in the neighbourhood the family of More or Moore resided from the time of Henry II to Philip and Mary. Without entering into the full descent of this family, as shown in the pedigree given by Hunter, it will be sufficient to say that in 1460 John More of More Hall is stated to have married Margaret, sister of Sir Thomas Wortley, but of this no proof beyond the pedigree in the College of Arms is known. By this lady John More had issue two sons, Thomas More of More Hall (and of Hayton in Nottinghamshire) and George More, who was living 21 Henry VII. This Thomas More had five daughters, his co-heiresses, "Margaret, wife of Thomas Stockton; Ann, wife of Seth Furness (afterwards, it appears, of Dunston of Eyton); Dorothy, wife of William Towers; Joan, wife of William Mering; and Barbara, wife of William Hall." Dorothy More conveyed the house, More Hall, to her husband William Towers of Hayton, in the county of Nottingham, whose grandson, Francis Towers, sold it in 1597 to George Blount of Eckington, Esq., for £400.

¹ These have been exquisitely photographed by Mr. Theophilus Smith, and incorporated in his charming book, *Wharnccliffe, Wortley, and the Valley of the Don*.

. In consequence of the discovery in the family papers of evidence of a law suit, and much unpleasantness regarding tithes having taken place between Sir *Richard* Wortley and his neighbours, when "not only resistance to his claim was set up, but local annoyance was resorted to by the dissidents headed, not indeed by Moore, but by George Blount of Moore Hall," Mr. Hunter came to the opinion that the ballad took its origin from this circumstance, and that Moore of Moore Hall was in reality George Blount, one of their ultimate successors! Here I think Mr. Hunter is decidedly in error. The ballad bears internal evidence of a much earlier date than 1594, when this case was in chancery; and I have faith in the old ballad writer that he would not write "Moore of Moore Hall" when he meant "George Blount of Eckington," for, as I have shown, this seems to have culminated in a case in chancery in 1594, three years before George Blount of Eckington became the purchaser of Moore Hall from the Towers family, and at least half a century after it had passed away by marriage from the Moores. I am quite inclined to the belief that the "Moore of Moore Hall" of the ballad was either the John More already named, or his son Thomas More, the father of the five co-heiresses.

George More, the brother of Thomas More (and uncle of the co-heiresses) appears to have settled at Dronfield. He had issue by his wife, Margaret, daughter of John Anne of Frickley, three sons and three daughters, his eldest son, Francis, being of Orson in the Vale of Belvoir; and his second, Edward More, being of Dronfield. This Edward married Elizabeth, eldest daughter and co-heiress of Eyre of Horsley Gate in Dronfield, by whom he acquired property there. One of this family of Mores of Dronfield removed to Loseley in Surrey, where they are now represented by Mr. More-Molyneux. Another branch were of Derby, where Francis More was born. He in 1624 married, at Bakewell, Elizabeth Broadbottom. In 1626-7 he removed to Winster where some of his family were born; here the family resided at Winster Hall, which was erected by them.

As a slight, if not confirmation at all events coincidence, of the connection of the Moores of Moore Hall with the "Dragon of Wantley" it may be mentioned that the crest of

the family was—in a mural coronet, *or*, a cockatrice sejant, *vert*—a veritable *Green Dragon*! It is also stated that a “figure of a dragon or cockatrice, carved in stone, about five feet long, was formerly to be seen in the north-east corner of Bradfield Church.”

I am quite aware that Gregson, and recently my friend Mr. Alderman Wilkinson, following in his wake, endeavoured to claim Moore of Moore Hall as one of the Lancashire family of that name; but this is not worth canvassing, and I have failed to find on what reasonable grounds the claim has been made.

The Dragon has in all ages been the symbol of the devil, of tyranny, of oppression, of cruelty, and of wrong. Hence it is that this monster has been chosen as the embodiment of wrong in the “Dragon of Wantley,” in “St. George and the Dragon,” in the “Worm of Lambton,” in “Conyers of Sockburn,” and a score or two other popular legends. Hence it is that it has been taken as the incarnation of evil by many of our moral writers,—notably of late years by the lamented prelate whose loss we all so deeply deplore, Bishop Wilberforce, in his “Agathos,” where the Dragon, the old serpent, the devil, who withholds or poisons the streams of grace, and who seeks to rend and devour the virgin soil, is overcome by the Christian girded about with truth, having on the breast-plate of righteousness, his feet shod with the preparation of the gospel of peace, carrying the shield of faith and the sword of the spirit, which is the word of God, and wearing the helmet of salvation.

In most allegories in which the Dragon figures, the monster is overcome by Christian armour and by the sign of the cross. This, however, is not the case with the “Dragon of Wantley,” for “Moore of Moore Hall” strengthened his courage with “six pots of ale and a quart of aqua vitæ!” and encased himself, not in the usual “armour of righteousness,” but in spiked steel armour—“bespoke at *Sheffield* town,”—where nothing *good*, in those days as in our own, was ever “bespoke” in vain.

THE LIFE AND TIMES OF EARL WALTHEOF.

BY THE LATE E. LEVIEN, ESQ., M.A., F.S.A., HON. SEC.

IN the year of our Lord 1054, upon the 27th of July, a day that has been rendered for ever memorable by that bard who "was not for an age, but for all time", when "Birnam Wood had come to Dunsinane", foremost among the foes of the usurper Macbeth fought that brave and loyal subject of the King, Edward the Confessor, Siward the stout Earl of Northumberland, together with his nephew and his elder son Osbern, called by Shakspeare the "young Siward." When the latter had fallen gloriously upon the field, and his fate had been announced to his father, that doughty old warrior eagerly asked, "Had he his wounds before him?" and upon being answered in the affirmative, he exclaimed:

"Why then God's soldier is he!
Had I as many sons as I have hairs,
I would not wish them to a fairer death;
And so his knell is tolled."

In the following year the Earl himself,¹ "that chieftain whose gigantic stature and steadfastness of purpose remind us of the heroes of the ancient world", feeling that his end was fast approaching, said to those who surrounded him: "Oh! fie upon me that I have not fallen in one of those many battles in which I have been engaged; but have been preserved to perish at last like some beast of the field! Case me now in my armour of proof, gird me with my sword, place my helmet on my head, and in my right hand my gilded battleaxe, that in this guise I may at least die like the valiant soldier that I am." His request was complied with, and thus accoutred he breathed his last at York, full of years and honours, and was buried, as the *Saxon Chronicle* tells us, "at a place called Gahmanho, in the monastery which he himself had caused to be built and hallowed in the name of God and St. Olaf."

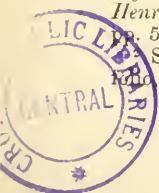
The exact spot where this ancient religious house originally stood cannot now be precisely ascertained, but some writers

¹ Lappenberg's *History of England under the Anglo-Saxon Kings*, translated by Benjamin Thorpe, F.S.A. 2 vols. 8vo. London, 1845. Vol. ii, p. 260.

have endeavoured to identify it with St. Mary's Abbey, relying upon a passage in the *Historia Croylandensis* of Ingulf, who was secretary to William the Conqueror, and was made by that monarch Abbot of Croyland in A.D. 1070. According to this writer *Sivardus sepultus est in clauastro monasterii S. Mariæ extra muros* (in the cloister of the monastery of St. Mary without the walls) *ejusdem urbis* (*i. e.* of York) *quod ipse construxerat*. But as Ingulf's history of Croyland Abbey is now known to be a monkish forgery compiled from various other sources,¹ the statement of the Anglo-Saxon chronicle is of course the more authoritative, and there does not appear to be any real ground for asserting that Galmanho and St. Mary's Abbey were identical, or any proof positive that the latter was built upon a site which had been previously occupied by any religious house whatever.² Be this as it may, and wherever "Galmanho" may have been situated, it is clear that Siward was buried in or near the city of York, which was at that time the capital city of the extensive territorial domains which then attached to the earldom of Northumberland, and included all the northern counties of England between the Humber and the Tweed. Here Earl Siward was stationed at the latter end of his life, because, as Brompton informs us in his *Chronicle*, "the kingdom being much infested by the Danes, the great men of the land consulting with the king did advise that the little devil should be first exposed to the great devil," *i. e.*, as Dugdale interprets it in his *Baronage*, "that this Earl Siward should be placed upon that part of England which was most like to be invaded by the Danes." Several curious anecdotes are told in the old *Chronicle* just cited and elsewhere of Earl Siward, and among the many legendary stories connected with him is one which states that his grandfather was a bear who fell in love with a Danish lady, and that his father Beorn showed evident traces of his paternity in having a large pair of shaggy and pointed ears. Those who believe in the Darwinian "theory of development," will find no difficulty in

¹ For an account of this work see *A Descriptive Catalogue of Materials relating to the History of Great Britain and Ireland to the End of the Reign of Henry VII.*, by Sir Thomas D. Hardy. 3 vols. 8vo; London, 1862-71. Vol. ii, pp. 58-64.

² See Dugdale's *Monasticon Anglicanum* (ed. Cayley, Ellis, and Bandinel), London, 1817-30, vols. iii, p. 529, and vi, p. 1626.



swallowing this story whole, but, for the benefit of such as are not inclined to admit apes, tigers, and other such "fearful wild fowl" into their genealogical trees, it may be as well to state that the legend may be easily accounted for by the fact either that Siward's grandfather was named *Ursus*, or that he was a *Berserk*," a name given to the king's bodyguard and derived from the words "bear-sark," *i. e.*, a sark or shirt made of the skin of the bear, or bare from the adjective, and sark because these warriors, who were believed to be seized with a peculiar sort of dare-devil *furor* in battle, frequently fought in no other covering but their inner tunics or shirts. Those who are acquainted with Scandinavian mythology will also recollect that it was a common matter of belief among the northern nations at this period that people were capable of transmuting themselves into animals, and they will remember in how many instances such transformations are said to have taken place, although it was in a different sense from that in which in these modern days men are sometimes said to make beasts of themselves. If there are any who are not inclined to dig deeply into the antiquarian matters connected with Earl Siward's personal history, appearance, and characteristics, whether legendary or authentic, they will find him most agreeably and graphically delineated in that charming novel of our late lamented President, Lord Lytton, *Harold, the last of the Saxon Kings*, and I shall now, therefore, take my leave of him and proceed at once to the more immediate subject of my paper, his younger son, the Earl Waltheof, or, as he is also called, Waldeus, Wallef, Walleus, Waleus consul, Walleter, Walteus, Waltheus, and Walthews consul, under all which forms his name is found in various MSS. containing Domesday records, such for instance as the *Inquisitio Cantabrigiensis* and the *Inquisitio Eliensis*, both of which are contained in the Cotton MS. Tiberius A vi, in the British Museum, and have never yet been published, but are now, I am happy to state, going through the press under the auspices and at the expense of the "Royal Society of Literature" in London.

It must be remembered that, at the period of which we are now treating, titles of nobility were not as they are in our own times necessarily hereditary. They were conferred by the monarch according to his own will and pleasure, to-

gether with any such grants and gifts as he might think proper to attach to them. Accordingly it was not until A.D. 1070, *i. e.*, fifteen years after his father's death that Earl Waltheof obtained his earldom of Northumberland to which he was raised by the Conqueror, upon the flight of Cospatrik, the former rebellious earl, into Scotland. Previously to this he had been Earl of Northampton and Huntingdon, although it is somewhat doubtful at what time he came into possession of these dignities. On the whole, however, Mr. Freeman's arguments, in his chapter on "the great earldoms of Edward,"¹ seem to establish the fact that he held them before the dates commonly assigned to them, which are respectively 1066 and 1068. This writer says, "these earldoms having been once attached to that of Northumberland were afterwards separated from it, and held as distinct earldoms by Waltheof," and he adds, "on this point the evidence seems quite plain; the only question is as to the exact date." Waltheof held some earldom at the end of the year 1066, when he is spoken of as an earl along with Edward and Morhere. Under William, besides his great Northumbrian government, he was certainly Earl of Northamptonshire and of Huntingdonshire. We may, therefore, infer that these fragments of his father's government formed the earldom which he had held under Harold. The false Ingulf makes him receive both these shires on his father's death, when Tostig received Northumberland. The chronicle of John of Peterborough, which though not contemporary, has some authority as being a local record, distinctly makes Waltheof succeed to Northamptonshire on his father's death in 1055. "But," continues Mr. Freeman, after citing the chronicle reported, "this is proved to be incorrect by the charter just quoted" (a royal writ addressed to Tostig as Earl of Northampton,)² which shows that Tostig was earl in Northamptonshire. And the course taken by the Northumbrian rebels in 1065 seems to point to a still abiding connection between that shire and Northumberland. We can, therefore, hardly doubt that both Northamptonshire and Huntingdonshire were obtained by Waltheof as a result of the Northumbrian revolt in 1065.

¹ See *The History of the Norman Conquest of England, its Causes and Results*, by Edward A. Freeman, M.A., vol. ii, pp. 555-69.

² See Kemble's *Codex Diplomaticus*, No. 904.

The earl had also large possessions in Cambridgeshire, but what we are most concerned with is his connection with Hallamshire and Sheffield. This, it appears, arose from the fact of his mother having been the daughter and heir of Aldred, the Saxon Earl of Northumberland, "chief of a family in whom," as Joseph Hunter, the learned historian of Hallamshire, observes, "that honour and office was, in a manner, hereditary"; and it was, doubtless, in consequence of this descent that Waltheof enjoyed the *aula* and lands of Hallam. Previously, the lands which now form the parish of Sheffield were comprised in the domain of the two Saxon lords, Ulfac and Sweyn, and when Earl Waltheof came into the possession of them, about the time of the conquest, he, as well as many other holders of English lands and dignities, naturally regarded William and his followers with somewhat of a suspicious eye, and not being given to the encouragement of "distinguished foreigners" to the same extent as we are in our own times, they entertained an idea which eventually proved to be correct, that the new comers might hold somewhat hazy and eccentric views as to the practical difference between *meum* and *tuum*. Accordingly the jealous feeling which existed between the English and the Normans soon, as is well known, resulted in several regularly organised attempts to expel the latter from the kingdom, and in 1069 occurred the memorable attack upon York Castle by the combined forces of the Northumbrians and the Danes, joined by Edgar Atheling, the Earls Cospatrick and Waltheof, and several other nobles. The last named of them took a very prominent part in the siege, and cut off the heads of several of the Norman soldiers with his own hands. It was not, however, the policy of William to adopt too severe measures with all the malecontents; and he thought it more prudent to temporise with certain of the most powerful of his new subjects, among whom was Earl Waltheof, by apparently mild and conciliatory conduct, rather than to exasperate them still further by developing his hostile policy against them to a still greater extent. The means which he took to bring about, if possible, an amicable state of things are too familiar to us all to need recapitulation here. Suffice it to say that the promotion of matrimonial alliances among the noblest families of the English and the Normans was one

of them, and in an evil hour, as we shall afterwards find, for Earl Waltheof, the king gave him to wife his niece Judith, a name which ever since the days of Holofernes has always been uncomfortably suggestive of some mischief to the head, and which in the case of Earl Waltheof's "better half" was well suited to her as an antitype of the Jewish heroine. It was agreed then that the Countess Judith, as she is called in Domesday Book, or the Lady of Hallamshire, which is another of her titles on account of the extensive possessions which she held here, should be joined in matrimony to Earl Waltheof, and thus was brought about a marriage which was originally made in heaven, though most certainly at its close had a very strong spice of another place about it. At first of course the happy pair were mutually delighted with each other, for the earl was a very eligible *parti*, on account of his great wealth and influence, while he on his part was naturally not a little pleased with himself for having secured the king's niece as a partner for life. So, as is usual upon the occasion of royal alliances, everybody at court congratulated everybody else, "and all went merry as a marriage bell"; for as we read in a life of Earl Waltheof by William de Ramsey, a monk of Croyland, who died in 1180, upon this auspicious occasion the king "*pro nobilitate generis et possessionum et proprietatum amplitudinem, concessit ei totam terram suam pacificam, liberam, et solutam,*" which, considering the nature of the exactions to which landholders were then liable, may be considered as a no slight mark of royal favour, and, besides this, in order that the bride might not go to her husband quite empty-handed, we are told by the same writer, "*cum quâ rex ei contulit et concessit omnes libertates quæ sunt in honore de Huntindona,*" while of the earl, on his part we read that by way of settlement "*in celebratione vero matrimonii et nuptiorum nomine dotis contulit uxori suæ omnes terras suas a fluvio de Trente in austrum protensas.*"

The young couple being thus well set up for their start in life, and matters having been so amicably, or more strictly speaking lovingly arranged, the earl and his uncle-in-law appear to have got on remarkably well together, and the latter, as William of Malmesbury says, even "*multam fa-*

¹ "Vita et Passio Waldevi Comitis," in the *Original Lives of Anglo-Saxons and Others*, edited by Dr. Giles for the Caxton Society. 8vo, London, 1854.

miliaritatem novi regis nactus fuerat." In fact William seemed quite to have forgotten the little *escapade* at York, and apparently not only to have forgiven the earl, but to have regarded him as a family attached liege-man, and as a person in whom he might place every confidence in matters of business. Thus from an unpublished MS. in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge, numbered O. 2. 1. f. 210 b, we learn that the "Consul Walthews," as he is here called, was appointed by the king, together with the "pontifices Gosfridus et Remigius," *i. e.* Geoffrey de Montbray, Bishop of Coutances and Remigius de Feschamp, Bishop of Lincoln, to examine into the alleged withholding of lands from Ely Abbey, and Hoveden tells us that he was nominated to sit with Waleher, Bishop of Durham, as a judge in temporal causes, and that he also was frequently consulted by that prelate upon matters ecclesiastical.

This tranquil state of things, however, was not destined to last very long, and Earl Waltheof became involved in that plot for which he ultimately suffered, and in which he himself confessed his complicity; although, according to the early chroniclers, there is some doubt as to whether he was in reality one of its aiders and abettors, and whether he was not a victim to circumstances, over which he had no control, rather than himself a spontaneous participator in rebellion against his sovereign.

The circumstances out of which this "pretty little quarrel" arose were as follows. In the year 1074, owing to the arbitrary and oppressive conduct of William, the confiscations and exactions, nay even the bondage and death with which he now so often visited all orders of his people, exasperated all the nobles to such a degree that a revolutionary spirit was well nigh universal among them, which it needed only a small additional pressure on the part of the sovereign to bring into active play against himself; and a matrimonial difficulty supplied the material to fan the smouldering embers of discontent and hatred into the open flame of revolt.

Roger Fitz-Osborne, Earl of Hereford, son and heir of William Fitz-Osborne, the King's chief favourite, had planned a marriage between his sister Emma and Ralph de Waher, Guader, or de Waet, Earl of Norfolk, and had, according to the recognised custom,¹ applied to William for

¹ See Blackstone's *Commentaries on the Laws of England*, book ii, chaps. 4 and 5, where he says, *inter alia*, "by the custom of Normandy the lord's con-

his consent to the match. This, however, for causes to which I need not now advert, inasmuch as they are familiar to all who are acquainted with the constitutional history of our country, was refused, and so the two earls determined to take the law into their own hands and to celebrate the nuptials despite of their sovereign's *veto*. Accordingly a day was fixed for the ceremony and a wedding breakfast of the period given; and whether it was that the venison pasties and the boar's heads were too savoury, or that the potations by which they were washed down were too strong, certain it is that something of which the guests partook was of a remarkable inflammatory character, and after speeches which were not of the complimentary kind which is now usual upon such occasions from the bridegroom to the bride's father, the whole company vowed vengeance against the king, and bound themselves by an oath to take immediate steps to rid the country of the tyrannical "bastard of Normandy." Among those present was the earl Waltheof, who most certainly entered into the compact with the other conspirators, although there is reason to believe that he did so against his will. At any rate all the chroniclers of the period agree that he was "overcome," some attributing that fact to the fumes of the liquor which he had been imbibing, others to the threats of violence uttered against him in case of his refusal. In an unhappy hour for himself he acquainted the countess with his complicity in the plot, and she denounced him to her uncle, wishing, as there is reason to believe, to contract another marriage, and so only too anxious to be off with the old love before she was on with the new. Meanwhile the earl, either repenting on conscientious grounds of the oath he had taken, or being afraid of the king's vengeance in case the plot miscarried, consulted Archbishop Lanfranc upon the course he ought to pursue, and he was persuaded by that prelate to go over to Normandy and unfold to the king the plot and the part he had taken in it. The rebellious nobles suspecting that Waltheof had left the country for the purpose of divulging their secret to the king, immediately took up arms

sent was necessary to the marriage of his female wards, which was introduced into England together with the rest of the Norman doctrine of feuds; and it is likely the lords usually took money for their consent, since in the oft-quoted charter of Henry I he engages to take nothing for his consent."

before their schemes were ripe for execution, and the consequence was that they and their adherents were speedily defeated. William, upon hearing of their rising, had immediately set out for England, but by the time he arrived he found the revolt utterly stamped out, and it only remained for him to allot their various punishments to the conspirators. Some were hanged, others had their eyes put out, or their hands cut off, and one of their ringleaders, the Earl of Hereford, was condemned to the forfeiture of his estates and to imprisonment for the remainder of his life. The Earl of Norfolk escaped into France, but the miserable Earl of Northumberland was reserved for the bitterest fate of all. The king, it would appear, had from the very first entertained a shrewd suspicion of Waltheof, probably on account of his Anglo-Danish descent, and had given proof of this feeling by taking him over to Normandy in the year after the conquest, when he went there accompanied by Edgar Atheling, Edwin Morcar, and other nobles whom he thought might be troublesome to him during his absence. Moreover, although he had considered it the best policy to pretend to forgive the earl for his share in the slaughter of the Norman soldiery at York, yet it is probable that it had always rankled in his mind; and these sentiments being exacerbated by the Countess Judith and those nobles who were only too eager to seize the earl's large possessions, in case their owner should be compelled to resign them, led the king to determine upon the severest measures possible with regard to him. "Confession," as the proverb says, "is half way to amendment," and William, as thinking perhaps that Earl Waltheof, if he were again forgiven, might again at some future time rebel against him, took care that *his* confession should be not only half, but the whole way to amendment, and so acting upon the principle that "*Ense recidendum est immedicabile vulnus*," he caused the earl to be decapitated at Winchester on the 29th of April, 1075.

William of Malmesbury tells us¹ that the Normans imputed a guilty intention to him, while the English asserted that he only gave his adhesion to the conspiracy under com-

¹ *Gesta Pontificum*, lib. iv, § 182: "Necessitate comitem in convivis interceptum ad conjurationem solum motu labiorum non voluntate addictum, infidelitatis sacramentum agitasse."

pulsion, and with his lips alone, without at all pledging his honour, as Hippolytus says in the Greek tragedy :¹

ἡ γλῶσσ' ὀμύμοχ' ἡ δὲ φρήν ἀνέμωτος.

“My tongue has sworn, my mind remains unsworn.”

The same writer also adds that the Prior of Croyland Abbey, whither the body of Waltheof was afterwards conveyed, assured him that the miracles that took place at the grave and the supernatural appearance of the corpse, in which the head was re-united to the body, and the fact of decapitation only indicated by a red line round the neck, gave ample evidence, not only of the unhappy nobleman's good faith and loyalty, but that he, the prior, did not hesitate to regard him as a saint, and to declare to all who visited the abbey his firm conviction of this fact. However this may have been, William certainly had a sort of a justification, in this instance at least, for his severity, not only on account of the earl's antecedents, but on the plea of *noscitur a sociis*. The Countess Judith, that *impiissima Jezebel*, as she is called by Ingulf, fell afterwards into deserved disgrace with the king, because she refused to accept for her second husband one Simon de Liz, a Norman knight, whom her uncle wished her to marry, alleging as her objection that he was lame of one leg. If this were the real reason one can hardly perhaps blame her for her scruples, but the fact would rather seem to be that she had already bestowed her affections elsewhere, and so was glad to avail herself of any excuse, although it was perhaps allowable to escape a union which would have been hateful to her. In Domesday book she is returned as owner of the manors of Hallam, Attercliffe, and Sheffield, which are included under the general head of *terra Rogerii de Busli*, he being said to hold them of the Countess Judith. It would be beyond the scope of this paper to carry down the history of Hallamshire to any later times, more especially as it has been so exhaustively treated of by that learned and industrious antiquary, Joseph Hunter, to whom I have already referred. Those who will read his enquiry into the early state and remote history of the parish of Sheffield² and the following chapters, will see in what state that flourishing

¹ Euripides, *Hippolytus*, l. 612.

² *History of Hallamshire*, by Joseph Hunter, folio, London, 1819.

parish and town in which we are now assembled was during the period I have so imperfectly attempted to illustrate from the works of writers who were nearly contemporaneous with the events they describe. We may now say *autres temps, autres mœurs*. Our object, as archæologists, is to compare the arts, sciences, institutions and modes of life of bygone ages with those of the present day, that so we may adopt and imitate whatever recommends itself to us as most worthy of our respect and admiration, and be warned by and reject that which is æsthetically, politically, or socially mischievous and unsound. Hence, it is well for us on an occasion like the present and in one of the greatest and wealthiest centres of modern civilisation and enterprise, as Sheffield most assuredly is, to pause awhile amid the ceaseless whirl and energy of every day life to contemplate that mighty structure of prosperity and freedom which has been so laboriously raised for us by our ancestors ; to ponder well over the successive steps which have led to those great mechanical appliances by which we are surrounded, or to the numberless beauties of art so applied to manufacture which are the wonder and pride of this district, that so, when we also shall pass away from the scene, we may transmit to our posterity a bright impress of our own time and work, and as a *κτῆμα εἰσαεῖ*, an inheritance no less, but, if possible, still more rich and glorious than that which we have ourselves received from those who have preceded us.

LAUGHTON EN-LE-MORTHEN

(OR MORTHING).

BY THE REV. JOHN STACYE, M.A.

THIS place, which, from the loftiness of its site, catches the first beams of the rising sun, has long in our neighbourhood gone by the popular and cheery designation of "Lighton in the morning." Its true name, Laughton en-le-Morthen or Morthing, Mr. Hunter interprets as "the Law town," implying it to have been in early times the seat of local jurisdiction. It may, however, be derived from the Anglo-Saxon *hlaw*, a hill, viz., the hill or mount which stands just outside of the churchyard, which with its fortified enclosure

was no doubt the seat of a chief, having some jurisdiction. *En-le-Morthen* designates its situation in the moorland district; as we may well suppose, the lofty exposed situation to have long continued, after the more sheltered and richer lands around had been brought into cultivation.

It is undoubtedly a place of great antiquity, perhaps the site of one of a series of Brigantian strongholds, which Mr. S. Mitchell, a late local antiquary, who had much studied the subject, well pointed out as forming an outwork of the southern frontier of that powerful people; remains of other of these fortresses being found at Tickhill, Roche Abbey-Leys, Todwick, Beighton, Mosborough, Homesfield, Carlswark, Hathersaye, Hope. The actual frontier itself of the Brigantian territories follows the line of valley of the river Don. (Plan of the east bank, see plate 16, *ante*.)

There can be no question that Laughton was a place of considerable importance in the Saxon times. The first mention we have of it is probably to be found in the testament or will of Wulfrie Sprott, who is stated to have been the minister of King Ethelred the Unready, and who, besides other possessions, had much property in this neighbourhood. In that remarkable document, among the charters of the Abbey of Burton-upon-Trent, founded by him, and which is printed in the *Mon. Angl.*, mention is made of lands hereabout which he gives to various persons, as at Conisbro, Wales, Whitwell, Barlborough, Eckington, Beighton, and at a place there written "Morlington." This we infer, with Mr. Hunter, to have been intended to designate this place, being so written by an easy clerical error for "Mortington" or "Morthington," the "Moreland town," which comes very near its present appellation. But, whether we accept this conjecture or not, we have abundant proof of its existence and consequence at the time of the Norman Conquest. We learn from the Domesday book that it was the property of the great Saxon, Edwin, Earl of Mercia, as was the neighbouring manor of Conisbro of his brother-in-law, Earl Harold, afterwards King of England. By that important document we also are informed that Edwin had a hall here, which was doubtless seated on the remarkable earthwork. The ill-fated Edwin was induced by the Conqueror, by the promise of his daughter in marriage, to accede to the Norman rule, and so was permitted to retain his property, when so many

of his fellow countrymen were deprived of theirs. But afterwards, finding that the promise of William was not fulfilled to him, and probably indignant at the oppression of the Norman, he rose, together with his brother Morcar and others, to shake off the foreign yoke. In this attempt, however, he perished, and all his estates were confiscated. This manor of Laughton, with its dependencies, was conferred upon that great recipient of so many other ample manors, Roger de Busli. Other information, which we gather from the great survey respecting Laughton, is that, joined with Trapum (Throapham), it formed one manor, in which there were eighteen carucates of land rated to the tax, though at that time it was able to find occupation only for nine ploughs. That Roger de Busli held in demesne five ploughs and thirty-three villans and six borders having ten ploughs. (It is not quite easy to reconcile the different parts of the statement.) There was pasturable wood, one mile long and two quarentens and eight quarentens (*i. e.*, ten quarentens) broad. That the whole manor was two miles and a half long and eight quarentens broad. It had dependencies in the following places, Dunniestone, Litilastone, Anestan, Thorpe, Wales, Hoton (Slade) and Nennhalla. These places there is no difficulty in identifying, with the exception of Litilastone; and this, from the Recapitulatio at the end of the survey of Yorkshire, where it is written "Title Anstan," we cannot doubt stands for "North", or, as it is locally called, "Chapel Anstan."

The whole of these appendages of the manor were rated at thirty-six carucates, and might employ twenty ploughs. There were then fifty villains and seventeen bordars, and twenty-three sochmen, having eighteen ploughs. Roger had in demesne five carucates, and two knights of his had two carucates. The yearly value of the whole manor, which had in King Edward the Confessor's time been £24, was then reduced to £15, having shared no doubt with most other Yorkshire manors in the devastating policy of the Conqueror.

It is observable that Laughton stands in the Survey as the first of the manors of Roger de Busli, in Yorkshire, though it never appears to have been esteemed the head of his fee, which was first placed at Blyth, and afterwards at Tickhill. This priority probably may be taken as an indication of the

former importance of Laughton, which for a time, indeed, may also have been the residence of the great Roger, where he may have occupied the hall of Edwin, while his castle, which he was erecting in the more sheltered situation at Tickhill, was in the course of building. Henceforth the history of Laughton belongs to that of the Honour of Tickhill. After the death of Roger de Busli (the younger) that Honour was given to Robert de Belesme, Earl of Shrewsbury, by Rufus, and upon the forfeiture of his English estates was seized by King Henry I. Sometime before 42 Henry III (A.D. 1257), Prince Edward, afterwards Edward I, in whom the honour of Tickhill then was vested, gave Laughton to Geoffrey de Lusignan (see Hundred Rolls), and in Kirkby's Inquest, taken somewhat later, the heirs of Geoffrey are returned as lords holding it of the king *in capite*.

In 1 Edward I it was found that Geoffrey had held here a messuage and an acre of land, three oxgangs, and a piece of meadow, £19 rent, a windmill, a wood, and a free court. The messuage and acre, as Hunter conjectures, probably were the aula and fortified ground of the Saxon earl. There was a close connection between the houses of Lusignan and Eu, which latter for a while obtained the honour of Tickhill, also with Drogo de Merlawe or de Merghawe, who is returned lord of Laughton in 9 Edward II.

Joan, the daughter and heiress of the latter, was wife of Ralph, Count of Eu, who thus acquired the property at Laughton by a title quite distinct from that by which his family claimed the castle and honour of Tickhill. Ralph, Count of Eu, was in possession in 6 Edward III, when James de Brampton, vicar of Laughton, was proceeded against for assaulting and beating one Hugh de Lindesay, a servant of the Count at Laughton.

Robert, Count of Eu, on inquisition in 44 Edward III [1369-70], was found to hold the manor of Laughton of the Castle of Tickhill, which was forfeited, with his other lands in England, for his adherence to the King of France. Edward III, in the forty-sixth year of his reign, granted Laughton to his son John of Gaunt by charter, when it became and ever after was continued a member of the Duchy of Lancaster. In 1577, in Bernard's survey, it is said to be in the hands of the Queen.

In the year 1322, John de Mowbray, Lord Mowbray of

the Isle of Axholme, an adherent of Thomas Earl of Lancaster, then in rebellion, with others, attended by eighty men-at-arms and four hundred footmen, after unsuccessfully besieging the Castle of Tickhill, came to the town of Laughton and despoiled it and the church, carrying away to the Isle of Axholme all the cattle and all the goods and chattels of the place. Dodsworth mentions a tradition that existed at Laughton in his day, that the Empress Maud, the daughter of King Henry I, once resided there. Though Dodsworth himself does not lay any weight on this tradition, indeed, discredits it, yet, as Hunter observes, the thing is not so improbable, considering the close connection her father had with the place.

Early in the seventeenth century, two families of respectability settled at this place, viz. those of Eyre and Hatfield. The former were descended from Roger, the fourth son of Robert Eyre, by Joan, the heiress of the house of Padley. This branch of the widely extended family of Eyre is now represented by the Eyres of Rampton in Nottinghamshire. The other family was that of Hatfield, descended from one Nicholas Hatfield, of Hatfield House, Shiregreen, in the parish of Ecclesfield; a younger son of this family, a captain in the Parliamentary army, settled at Hatfield, near Doncaster, where his descendants till recently have held considerable property. It is a singular fact that the Eyres and the Hatfields, though apparently not connected, bore very nearly the same arms, those of the former being *argent*, on a chevron *sable* three quatrefoils *or*, of the latter *ermine* on a chevron, engrailed *sable*, three cinquefoils *or*, Eyre's crest on a wreath, a leg couped above the knee, quarterly *or* and *sable*, spurs *or*. Hatfield's crest, a dexter arm holding a cinquefoil; motto, "Pax."

The manor of Laughton was purchased of the Eyres in 1765 by Anthony St. Leger, Esq., of Park Hill, in whose family it still remains. In the observations made respecting the manorial and civil history of Laughton we have mainly followed our great historian of South Yorkshire, but in the few remarks we have to make on the ecclesiastical status of the place and neighbourhood we cannot altogether accept his guidance with the same confidence. Mr. Hunter speaks of Laughton as the parochial church, having the chapels of St. John's (Throapham), Anstan, Wales, and Thorpe

dependent upon it. Whatever may have been the original ecclesiastical constitution of these latter places there seems no doubt that from very early times, indeed little subsequent to the conquest, they have been to all intents and purposes distinct parishes. This is witnessed by the ancient fonts of their churches and also by their sepulchral remains. Of the former I may especially call attention to the singularly interesting Norman font at Thorpe Salvin, and as regards the latter to the very beautiful early sepulchral cist, still remaining in the neighbouring church of St. John's. Now it is laid down by the very high authority of Lord Coke (2 Inst. 363) "that when the question at law was whether such a sacred building were a church or a chapel belonging to the mother church, the issue to be tried was merely whether it had a font and burying place ; for if it had the administration of sacraments and sepulture it was judged in law a church." See *Archæologia*, vol. vi, p. 355. It is true, indeed, that the places named evidently owed a sort of allegiance to Laughton, as they formed with it a peculiar ecclesiastical district, not subject to the archdeacon of the deanery, but bound to attend the visitation of the chancellor of the Cathedral of York, as prebendary of Laughton, at that place, and there to prove their wills and obtain their marriage licences, but this was also the case with the parish of Handsworth, which otherwise had no manorial or ecclesiastical connection with Laughton.

The Church of Laughton (Lactona) was given to the Canons of York before the year 1108 or 1109, when Archbishop Girard, who confirmed the gift, died. A portion of the ecclesiastical revenues had already been given by Roger de Busli to his Priory of Blyth, namely, "two parts of the tithes of the Hall lands, both in essarts and in all small tithes." And there were great controversies between the canons of York and the house of Blyth as to their respective rights, which appear ultimately to have been compromised by a payment of the annual pension of 40s., which the monks of Blyth enjoyed out of the rectory till the dissolution.

The church is dedicated to All Saints. The first notice we have of a church at Laughton is in the year 1107, when its revenues were given by King Henry I to the chancellor's prebend of York. But we have substantial evidence of the

existence of a church here long before that date, in certain portions of the building which clearly mark an earlier era, viz. the remarkable doorway on the north side, near the west end, which is of the character peculiar to the very earliest of our ecclesiastical remains of the period before the conquest.¹ There seems little doubt that it formed part of the church in which Earl Edwin and his tenants and retainers at Laughton worshipped. Indeed it is not improbable that it may have formed part of a church erected by Edwin himself, who, if he followed the example of his illustrious grandfather, Leofric, Earl of Mercia, would be “in Dei rebus munificus,” as the latter is described. It is to be observed that this doorway and some of the surrounding masonry are of a quite different stone from the rest of the church, viz. of a red grit-stone, the latter being of limestone. There are, however, here and there in the chancel to be found some of the same red stones used up as if portions of an older building. This observation was made by Mr. Rickman. The architecture of the church externally does not call for any particular remark, with the exception of the tower and spire; these are very fine and graceful, rising to a height of about 185 feet, and from being seated on very elevated ground form a landmark for the whole country around. Indeed, so extensively are they visible that it has long been a popular imagination that they can be seen from both seas. The tower stands boldly above the body of the church, it has buttresses of several stages at the angles, and a pair of two light windows in each face of its upper story. But what is most observable is the easy and graceful manner in which the spire, as it were, *grows out* of it. This is effected not by the broach fashion, that is, a spire joined on to the tower without a *parapet*, for here we have a good well moulded battlement, but by the angles of the upper story of the tower being bevelled off, so as to form an octagonal basement for the spire. The effect is decidedly good, and when taken in conjunction with the bold pinnacles at the angles, upon which flying buttresses rest to support the spire, the composition is one which can scarcely fail to call forth our admiration. The spire is slender and crocketed.

¹ An engraving of the doorway is given in Parker's *Rickman*, sixth edition, 1862, p. 66.

On entering the church we perceive the fair proportions of the building. The tower is at the west end; there is a nave with two aisles and a chancel. The arcades vary, that on the north side having piers of Norman character, which have had their abaci added to in a singular manner, in order to raise them to the same elevation as those of the south side, these latter, as well as the arches of the former, are of late Decorated character, of the latter end of the fourteenth century, at which period the church seems to have been mainly rebuilt. It is conjectured by Hunter that this re-edification took place in consequence of the injury the church received from the marauding party of Mowbray in 1322; but this seems questionable, as about half a century must have intervened between those events. It is, however, a very fine piece of architecture, the arcade of the nave being particularly good; and what is very notable is the great amount of figures of angels, men, and grotesque creatures with which the church is embellished. The dripstones of the nave arcades are all supported by very spirited figures with expanded wings, and that not only towards the body of the church, but also towards the aisles. The dripstones of the windows also externally are similarly supported. The chancel is separated from the church by a stone wall as a basement for a screen, of the height of about four feet. The screen is gone, and it is remarkable that the stone walls do not extend to the two first piers, but leave a space to pass between them and the chancel. There was, no doubt, stallwork within this enclosure.

On the north side of the chancel is a Norman window, which had been stopped up by a monument and was laid open at the restoration of the church in 1860 by Sir G. G. Scott. Unhappily the wretched deal pews of the nave were allowed to remain. The font is a good perpendicular one, very similar to that at St. John's, the neighbouring church. An ingenious letter appeared in a local paper, some time back, from the pen of the Rev. J. Raine, late vicar of Blyth, Nottinghamshire, a learned antiquary of the neighbourhood, the object of which was to show that the rebuilding of this church was performed by no less a person than the great William of Wykeham, that illustrious builder, who, it seems, among his multifarious preferments was prebendary of Laughton. It may, however, perhaps be well questioned

whether one, who at that period of his life was so much engaged in the king's business, would have had time to give thought to so humble a work as superintending the rebuilding of a village church.

In confirmation of the date above assigned to this church in general, it may be observed that the armour and dresses of the figures agree with it, being of the latter end of the fourteenth century; especially the figure of an armed angel, probably St. Michael, may be noted on the last pier, next the chancel on the north side, and the head-dress of a male figure on the last window towards the east end of the south aisle externally, which has the turned-over cap which prevailed about the beginning of Richard II's reign. It should be mentioned that the aisle windows are square-headed and have early Perpendicular tracery. At the east end of the north aisle there has evidently been a chantry chapel; this is probably the one recorded in Archbishop Holgate's return as having been founded by the devotion of the parishioners, and by him valued at £6 8s. 2½d., in the *Valor* of Henry VIII at 40s.

A carved stone may be observed on the west end of the north aisle within the church, the design of which is by no means obvious. It was suggested by Mr. M. H. Bloxam, when he visited this church in company with the Lincolnshire Diocesan Architectural Society in 1860, that it probably might mark a depository of relics. Such depositories he mentions in his excellent little book on Gothic architecture to have been found behind carved stones in the churches of Yoxley, Hunts., and New Stoke, Somerset.

EXAMPLES OF ANCIENT EARTHWORKS.

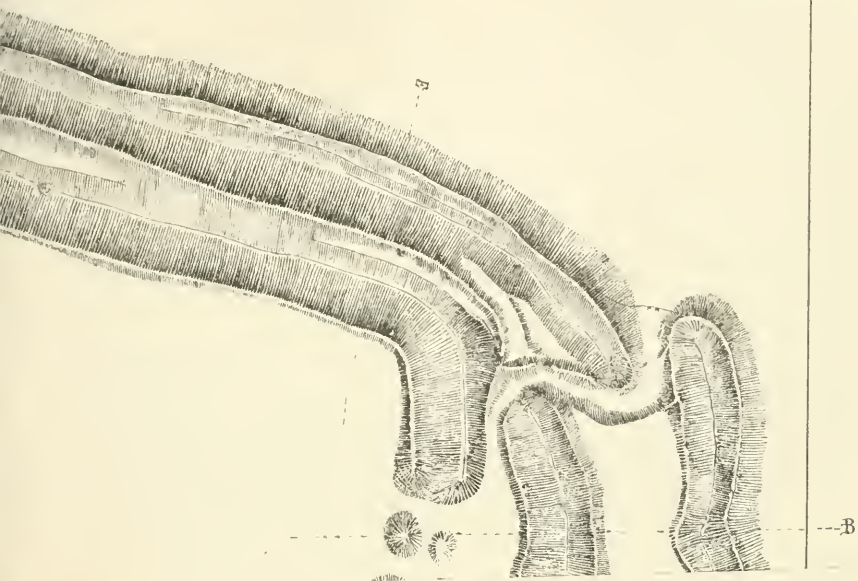
REPORT

BY GORDON M. HILLS, ESQ., HON. TREASURER.

AMONGST the most interesting of antiquarian objects in the neighbourhood of Sheffield are the earthworks and so-called "prehistoric" remains. The attention of the Sheffield Congress (1873) was specially directed to the fine example of fortification at Laughton en-le-Morthen; to the much larger work at Castle Hill, Almondsbury; and to the singular works at Bradfield. Of these, the Council of the Association has caused plans and sections to be made by a careful professional land-surveyor who has visited the places and measured and plotted the works with the precision desired. Engravings of them, from his surveys, are given at Plates 16, 17, and 18, to a uniform scale. It has also been thought advisable to present by the same means a most important example from quite another part of the country, namely the Maiden Castle near Dorchester in Dorsetshire (Plate 20). It has not been practicable in this octavo *Journal* to engrave the survey of this stupendous work to the same scale as the other examples. It is drawn to a scale one half the size of theirs, which in effect reduces the scale and the appearance of the plan four times in area.

The three examples from South Yorkshire may in one sense be said to have no connection with each other. What their relationship may have been to other works in each neighbourhood, it may be difficult even to conjecture; but that an examination of their relationship, or want of it, and of the nature of such other works, if carefully made by antiquaries whose near residence to them afford the best opportunity, would be of the highest value, cannot be doubted.

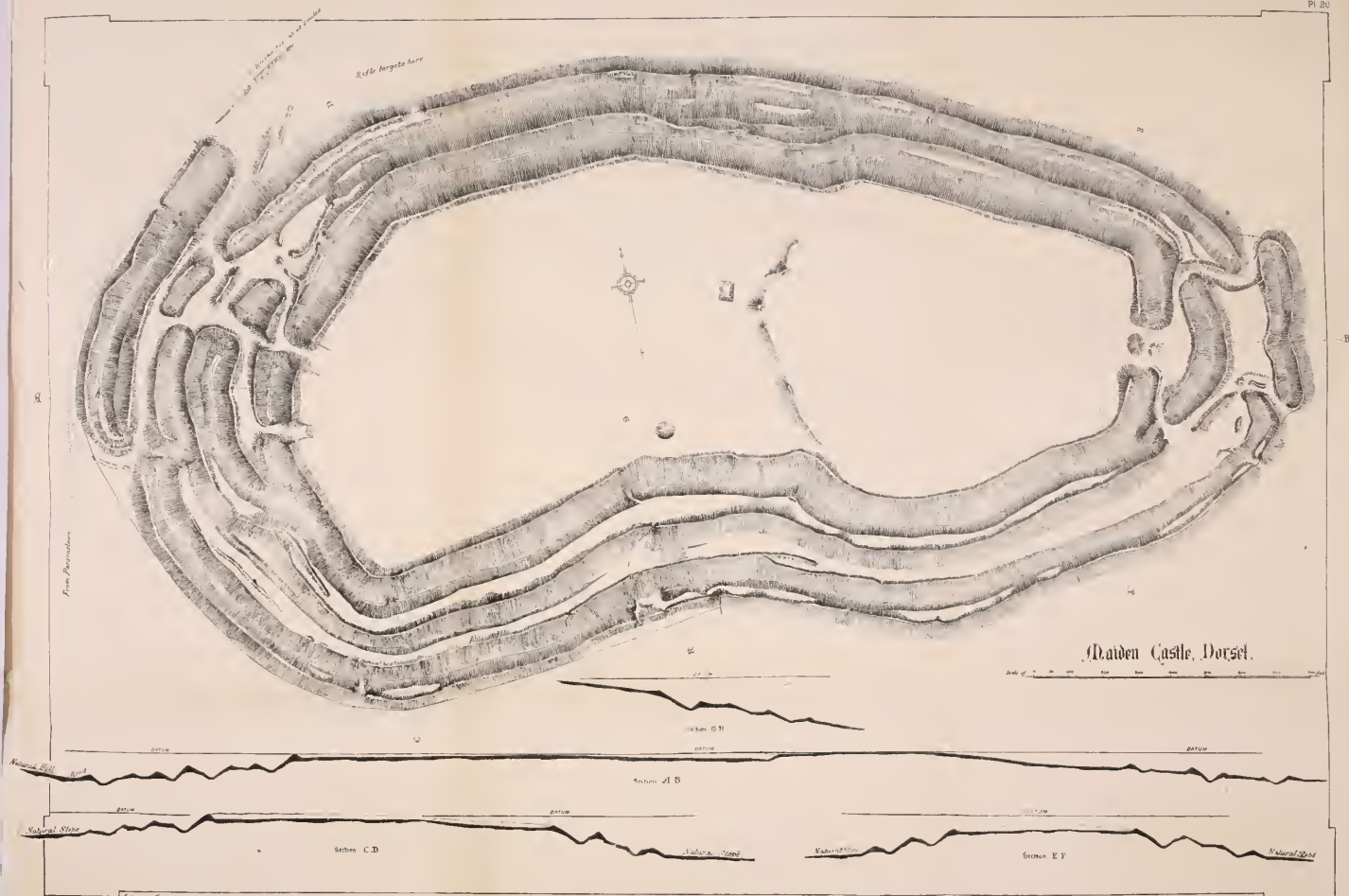
The Laughton example (Plate 16) is spoken of in the paper on this place by the Rev. J. Stacey (pp. 397-405 *ante*), who offers the suggestion of a friend that this had originally been one of a series of fortresses for the south frontier of the territory of the Brigantes, beginning with one at Tickhill, which is about six miles to the north-east; then one near Roche Abbey, midway in the line; and continued to the south-west of Laughton by one at Todwick, about two



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miles and a half distant ; the line then trending nearly due west, marked by one at Beighton, and continued to Holmesfield, Carlswark, Hathersage, and Hope, which is about thirty-three miles distant, nearly west, from Laughton ; ending in a district made familiar to the British Archaeological Association by the researches of their much valued associate, the late Mr. Bateman of Youlgrave. It is very obvious, however, that although such a line of forts may be selected, the line by no means exhausts fortifications in these parts of the country ; but others dotted on both sides of the line, near and far, might be enlisted to support some theory of strongholds quite independent of a frontier line.

At p. 63 *ante* the works at Hathersage and the Carlswark are noticed by Mr. Wallis, and the opinion on them of Sir Gardner Wilkinson is quoted. To the north of them is the great mound of Win Hill. North of the middle of the line is the long ridge called the Wincobank, with a circular or oval camp hard by. Mr. Stacey mentioned a fort at Masborough, whilst ten or twelve miles west from these are the Bradfield earthworks ; and away to the north-west, again, near Huddersfield, the great fort of Almondsbury Castle Hill. Mr. Fairless Barber mentioned mounds in this neighbourhood as having some correspondence in form and use with that at Laughton, viz., "the Hill at Hillhouse in Huddersfield ; the Hill in Rastrick, now destroyed by quarrying operations, though the name still survives in the house called Castle Hill at Rastrick, erected at the site," and in which Mr. F. Barber himself resides ; "the Hill at Wingfield, now included within the boundary of the churchyard, and which gave the name of Castle Hill to a mansion, now replaced by a modern farmhouse, in its immediate vicinity ; the Law Hill at Wakefield, occupying the corresponding eminence on the north of the Calder to Sandal Castle on the south : besides its mound, it has earthworks smaller in extent, but not unlike those at Almondsbury. The first three appear to have been simple circular, conical mounds rising from a surrounding trench."

To the company present at Laughton, Mr. Fairless Barber (*ante*, p. 218) suggested that this and other like works originated simply as fortified dwellings. Mr. Stacey did not doubt, whatever its origin, that it became a Saxon mansion ; whilst our associate, Mr. Thos. Morgan, contributes respect-

ing it the following suggestions, confirmed, as he thinks, by Mr. Stacey's reference to the connection of the Earl of Mercia with this place :

“Laughton en-le-Morthen. I should read this in Anglo-Saxon, *ƿeod-tun on ƿas Mote-ern*, which, translated into English, is ‘county town at or near the Mote Hall.’ I think it is an excellent example of a Saxon holy hill in pagan times, where the ‘witan’, or wise men, met together in the ‘gemot’. The hill is surrounded by fortifications. It is reached from all the country round by roads, on the sides of which still plentifully grow the yew and beech trees of which the sacred groves consisted. The church in the town adjoining the earthwork is just where we should expect the sacred edifice to be placed. I beg to call special attention to this *Mote-ern* of the Saxons as nearly identical with the ‘ting-val’ of the Scandinavian nations.”

The great altitude of the place, it being popularly imagined that from Laughton both the east and west seas of England are visible, suggested to Mr. Gordon Hills that possibly the mound itself may have been originally simply a geometrical landmark of the Roman land surveyors or *agrimensores*, an origin which would not remove it from some of the purposes to which other suggestions applied it in subsequent times. Some of these mounds undoubtedly continued for a very long time to be used as land marks and boundary marks, in witness of which may be quoted one of the charters of Roche Abbey, which probably speaks of the mound there in describing the boundaries of a grant of land made to the abbey, at its foundation, in the thirteenth century : “*Totam terram de Eirichetorp, usque ad supercilium montis qui currit de Fogswelle, et sic ad acervum lapidum qui jacet in sarta Elsi, et sic ultra viam usque ad Wluepit, et sic per caput culture de Herteshen usque ad divisas de Slednotun.*” In this terrier of the boundary two mounds are mentioned, viz., the How, therein called Hartshow, and the *mound of stones*. Of the fortification at Laughton it may be observed, in conclusion, that though on a highly elevated site, its position is not that of a towering stronghold ; on the contrary, the post is on an extensive table land, absolutely devoid of any natural features conducive to the defence of the place.

The Bailey Hill at Bradfield (Plate 17) is totally differ-

ent in the military character of its situation. The fortification is high up on the west side of a deep valley, in the bottom of which flows the river Loxley, in a course from north-west to south-east. Opposite the fortification another deep valley branches off due west, with a stream at its bottom feeding the Loxley; though now this stream is almost lost to knowledge, owing to the great embankment across its valley, made to form, by damming back its waters, that great reservoir, the bursting of which, a few years ago, devastated the valley of the Loxley and the line of that stream through Sheffield. The head of the main valley above Bradfield has also been converted into another vast lake, and a lower lake extending from it far below Bradfield, is approaching completion, so that the ancient aspect of the valleys is altogether changed. The fort, called the Bailey Hill, has a conical mound, surrounded by a trench, and is placed on a spur of the hill, close to the edge of a lofty precipice of rock. From the mound a ditch and bank extend in a crescent form to the precipice, enclosing an irregular triangle of small extent, with the precipice forming an impregnable side to it, the crescent bank and ditch forming another side, having apparently an entry at the end of the bank between it and the conical mound; whilst the mount blocks the third side, and there is another entry to the fortified space between it and the precipice. The Bailey Hill is to the north-west of Bradfield Church; to the south-east of the church, at about a third of a mile from the Bailey Hill, and on the same side of the Loxley valley, is another fortification called Castle Hill, at about an equal elevation and on another commanding spur, though much less aided by nature in a military sense. This fortification has probably been occupied down to much later times than the Bailey Hill; there are some remains of masonry, thought to have been a keep or tower within it, and the spur is partly fortified with an entrenchment. Taking these two works as forts dependent on each other, there is a flanking outpost, about a quarter of a mile beyond each of them, at which points some entrenchments, as of posts of observation, on spurs of the hill side are clearly visible. All these fortifications look up the western valley towards Thornsett, and seem to have been made with special reference to the command of approach from it. A walk along the same

side of the hill, towards the north, after about two miles, will bring the explorer to the Bardike, a considerable ditch and vallum, which traverses the country in a nearly direct line north-east and south-west, now crossing the high ridge of hill, the Kirkedge, and then dipping down into the valley transversely and mounting the steep side beyond; it is visible at a considerable distance. Whether or not this dyke is now regarded as a boundary in any part of its course, is a point on which the Congress was not informed. Some two miles west of Bradfield, conspicuous on the edge of a rocky precipice, where is the south boundary of Broomhead moor, there stands a remarkable mass of rock, evidently artificially placed. It is a single stone, four or five feet thick, seven or eight long, and six or seven wide, of irregular shape, and quite unwrought. It is known as the Hurkeling stone. In the few words which Mr. Gordon Hills said respecting the works at and near Bradfield, he called attention to the striking position which some of these works hold with respect to the great mound, the Winhill in Derbyshire. It is visible some seven or eight miles in a direct line from Bradfield, much more elevated than it and crowning a lofty peak of mountain. Admitting, unquestionably, the application of the works at Bradfield to purposes of defence, he renewed the suggestion made at Laughton, that such mounds as the Winhill, the Bailey Hill at Bradfield, and such a landmark as the Hurkeling stone, had their origin, perhaps, with ancient geometers. The Bardyke may have been, he thought, a boundary laid down and marked out by means of these or such stations.

The Castle Hill of Almondsbury (plate 18) is, for the purposes of fortification, a far more important work than the others, and crowning, as it does, a vast and isolated hill, hard to mount on all sides, it must have been a citadel of great strength and importance. Some history of it, as given by Mr. Thomas Brooke, F.S.A., will be found at page 232 *ante*. The fortification is divided into three distinct parts. The oldest and original part would seem to be the irregular triangle at the south-west end; within this Mr. Gordon Hills thought, although Mr. Fairless Barber differed from him, was to be found a trace of the circular base of a conical mound removed. In the middle of the hill top is a quadrangular enclosure, and the remainder of the hill top is

formed into a large triangular space, containing in itself about half of the whole fortified space. It has been already pointed out, p. 233, that a part of the interest attached to this place is derived from the identification of it by Camden and others with the *Campodunum* of the fifth iter of Antonine. If it be *Campodunum*, then it is the place mentioned by Beda as a residence in the province of Deira of Edwin, King of Northumbria, which being destroyed by the Mercians and their allies from Wales, in the year 633, was not rebuilt, the royal residence being thenceforth removed to near Leeds. According to Beda, *Campodunum* was the site of one of the earliest Saxon churches. Mr. Fairless Barber, whose strict knowledge of the whole neighbourhood, and whose earnestness in pursuit of its antiquities, entitle his conclusions to much consideration, has preferred to identify the extensive Roman remains at Slack, four or five miles to the north-west, with the ancient *Campodunum* (see his paper in the *Institute Journal*, read at the Hull Congress, 1867). Our associate, Mr. Thomas Morgan, prefers the old opinion; he says:—

“*Campodunum* of the Itinerary was fixed at Castle Hill, near Almondsbury, by Baxter, Camden, and the old antiquaries, but the moderns have placed it at Slack or Greteland, near Slack, in the valley, for two reasons: 1st, because the latter places are thought to be on the line of the old Roman road which runs down the valley; 2nd, because Roman remains have been found there, among which are sepulchral tiles of the legionaries, marked COH III BR, and sometimes BRE. Neither of these two reasons seem sufficient to do away with the fact that the termination *dunum* indicates a *hill* or *down* both in the ancient British and Anglo-Saxon tongues. Castle Hill was probably first a British encampment, but when the natives were put down the Romans would have occupied so commanding a position as this is, even at the expense of abandoning their old station at Slack, where the town may have remained, and the old burial place would continue to be used by the soldiery.

“As to the BRE on the tiles, why should we seek for the name in a distant country, and not read, as I should propose, *Bremetonacum*, or the fourth Cohort of the *Bremetonaci*, raised at *Bremetonacum* or *Bremetonacis* of the Itinerary, that is, Overborough, in Lancashire?

“At the time the ‘Notitia’ was written, we find other places garrisoned by troops raised in the neighbourhood. Thus Longovicus, Langborough, was garrisoned by a cohort of the Longovicarii, and Derventio by a cohort of the Derventiones.

“This name of Bremetonaci, though known to us only as connected with Overborough in Lancashire, may have been even applied to the native population of this locality, Campodunum. The prefix Bre indicates Arx montis or citadel; the Saxon berg, a mountain, and the Greek Πύργος, have kindred meanings. We should be careful in reversing the judgments of our older antiquaries. In the *Notitia*, written some two hundred years or more after the Itinerary, a cohort of the *Directorum veterum* is placed at Overborough.”

Mr. Gordon Hills further suggested that for the ancient topography of the country further resort should be had to Ptolemy, by whom this Campodunum is placed (called by him Camunlodunum) 1° 45' west from York and 0° 20' south, in the territory of the Brigantes. He argued that the forged Itinerary of Richard of Cirencester, which was imposed upon Stukeley, and which has hung as a cloud of confusion for a hundred years over topographical inquiries, being now removed from consideration; the Ordnance surveys having laid down the features of the country with accuracy; and such tests as the description of the Roman wall by Dr. Bruce being at hand, it ought not to be impossible to the modern geographer to point out the due correction to be made in Ptolemy's calculation. The late Mr. W. H. Black had directed the attention of the Association to a valuable topographical work thus entitled, “*De Agrorum Conditionibus, et Constitutionibus Limitum. Sicul Flacci, lib. I. Julii Frontini, lib. I. Aggeni Urbici, lib. II Hygeni Gromatici, lib. II. Variorum Auctorum Ordines finitionum: De jugeribus metiundis: Finium regundorum: Lemilia: Coloniarum pop. Romani descriptio: Terminorum inscriptiones et formæ: De generibus lineamentorum: Dimensuris et ponderibus. Omnia figuris illustrata. Ex Bibliotheca Altemps'na. Parisiis M.D.LIIII. apud Adr. Turnebum typographum Regium. Ex privilegio Regis.*” Our associate Capt. Graham H. Hills, R.N., has found that this important book has been recently republished in Germany; that one of the learned Roman geometricians, whose work

given in it, actually visited Britain, as appears from Tacitus ; whilst at Paris, in 1867, was reproduced photographically, and published, a very ancient Greek MS. of Ptolemy, with his maps. All these circumstances appeared to recommend and to aid a fresh examination and test of questions arising upon ancient topography.

Quitting Yorkshire antiquities we go now to the Maiden Castle, in Dorsetshire, which is perhaps at sight the most important earthwork fortress of ancient times in England. The Maiden Castle, seated on an imposing elevation, and the neighbouring ancient Roman town of Dorchester, are to one another in a very similar relationship to Almondsbury Castle Hill and the Roman town of Slack, a well-nigh impregnable earthwork in each case overlooking a populous and luxurious Roman town. Our engraving, Plate 20, explicitly shows the ingenious and formidable nature of the defences of Maiden Castle. As suggested by the Rev. W. Barnes, it is almost certain that the eastern portion formed originally a smaller fortification ; the western part of the hill top being afterwards enclosed and the two parts thrown together by the removal (not without leaving some very marked traces) of the original west embankment. Probably also the original smaller fort had only one circuit of bank and vallum, and we may consider the multiplication of encircling banks, as recently suggested by Mr. J. W. Grover, as evidences of long and late occupation of the fortress, the defences having been increased from time to time in successive ages. Some particulars concerning Maiden Castle will be found in the Journal of this Association for 1872, pp. 99 to 102, on the occasion of a visit during the Weymouth congress. Also at pp. 39 to 45 of the same volume is given a valuable report on some antiquities found there in excavations made by the Association. When the sister society, the Archæological Institute, visited the place at their Dorchester congress, a few years before, General Sabine expressed his astonishment at the vastness of the entrenchments, regarded as the work of military labour. Besides the *History of Dorset* (Hutchins' old and new editions), our associate, Mr. Charles Warne, F.S.A., and others, have discussed the aspects of this important place.

EDLINGTON, ITS CHURCH AND CAIRN.

BY R. N. PHILIPPS, ESQ., LL.D., F.S.A., ETC.

How many memories of the past must the Valley of the Don, from Sheffield to Coningsborough and Edlington, awaken in the mind of the archæologist. On leaving the former town, the British earthworks and entrenchments of the Wen Coed, or the wooded hill, the Wincowood of modern days, are in its immediate vicinity, whilst the Saxon occupation of the adjacent district is recognised in the termination of the words Templeborough, Greasborough, Mexborough, Thriburgh, Coningsborough, Sprotborough, and Barnborough, once the residence of the great Sir Thomas More. Again, near the junction of the Dearne with the Don, a British road crosses the river at a place called the Strafford Sands, and which afterwards, as the stratum, or strata via of the Romans, communicated with Danun or Donafelda, and their other stations in Yorkshire. The name is still retained, however, as the appellation of a large division of the West Riding, known as the Wapentake of Strafforth and Tickhill. From this point the sides of the valley, the boundary of the Northumbrian kingdom, approach each other more nearly till Coningsborough, the Coning, or Kingsborough, which formed part of the possessions of Harold, comes into view, and the members of the British Archæological Association, who visited it during the congress, will admit there are few places to be found embracing so many points of picturesque beauty as this. Here is a small village, with its white houses scattered along the crest of a hill; an ancient church, in whose adjacent ground tradition asserts is Hengist's burial place; a narrow valley and a steep acclivity; and then, amidst the trees which shelter its feudal grandeur, rises a stately Norman keep, surrounded by its crumbling towers and ruined walls, whilst below, the deep and silent river calmly wends its way amidst broken limestone cliffs, intermixed with green upland pastures, and through a narrow gorge and the woods of Sprotborough, till the view is closed in by the lofty tower of Doncaster itself. The earthworks of a British camp here appear, as

oftentimes elsewhere, to have been utilised by the warlike Normans for the site and purposes of their strongholds. The interior of the space forming the Castle yard is reached by a steep, winding pass, and corresponds, in this respect, to that which is observable in the earthworks of Bradfield, Laughton, and Castle Hill, in the adjoining districts; and I believe it is now an accepted theory, that wherever a donjon keep is found placed on the summit of an artificial mound encircled by large earthworks, it was but an adaptation, as at Tickhill, Sandal, York, etc., of a British to a Norman stronghold. It is also remarkable how these mounds and entrenchments form connecting links with each other (like so many beacon hills) in this vicinity. For instance, three miles westwards from Coningsborough is seen Templeborough; thence, at about the same distance, Wineo earthworks; five miles west from Sheffield, at the head of the Rivelin valley, is Lord's Seat; thence, northwards, Bradfield Hill and earthworks; whilst from them as well as Lord's Seat, the huge Winhill mound appears on its lofty mountain height, with the earthworks on Mam Tor and Brough Tor amongst the ranges of the Peak of Derbyshire; and in the distant horizon are the ridges on which are placed the Castle Hill and the Roman Slack. Proceeding now, however, on our way towards Norman Tickhill, the road rises very abruptly, and at the distance of a mile from Coningsborough and twelve miles from Sheffield, and, like Steetley on the Nottinghamshire border, almost escaping the notice of the passers by, stands the village of Edlington.¹

Its small Norman church was erected in the twelfth century, built by the Vavasours, who came into possession after the De Percies, and is now in good condition and repair. It was constructed with a nave and chancel only, the former 32 feet long by 20 feet broad, the latter 27 feet long by 16 feet 6 inches in breadth. The nave walls up to the corbel course are 16 feet, and those of the chancel 14 feet high, whilst the ridge of the high pitched roof was 26 feet from the ground. This is clearly discernible, owing to the stonework of the point of its gable projecting both on the outside and in the inside of the east wall of the tower,

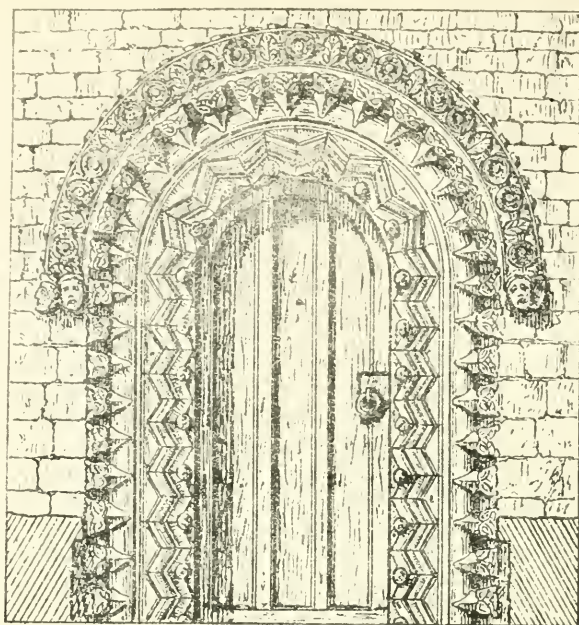
¹ Visited by the Congress, August 1873. For the sketches here as well as for Broom Hall, I am indebted to Mr. Cox, the Master of the Sheffield School of Art.

which appears to have been built round it, and which shows, moreover, the church did not extend further west. The tower is 50 feet high, is battlemented with crocketed pinnacles, and has extremely large gargoyles in the middle of the sides of its walls, and not at the corners, as is usually the case, and was most probably erected soon after such additions were made to churches, not earlier than the reign of Henry II. Along the corbel course of the nave there are twenty projecting grotesque heads, placed at regular distances from each other, and along that of the chancel sixteen. An aisle has been built on the north side; but its internal wall is clearly that of the original nave, as the row of figure-heads is continued inside that portion of the church.

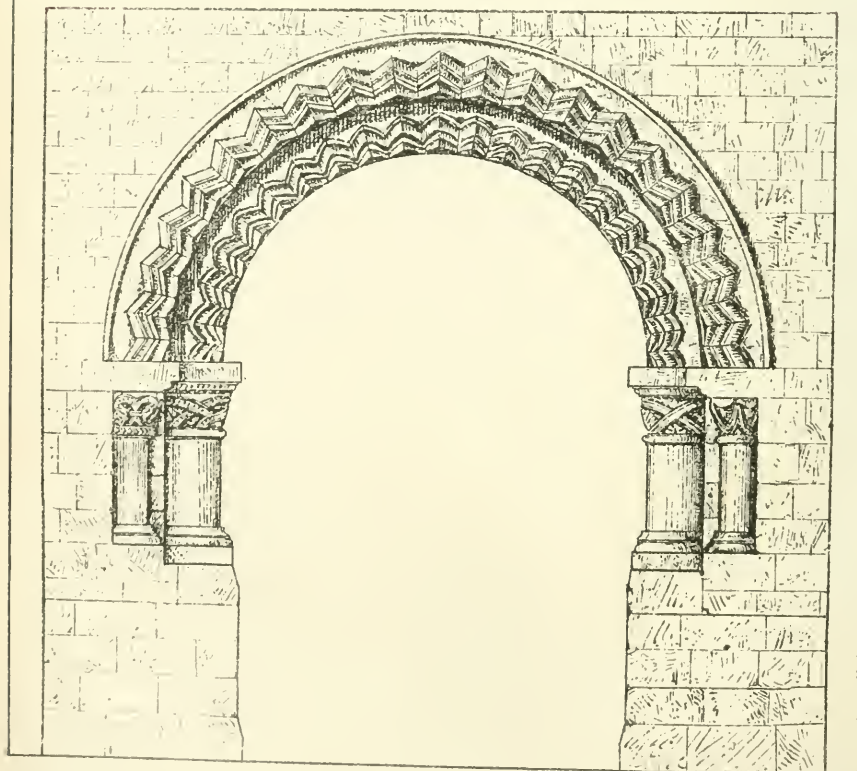
All the Norman windows have disappeared excepting one, and have been replaced by those of a square-headed form, whilst the sides of the church have been raised above the old corbel course. This Norman window is circular-headed, long, and very narrow, being 6 feet 6 inches high by 23 inches wide. It is surmounted by a zigzag moulding 8 inches broad, whilst extending down the sides of the window are small pillars 7 inches wide, the upper portions having the zigzag ornament also.

The interior of the church has a very fine chancel-arch, with a boldly cut double zigzag moulding, supported on short, thick pillars having delicately carved capitals, and resting on a heavy stonework foundation. But the eminently beautiful south doorway of the nave claims special attention. It is in an excellent state of preservation, owing to its having been protected from the effects of the weather by a more modern porch, with its long stone seats, whereon the "fathers of the village" rested ere they entered the sacred edifice. The doorway very closely resembles that of Iffley in Oxfordshire, of the date of King Stephen. The breadth of the oak door itself is 3 feet 2 inches wide by 7 feet 1 inch high. There is a rich zigzag moulding one foot broad, round the sides of the doorway next the door, with small ball-flowers projecting in the inner angle of each indentation. Adjoining this is a rounded moulding, which extends, like the former, round the doorway to the ground, and is ten inches wide, on which are carved, with their beaks pointing to the door, thirty-three birds' heads fantastically embellished; and beyond this is a hood-moulding seven inches





DOORWAY, EDLINGTON CHURCH, N^R DONCASTER.



CHANCEL ARCH, EDLINGTON CHURCH, NEAR DONCASTER.

broad, composed of rosettes placed two together, with intervening and encircling leaves, and terminating at 5 feet from the ground with finials of figure-heads, the whole being surmounted by a narrow billet of stonework, making altogether a total height of 9 feet 6 inches, being more than one-half the height of the nave-wall itself. Such is this gem of Norman ornamentation, but little known, and in its seclusion but seldom visited.

I will now call attention to other objects of interest closely adjoining. Within less than a mile there is a large wood, mentioned in the Domesday book, and there described as a pasturable wood, one leuka in length by half a leuka in breadth, *i. e.*, according to Sir Henry Ellis, a mile and a half long by half that width; and, singularly enough, such is now precisely its present extent and locality. Here, a clearance has lately brought to light a singularly exact Circle, and amongst the old oaks growing in and around it, a silver coin of Severus, now in my possession, was picked



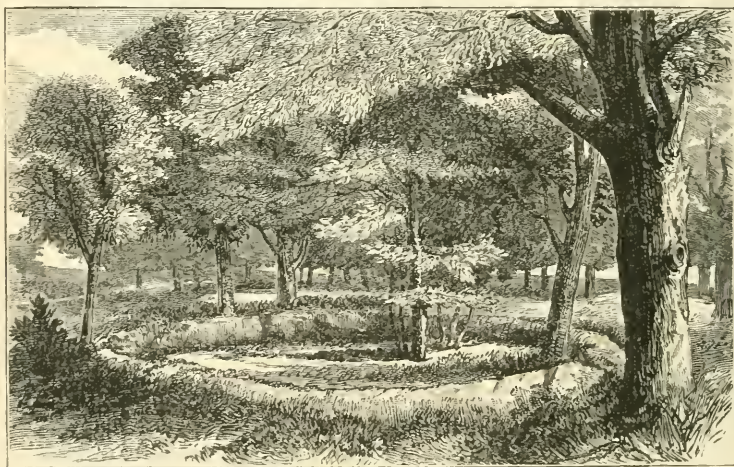
Obv. L. SEP[T. SEV. PERT.] AVG. IMP. X.: *Rev.* ANN[ONAE.] AVGG.

up by the woodman. The coin, though imperfect, is thus interesting, whilst the ship's prow and cornucopia of Annona, the goddess of plenty, commemorate a time of some great prosperity. Perchance it may have been dropped by a Legionary accompanying Severus, who, himself hastening from Rome to crush an insurrection in Britain (then so valuable for its mineral wealth), laid waste this part of the country on his march to the North. But although, after three years of incessant hardship and warfare amongst the Caledonian wilds, he returned thence victorious to York, yet worn out with anxiety and fatigue, he there expired on the 4th of February, A.D. 211, the victim of his restless ambition.

In this wood, when I visited it many years ago, there existed also a large conical mound of stones, rising as high as the tops of the trees. This has now nearly disappeared, its materials having been since used for walls and roads, and there is great difficulty, therefore, in ascertaining its original dimensions, but from what is still left its base appears to have

been about 90 feet in diameter, whilst 60 feet from it there are similar appearances denoting either another mound, or, it may be, they were part of the former, which would thus have occupied a more extended area. When the next fall of wood takes place, probably this point will be ascertained. It is known as Blowhall, a corruption, I think, of the Anglo-Saxon Hlœw, a Low, a burial-place, and Haele, a brave man, a hero, *i.e.*, Hlœw Haele, the burial-place of the brave. It has been suggested to have been a covered cromlech, but as neither large stone supports nor chambers were found on its removal, I can only believe it to have been a sepulchral memorial or Cairn.

The Circle I have above alluded to is 250 yards from the Cairn, and is 120 feet in diameter, with an agger of loose stones and earth, varying from 4 to 6 feet high, and sloping off to a distance of about 14 feet.



The Circle in Edlington Wood.

As to the purpose for which the Circle was formed, a variety of suggestions have been made, and Sir Henry Dryden and Mr. Lukis have kindly conveyed to me their opinions, which more or less embrace the following points, as upon a careful examination an opening about 4 ft. wide exists on the eastern side, attributable perhaps, either to the original construction, or to the fall of a portion of the surrounding bank itself. If an original entrance, then, as in the *Domesday Book* the wood is termed "a pasturable wood", the enclosure might be one of those ancient British pounds for cattle, of which we have some examples elsewhere. It

has also been suggested that it may have been an inchoate and incompleated cairn, like many of those on the Wiltshire Downs; or, again, it may have been used like one of the raths in Ireland. But I have the assurance from persons residing in the neighbourhood, that it was unknown to them, and even the woodman himself was unaware of it, nor does it appear marked in the Ordnance Map, so entirely was it obscured by the thickly clustered trees and the tangled brushwood, until the cutting down of wood in that part disclosed its existence. But whatever theory be adopted, it is a not less interesting relic of former ages.

Here also is another remarkable earthwork called "the Double Dyke," passing north-west by south-east, which I have inspected. Farming operations outside the wood (but beyond the precincts of which it does not extend far) have much obliterated it, but judging from what remains its agger must have been considerable. It may be taken, however, as clear that this is no modern work or district boundary, as the manor of Edlington at this point, on both sides, runs direct north and south. Here then, are these three, if not four, very singular appearances in contiguity. When all must be, perhaps, conjecture as to their origin or construction, I will suggest the following theory as an explanation. The learned historian, the late Joseph Hunter, states, "that according to Beda a battle was fought 'in campo qui vocatur Hethfelt'" (or the Heathfield, the modern Hatfield); and translating *in campo*, in the level plain, we have the modern Hatfield Levels, or Hatfield Chase, on the Don, the boundary of the kingdom of Northumbria. In this battle between Edwin, the King of Northumbria, the first Christian King, and Penda, the pagan King of Mercia, aided by Cadwalla the Briton, A.D. 633, the former, with his son Osfryd, were slain. Hunter adds, "I never could learn that there were any marks of encampment within these limits which might show the position of either army, or any tumuli which might seem to have been erected in memory of the slain." Now this battle being a well ascertained fact, whilst the slaughter was great and the results most decisive and disastrous, I will point out that Edlington, placed as it is "within the limits," nay, the verge of that Hatfield Chase, the scene of conflict, occupies the high plateau from which the ground gradually declines to the north, whilst on the

east and north-east the vast plain of 70,000 acres, which till Vermuyden drained it, A.D. 1626, was but a swampy forest and peaty morass, whilst the Levels stretched far away on the one side to where Fishlake Church now stands with its fine Norman doorway; and on the other side to the Isle of Axholme (with its Epworth, now so well known as Wesley's birthplace) and to the banks of the Trent, or more distant Humber. On the west it was protected by the deep valley and river of the Don, adjoining the stronghold of the British and Saxon, Coningsborough, where a force could easily be assembled or detached to aid; whilst immediately fronting the Hatfield Chase there encircles the foot of the above plateau of Edlington the Warmsworth Beck, then probably a broad or swampy sheet of water, as an additional defence. The only approach, therefore, for the Mercians towards Doncaster, would be by the pass of Bawtry (and that would be protected by the Double Dyke on the south-east of Edlington), and by the old Roman road.

In a military point of view this was an exceedingly strong position, where a stand might be advantageously made, and a field well chosen, to decide the fortune of the contending armies. Here, then, I reply, in answer to the query, is "the position of either army." Here are further "the marks of encampment" in the Double Dyke, and here are "the tumuli of the slain." It may be objected that A.D. 633 was too late for the erection of such tumuli, though the arguments of Ferguson in his "Rude Stone Monuments," may modify that opinion. But without availing myself of these, may not Cadwalla the Briton, one of the victors of the fight, have followed the traditions of his race, and erected the cairn over his slain comrades, leaving the Saxon Penda to follow out his own mode of sepulture. With these remarks I quit the subject, to be further investigated by future archæological researches, as well as the history and sites of those bloody contests between the Briton and the Roman, the Dane, Saxon, and Norman, in this county of York, where now, happily, are on every side to be found the abodes of peaceful prosperity, security, and commercial greatness.

ROCHE ABBEY, YORKSHIRE; AND BEAUCHIEF ABBEY, DERBYSHIRE.

BY GORDON M. HILLS, ESQ., HON. TREASURER.

ROCHE ABBEY and Beauchief Abbey, which places were visited by the Association during the Sheffield Congress, have long ceased to be remarkable for the extent of their remains. Yet in each case there are preserved some stately remnants, besides many indications from which their ancient conditions of size and arrangement may be understood. Roche Abbey belongs to that great reformed division of the Benedictine order which sprang from the Monastery of Cîteaux, in 1113. In composition, the early Benedictine monasteries included chiefly laymen resorting to ecclesiastics for spiritual direction, and it was not till after the twelfth century began that a papal decree required all monks to be in holy orders. Beauchief Abbey belongs to an order which from the first was composed wholly of clergy, viz., the Augustinian canons. It, too, owed its allegiance to a subordinate division or reformed rule, which reform sprang from the canons of Prémontré in 1120; yet it was not till 1139 that Pope Innocent decreed that all canons regular should be bound by the rule of St. Augustine of Hippo, a measure by which, together with the community of property not long before decreed, the canons may be said to have become monks. The Benedictine order had been largely acknowledged amongst monasteries from about 750, whilst the first house which called itself of the Augustinian order was that of St. Denis at Rheims, about 1067. From the twelfth century, in the Roman church, these two orders, each with its subordinate branches, divided the monastic world between them, the monks having then become clergy and the regular canons become monks. The subdivision of the Cistercians from their parent order differed from the Premonstratensian subdivision in this point, viz., that the Cistercians reformed an order already in existence, and made a secession for its better observance, whilst the Premonstratensians were one among several congregations, professing and purposing to follow the rule of

St. Augustine, before it had been authoritatively imposed as an order.

Of Roche and of Beauchief Abbey we have already in print somewhat exhaustive historical accounts. Of Roche Abbey, besides what has been long published in the *Monasticon*, we have the quarto history by Dr. Aveling, chiefly valuable for its illustrations. Of Beauchief Abbey we have the admirable history written by Dr. Samuel Pegge a century ago, and published by J. Nichols in 1801.

Roche Abbey, according to the democratic law of the Cistercians, could not be a priory. Experience of the Clugniac Benedictine reform had shown the evil, as the Cistercians thought, of creating a princely prelate by subjecting numerous priories to one abbot. Hence every Cistercian monastery was headed by an abbot. The Augustinians were not bound by either method, and it is sometimes difficult to ascertain whether the head of a particular house was a prior or an abbot. This very difficulty has occurred at Beauchief, but Dr. Pegge shows conclusively that the house was called an abbey and its head an abbot. The inmates of Roche were white monks, and those of Beauchief were white canons.

With regard to the arrangements of the monastic buildings, it is very observable, both at Roche and Beauchief, how distinctly the water supply determined on which side of the monastic church the inmates should dwell. In both cases, the supply comes from the south and passes by the south, and so the domestic buildings were placed south, *i.e.*, next the water, and the church away from it.

Restricting ourselves now to Roche Abbey, the charters show that it was founded jointly by two noblemen, Richard Fitz-Turgis and Richard de Builli, and that the gift of land by the latter to the monks was partly guided by the consideration of water supply, "*ut construant abbatiam suam ex qualibet parte aquæ voluerint secundum quod situs loci melius condonabit.*"

Among the muniments of the Earl of Winchelsea, lately acquired by the Trustees of the British Museum, is the original charter (Add. Ch. 20,583) of John de Builli, confirming to the monks of Roche all the gifts and liberties granted to them by Richard, his father. The text of this charter is given in the *Monasticon*, vol. v, p. 503. To the deed is

appended the seal of John de Builli, a fine specimen of the late twelfth century seal-art, bearing on the reverse a seeded

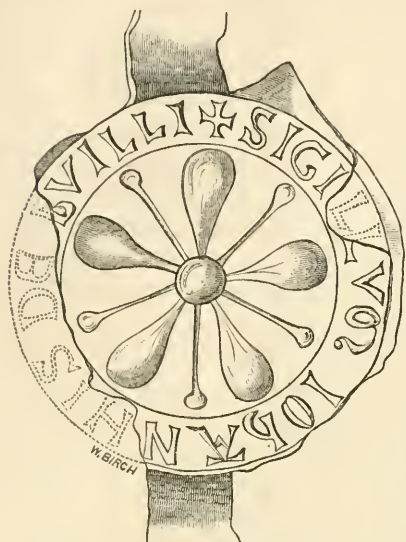
cinquefoil of bold pattern; on the reverse, or counter-seal, an unusually fine antique gem, of which the device is a winged river-horse. The gem is inscribed with the letters kv... Probably the name of the engraver. This rare relic, of interest to the history of Roche, is engraved here for the first time.

It is known from an ancient list of the abbots, compiled apparently one hundred and twenty-five years later, that the foundation occurred in 1147, on the third of the kalends of August; and the same fact is

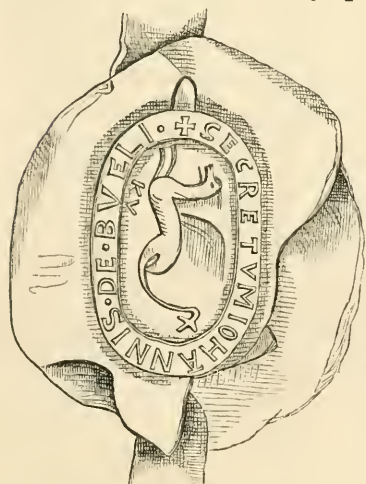
shown in the very curious list of Cistercian monasteries, of the thirteenth century, published by Mr. W. De G. Birch

in our *Journal* (vol. xxvi, p. 287). A confirmation by Urban III, dated 1186, shows that under three abbots, Durandus, Roger de Tickhill, and Hugo de Waddeworth, and the beginning of the rule of the fourth abbot, endowments from twenty-two benefactors, including the sovereign of England, had been considerable; yet it would seem the monks had not contrived to provide themselves with the permanent buildings of their monastery until the time of Osmund, the

fourth abbot. I have no hesitation in ascribing to his time, 1175 to 1212, and that of his immediate succe-



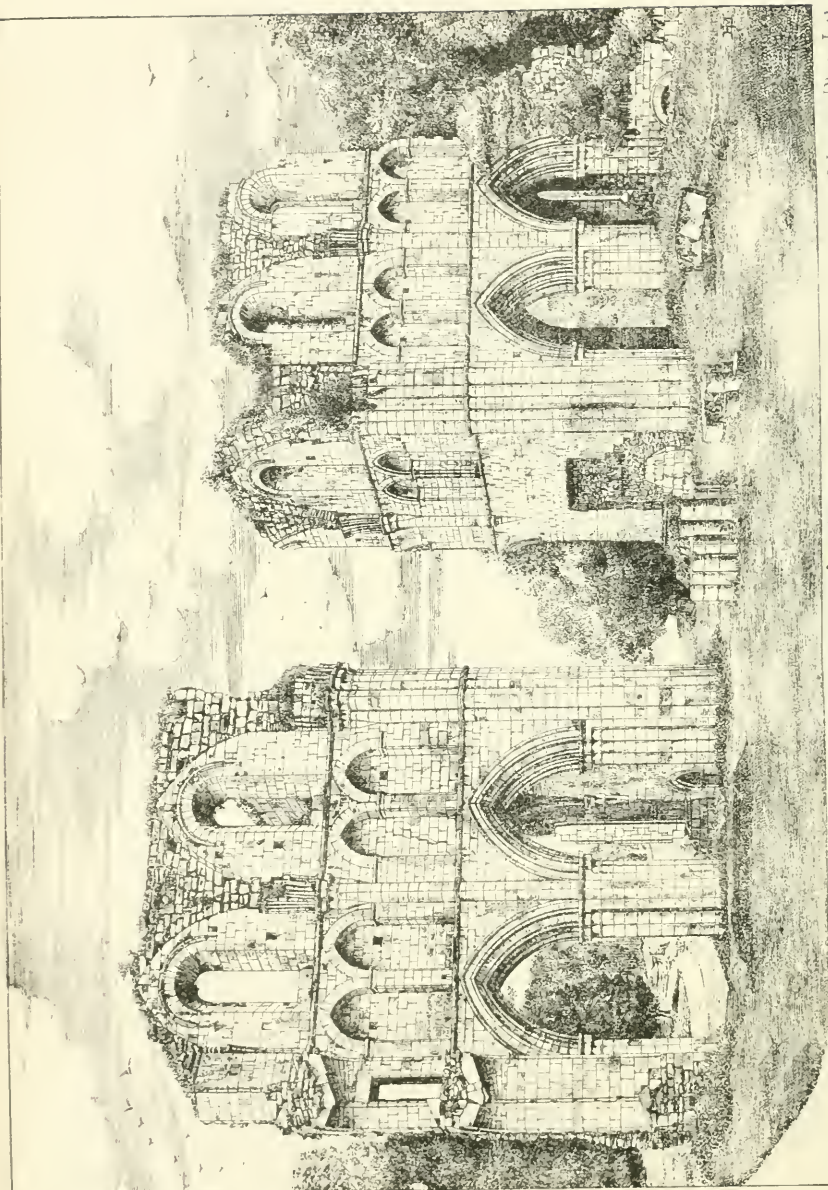
Seal and Gem Counterseal of John de Builli.
Twelfth century.



sors, the architecture of the existing buildings, and of the traces of buildings which are still visible, though a great deal is covered by the levelling processes adopted in the last century, under the auspices of that famous landscape gardener "Capability" Brown. We are told of Abbot Osmund, who was promoted to this abbey from having been cellarer of Fountains, that he was made procurator of Cardinal Stephen (the papal legate), "*de omnibus proventibus suis in Anglia.*" This office was held by Osmund's three successors, Reginald, fifteen years; Richard, sixteen years; and Walter, eleven years; fifty-three years in all, during all which time they received 400 marks yearly for the cardinal, "*de qua pecunia sibi competenter providerunt,*" so that their own monastery was fully provided for. But, besides this collateral evidence, there is a piece of direct evidence hitherto strangely overlooked. The charter of Ydonea de Veteriponte, who was to be buried in the monastery, gives to the monks the Manor of Sandbee and other property, "*in dotem ad dedicationem ecclesiæ suæ de Rupe.*" This lady was then in her widowhood, her husband, Robert de Veteriponte having died in 1228; after which, and before her death in 1241, the consecration of the church must have taken place.¹ After Abbot Walter, Dr. Aveling continues the list of abbots with Alan, Jordan, Philip, Thomas, 1286; Stephen, 1287; John, May 30th, 1300; Robert, December 18th, 1300; William, 1324; Adam de Giggleswick, 1330 to 1349, in whose time a benefactor provided to increase the inmates by thirteen from the original number; Simon de Bakewell, 1349; John de Aston, 1358; Robert, 1396 to 1438; John Wakefield, 1438 to 1465; in whose time Matilda of York, Countess of Cambridge, bequeathed her body to be buried in the Chapel of St. Mary, before her image in the southern part of the church, and to have an alabaster stone tomb and effigy raised upon her grave. She died the 26th of August, 1446. The succeeding abbots were John Gray, 1465; William Tickhill, 1479; Thomas Thurne, 1486; William Burton, 1488; John Morpeth, 1491; John Heslington, 13th of December, 1503 (Dugdale). The abbey was dissolved the 23rd of June, 1538; Henry Cundal, the last abbot, with the prior, sub-prior, fourteen other monks, and four novices, being the last occupants, and the income under £200 per annum. An inter-

¹ See *Excerpta e Rot. Fin. II. III.*, vol. i, pp. 168 and 357.





Roche Abbey, Yorkshire.

J. Robbins Photo-Lith.

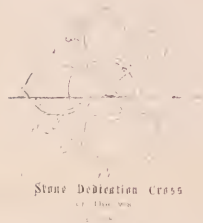


Rochester Abbey.

CISTERCIAN



C Cloister Court



B

REMAINS OF WATER MILL

esting letter is printed by Dr. Aveling, written by one Cuthbert Shirebrook, of the proceedings at the destruction of the abbey, as he had them from one who was present. This helps us to a few historical particulars of the buildings, of which I will presently make use, and which, with the notice of the dedication of the church, and the burial of Matilda of York, are all the historical building notices that have come down to us.

Plate 22 exhibits well the remains of the transepts of the church and the thoroughly simple character of its architecture. Although the east side of the transepts, with their customary chapels, is all that remains erect of the monastery, yet the complete plan of the church (plate 23) is traceable, and the bottom of its west wall is now exposed by the removal of some of the ground which, to a depth of six or seven feet at least, "Capability" Brown has spread over the site. The plan is purely Cistercian, and the architecture is simple and severe, as their rule enjoined, though this severity was not maintained in later examples. Simple as it is at Roche the effect is imposing, and the church, though not a large specimen, possessed much grandeur. Like Fountains and other instances, we have here a clerestory with the Norman or semicircular arch to the windows, surmounting pointed work in the arches below.

Dr. Aveling gives a plan suggestive of the whole arrangements of the monastery. As he saw it we see it now, and there is really very little on which to hang his suggestions, which indeed are manifestly mistaken in some of the names assigned by him to the different parts. Two masses of rough masonry, in a line south from the west side of the transept, mark the west side of the great east wing of the monastery, in which we should expect to find the chapter house and the parlour, or common room of the monks, over it that dormitory whence, as Cuthbert Shirebrook says, each monk at the dissolution had given to him the contents of his cell wherein he slept, the bed and clothing of very little value, and even it seems the door of the enclosure or partition was given to the occupant. A range of such cells or sleeping stalls would customarily extend down each side of the dormitory. This east wing enclosed one side of the cloister quadrangle, and the cloister walk here (called in the *Rituale Cisterciense* "the cloister of the chapterhouse") led directly into

the south aisle of the church by a door at A, still visible. Shirebrook mentions the frater or refectory within the abbey walls ; no fragment of it is visible, but the usual Cistercian position is shown on the plan at B ; the abbot's lodging, he says, was also within the walls, and this we should look for at C, completing the surroundings of the cloister court ; and all this was wrecked by the spoilers as soon as the church was stripped. He says, " the ox houses and swine cotes and such other houses of office stood without the walls," and these would properly lie to the westward between the abbey proper and the existing remnants of the fine thirteenth century gateway of the outer court. Attached to the south side of the gateway is still a fragment of the chapel used for the first devotions of strangers arriving. Parts of the abbey mill remain in the river eastward of the abbey. In the " steeple" of the church were nine bells. This tower stood at the intersection of the cruciform limbs of the church ; more or less of all four of its pillars exists now. The father of Shirebrook bought part of the timber of the " steeple" and the bell frames ; the lead of the church roof was torn off and cast down into the church, and the spars of the roof, sold to the yeomen and gentlemen, were similarly dealt with, whereby the tombs within were ruthlessly broken up. The monks' stalls in the choir, " like to the seats in minsters, were plucked up" and burned, so that they " melted the lead therewithall" into foddors and took it away. The service books were used by the wagoners to stop holes in the hoods or copes of their wains. " All things of price were spoiled and carped away or defaced to the uttermost." So fell Roche Abbey.

Beauchief Abbey was inferior in its buildings to Roche Abbey, and has suffered even more from spoil and ruin, though the small remnant of its church was restored to the use of a church, about 1662, by Edward Pegge, an ancestor of Dr. Pegge, and is still so preserved. This portion of the church is shown in the view, Plate 24. It consists of the tower and a small part of the ancient nave. The tower, placed at the west end of the nave, is a very fine and massive structure, 26 to 27 feet square in plan, built early in the thirteenth century, to which the massive buttresses were added in the next century. It had a very fine west window of this later period, now blocked up, and though its



Edwin J. Munt del

J. Jobbins Photo-Lith

Beauchief Abbey, in Derby. West front.



ancient tracery has been grievously destroyed, enough remains to indicate what a perfect restoration of it should be. Buck's view of the tower, made in 1727, shows that it then was nearly perfect and possessed a low belfry story above what now remains, its parapet ornamented with a little pinnacle at each corner. The small remnant of the nave speaks decisively of a peculiarity of the churches of the monastic canons. These, more than any others, built their churches without aisles, and extended them to a great length. This practice was not limited to small churches. Ripon Minster was originally built without aisles, and the alteration which added to it those appendages, leaving prominent evidences of its aisleless condition in the thirteenth century, is one of the most interesting archæological subjects that structure affords. The Premonstratensian church of Bayham Abbey, in Sussex, is a very fine and curious example of the lengthened church and aisleless nave. On the south side of the present nave of Beauchief Abbey is a large Norman door, used as a window, and blocked up by a mound of earth and ruin outside, in the lower part; quite recently the nave walls extended somewhat further east than now, but portions were taken down; in the north side was a good doorway, which was then removed and rebuilt at the south-west corner of the tower, as seen in the view; at the same time a door which had stood in the cellarge of the west wing of the monastery, a little south of the tower, was removed and rebuilt against the tower, at its north-west angle. In 1727 there was a lofty mass of wall, forming part of the south side of the church, which is now a mere huge mound of ruin, near to which the transepts of the church must have been. I have already said that the domestic buildings of the monastery were placed to the south of the church. Some not inconsiderable remains of them appear in Buck's view of 1727. What they were is partly shown by the inventory taken at the dissolution and by other notices occurring in Dr. Pegge's book. The chapter house, whose foundation lies buried near the south transept of the church, was, next to it, the most important member of the buildings: daily on leaving it the canons were enjoined to say a *pater noster* for the soul of Robert de Eccleshall; of the business there transacted a glimpse is given in a lease granted in 1461 "in

domo capitulari." Of the common room or parlour of the canons we only get a hint from a visitation of 1472 (Pegge, p. 254), when the buildings were found in good order, but silence was not observed in the places enjoined ; in other words, the use of the parlour was made to extend to other places. In 1475, at another visitation, the due use of the parlour was found to be better observed. This parlour, with the dormitory over, extended in a line with, and due south from, the transept, forming the enclosure to the east side of the cloister quadrangle ; joined on to its southern extremity, and most likely projecting eastward, was the infirmary of the monastery, called in the inventory "Sekman Chambre," with its one mattress, two bedsteads, two coverlets, two covings, and two sheets. The refectory, often, and so here, called "The Hall", stood on the south side of the cloister quadrangle, parallel to the church and westward of it ; and, completing that side, probably the buttery, which stands next to it in the inventory. The kitchen and the bakehouse are the next in the list, and are named also in an inventory of 1393 ; they would be near to and south of the buttery and hall, but standing apart from the framework of the cloister quadrangle. Next in order in the inventory is the abbot's chamber, and this brings us to the west wing of the buildings, the long range which had the cellarer's department below (this officer is named in 1478), where were kept the stores in daily consumption. Through it was the entry from the outer court to the inner precinct of the monastery, and the upper story had the abbot's chamber, which was hung around with red saye and his bed with hangings of red and yellow saye, and other furniture duly particularised. A chamber near was appropriated to one Roger Eyre, I do not know if his office in the monastery is ascertained. Another adjacent chamber of the abbot's is called Green Leaf Chamber, and a fourth is the chapel chamber, which shows also that the abbot's chapel was in this wing. At Battle Abbey the chapel is against the church wall at the north end of the west wing and may have been so at Beauchief. In the view of 1727 the cellarage and some part of the buttery appear then existing as before mentioned.

The cloister, which surrounded the inner quadrangle, and its uses and misuses, are several times alluded to. It was

once complained that the keys of the cloister were not properly kept, nor of the other offices of religion for due times and occasions. At another visitation it appeared that the canons quitted the cloister in the night, after compline, and spent so much time in potations as to unfit them for matins.

Soon after the dissolution, the church is described as having been "very spacious, having a fair chancel where was an altar, a large steeple where were five bells." In 1314 an altar existed in the church, dedicated to St. Katharine (Pegge, pp. 108 and 222); and another, dedicated to the Holy Cross, is named fourteen years earlier (Pegge, p. 118); Sir Thomas Chaworth being a benefactor to both. It is probable that these altars stood in the transepts.¹

The cemetery lay on the north of the church, and its use continued though the monastery was suppressed, and the churchyard granted to Sir Nicholas Strelley.

Of the outer adjuncts we read in the inventory of a gatehouse, which must have stood westward of the Abbey; and the grant to Sir Nicholas Strelley includes the "barns, stables, dovecotes", which stood in its outer court, and "the ponds" which in a descending chain near a mile long begin south of the Abbey, fed by a spring at the summit of the hill, and terminate in a lake below (now meadow-land), enveloping the north side of the churchyard and Abbey court and gardens.

Dr. Pegge fixes the date of the foundation-deed of Robert Fitz-Ranulph of Alfreton between 1172 and 1176, and the remains of Norman work show that the building was begun immediately. The church was dedicated to St. Thomas à Becket, who was murdered in 1170, and canonised in 1172. No particulars of the dates of construction have been preserved. The bare names of nearly all the abbots are known. In 1461-62 the community consisted of the abbot and twelve canons. In 1478 it had increased by two. In 1490 Christopher Haslam became chaplain, to instruct the novices and boys in singing and grammar. The dissolution of the Abbey occurred on the 4th of February, 1536, its revenues being under £200 per annum.

¹ See Pegge, pp. 221-222,—A.D. 1393, inventory of jewels, plate, and furniture, etc., belonging to the abbot; and A.D. 1537, the church plate and ornaments. A very valuable thirteenth century calendar of benefactors of the Abbey, with continuations and miscellaneous information of religious history, in the British Museum MS., Caligula, A. VIII, ff. 4-27, I have not found time to consult.

Proceedings of the Association.

25TH NOVEMBER, 1874.

H. SYER CUMING, ESQ., F.S.A., SCOT., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

THE election of the following members was announced :

Charles Tovey, Esq., 2, Royal York Crescent.
 Miss Humphrey, care of John Reynolds, Esq., Manor House, Bristol.
 William Baker, Esq., Sneyd Park, Bristol.
 Walter Derham, Esq., Henteaze Park, Westbury-on-Trym.
 — Laverton, Esq., Cornwallis Terrace, Bristol.

Thanks were returned for the following presents :

- To the Society.* Society of Antiquaries of London, for Proceedings, vol. vi, Nos. 2 and 3, 8vo, London, 1874.
 „ „ Royal Archæological Institute, for Journal, vol. xxxi, Nos. 120, 121, 122, 8vo, London, 1874.
 „ „ Canadian Institute, for Journal, vol. xiv, No. 3, 8vo, Toronto, 1874.
 „ „ East India Association, for Journal, vol. viii, No. 2, 8vo, London, 1874.
 „ „ Royal Historical and Archæological Association of Ireland, for Journal, vol. iii, fourth series, No. 18, 8vo, Dublin, 1874.
 „ „ *Compte-Rendu de la Commission Impériale Archéologique pour les Années 1870, 1871*, with the Atlas, large folio, St. Petersburg, 1874.
 „ „ Smithsonian Institute, for Annual Report of the Board of Regents, for 1872, 8vo, Washington, 1873.
 „ „ Somersetshire Archæological and Natural History Society, for Proceedings during the year 1873, 8vo, Taunton, 1874.
To the Author, J. Forbes Watson, M.A., M.D., etc., for “On the Measures required for the efficient working of the India Museum and Library,” etc., folio, London, 1874.

To the Author, J. E. Lee, Esq., for "Roman Imperial Profiles, a series of lithographic Profiles enlarged from Coins." 8vo. London, 1874.

„ „ The Rev. B. H. Blacker, A.M., for "Brief Sketches of the Parishes of Booterstown and Donnybrook, in the county of Dublin," Parts 1 and 2, 8vo, Dublin, 1860, 1861.

To C. J. Palmer, Esq., F.S.A., for "Memorials of the family of Hurry of Great Yarmouth, Norfolk," 4to, Norwich, 1873.

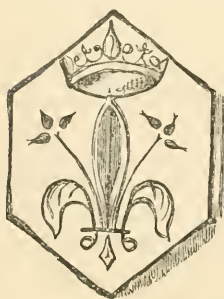
To Professor Dr. Fr. Pressel, for "Ulmisches Urkundenbuch in Auftrage der Stadt Ulm," 4to, Stuttgart, 1873; and for "Verhandlungen des Vereins für Kunst und Alterthum in Ulm und Oberschwaben, Neue Reihe, Sechstes Heft," 4to, Ulm, 1874.

Mr. Walter de Gray Birch, F.R.S.L., *Hon. Sec.*, announced the completion of the General Index to the Journals, vols. i to xxx, and invited the members to subscribe for copies, which would be shortly printed.

Mr. Birch also explained, that in consequence of a family affliction, Mr. S. I. Tucker, *Rouge Croix*, was unavoidably obliged to postpone his promised paper on the Remains of the Great Earl of Shrewsbury to a future meeting.

Mr. E. Roberts, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, sent a large collection of iron and miscellaneous objects from recent excavations in London, but as he was prevented by unforeseen causes from being present, the exhibition and consideration of these interesting antiquities were deferred until the following day of assembling.

Mrs. Baily sent for exhibition two costrels, or pilgrims' bottles, differing altogether in character from the example described in p. 340, *ante*. The earliest is of the time of Henry VII, and was exhumed in February, 1868, on the site of Drapers' Hall, Throgmorton Street, where once stood the mansion of Thomas Cromwell, Earl of Essex.



This exceedingly rare type of vessel is wrought of fine buff-coloured paste, covered with a glaze clouded green and yellow. The spherical body is somewhat compressed, being $3\frac{3}{4}$ inches diameter by about $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches thick in the centre. It is furnished with a pair of loop handles, set horizontally on either side; and in front is an hexagonal shield, charged in bold relief with a fleur-de-lis, having a sprig on each side the middle petal, constituting what is known as the Florentine lily, a badge granted in the fifteenth century

by Louis XI of France to the Medici family, as a symbol of alliance, and one which is familiar to us on the coinage of Florence. The

seeded fleur-de-lys, also termed a fleur-de-lys épanouie, or fleurdelisée, is of very frequent occurrence among the devices found on seals of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries in England. One of the first of these,



of the thirteenth century, is here depicted in a woodcut for comparison with the later form of the same object on the costrel. This device is copied from two examples of the seal of Alicia filia Radulphi de Mumby, co. Line., now preserved in the British Museum (Charters, xxvii, 183, 184). Early costrels with heraldic bearings are seldom met with, but one of cognate form with the present may be seen in the British Museum, on which is embossed the

arms and supporters of King Henry VII; and in the Strawberry Hill collection was a majolica costrel, on which was painted the arms of Ferdinand de Medici and his Duchess Christina of Lorraine, who were married in 1589. Among the "Pilgrims' bottles" in the Loan Collection at South Kensington, in 1862, was one of Urbino ware, on the neck of which is painted the arms of the Colonna family, viz., *or*, a column *gules*.

The second costrel submitted by Mrs. Baily is of the sixteenth century, and was exhumed in Queen Victoria Street, February, 1873. It is of the decanter type, to which allusion is made in p. 341, *ante*. It measures $10\frac{1}{4}$ inches in height, stands on a flat circular base, and has two loops on either side, placed one above the other, in shape of lions' heads, and through which a cord or strap passed to sling the vessel about the person. The paste is of a dull reddish hue, and the glaze of a deep chocolate colour, streaked or mottled with yellowish white.

Mr. H. Syer Cuming stated that the great majority of costrels of the above type he had seen were covered with red and whitish glaze, and that examples with the dark chocolate hue were of considerable scarcity. He had no doubt that these mottled or marbled glazes were rough imitations of early Venetian Schmelz glass, and that the lion-head loops on the sides of the vessel were also copied from the productions of Murano.

Mr. T. Blashill exhibited two French jettons of latten, struck towards the close of the fourteenth century, for the use, in all probability, of the royal household. The largest has on the *obverse* a lozenge shield charged with four fleurs-de-lys, within a quatrefoil. Legend, VIVE LE ROI. VIVE LE ROI. *Rev.*, a cross-fleury within a quatrefoil. Legend, VIVE AMANT VIVE AMOVR. In the Cuming cabinet is a jetton with the same device and legend on the *obv.*, but the *rev.* reads GETTES SEVRMANT GETTES. (cast, surely cast), which shows clearly the intent of

these pieces. The smaller counter has on the *obv.* a dolphin surrounded by the angelic salutation, AVE MARIA GRATIA PLENA. *Rev.*, cross within a quatrefoil. In the Cuming cabinet is a like jetton with the legend, LE NOBLE ET HERI, an allusion to the dauphin, whose emblem occupies the field of the *obv.*

Mr. Blashill also exhibited two well preserved London tokens. The earliest and smallest bears on the *obv.* the arms of the Brewers' Company, and the name MARGRET LVCAS. *Rev.*, IN LIMEHOVS 1663. In the field, M.L. This good lady was, no doubt, in the "Public line," and may have been related to Ralph Lucas, who in 1665 kept the White Bear tavern in Abchurch Lane, Lombard Street. Mr. Blashill's other token is of some rarity. *Obv.*, horse's head in profile. Legend, STEPHEN PORTER AT YE NAG. *Rev.*, TAVERN IN BELL YARD NEAR. In the field, TEMPLE BAR. 1667. In the same year that Porter issued this token, other inhabitants of Bell Yard did the same thing, witness the halfpenny of William Jonson, at the sign of YE DRAKE; and of Victor Drew, whose sign was the Half Moon and Key. The Nag's Head seems to have long been a favourite sign with the London traders. In the seventeenth century tokens bearing this device were struck by Anthony Poole, in Foster Lane, Cheapside; Humphrey Eedes, in the Green Yard within Leadenhall; Richard Norwood, in Hosier Lane, Smithfield; Cornelius Cage, in Leadenhall Street; John Sawyer, in Smithfield; and by T.E.B. in Thames Street. At the present day the Nag's Head is the sign of at least fifteen public houses in the metropolis.

Mr. Hillary Davies exhibited two spoons and a tobacco box, found in making a sewer in Rotherhithe in 1872. Both spoons are of the sixteenth century. One of brass has an elegant baluster termination to the handle, with a flat disc at top. The pyriformed bowl is stamped with the maker's mark, a rose. The second specimen is of pewter; the mark on the pyriformed bowl being an hour-glass between the letters R.R. The tobacco box is of brass, of oval form, the lid graved with a figure of Elijah fed by ravens, subscribed "Elias gast peyst," the subject being within an oval border with an angel at either end. On the bottom of the box is King David with his harp, "Konin Davidt," with the angels placed as on the lid. Within the lid is punched the words "Whilam Hammond, Glover, In Lynn 1728." This box is of Dutch manufacture of the close of the seventeenth century.

Mr. H. Syer Cuming read a portion of a letter he received in August last from Mr. Watling, regarding some mural paintings in Stonham Church, Suffolk. Mr. Watling writes: "I have now to acquaint you of the discovery of four paintings on the wall of our church, which I have been scraping this last fortnight with great care and success. The first on the west wall of the south transept measures 10 feet by 12 feet, and is a fine representation of St. George and the Dragon.

The knight is seated on a horse, with a tilting lance in hand with which he pierces the dragon. A castle stands in front of him, and upon one of the towers is a nobleman almost as large as the tower itself. On another tower is a second figure with uplifted hands; the background is filled in with trees. Opposite this picture, on the east side of the transept, is the martyrdom of St. Catherine. The lady, with hands uplifted, is in a kneeling posture, and much like her figure at Combes. Above her is a rough-looking soldier holding with both hands a sword perpendicularly over her head, which it penetrates so that the blood falls in streams. Behind is the Emperor Maximin giving orders, and wearing a cocked hat. Below him is another soldier thrusting a weapon through the saint, and behind all another soldier with sword in hand. Immediately before the martyr is a dwarfed figure holding a sword point downwards and bloody. And on the same side of the picture is a building of wood, something like a house just commenced, with only the timbers, and a large tree fills up the back ground. In the north transept I discovered on the east wall the Nativity, 18 feet by 9 feet. The virgin is seated in a dilapidated stable, almost falling. By her stands a male figure, on the right and left above her is an ox. The lower part of the virgin is not very perfect. A little further on are two kings, with vessels of gold in their hands; and next them are three shepherds, with staves in their hands, which, with their faces, are raised towards two angels which seem descending on to the stable. Immediately below the shepherds are sheep feeding, and behind all are the three kings or magi galloping on horses towards the object of their search. They all have crowns of gold in their hands, and seem very merry. Opposite the Nativity is a most curious representation, the purpose of which is not very clear. The wall is filled with heads arranged in semicircles, and above or behind them are various blocks. Below are two perfect figures, one a fiend, the other an ugly fellow with something in his hand. Below is a skull and hour-glass of post-Reformation date. A great many pictures have been destroyed here, and I have to work carefully indeed to preserve their remains so as to make full sized tracings of them." In a letter of September last Mr. Watling says: "I have much pleasure in informing you that on scraping the space above the chancel arch I discovered a beautiful fresco (almost perfect) of the Last Judgment. In the centre, seated on a rainbow, with right hand uplifted, and nimbed, is the Saviour. On each side of the foot of this rainbow throne are two angels blowing trumpets, and beneath them the dead are rising to life from tombs. On the right and left are two angels bearing the emblems of the Passion, and in groups are the blessed, headed by an angel. On the left are two winged demons with claws, and one with a hook; above these are angels, and beneath the feet of the winged demons are a lot of

people about to be thrust into the jaws of some monster from which issues smoke and fire. I have been scraping the north wall near the great door, and have found a female in a kneeling posture, differently outlined in colour to all the others, and above her a shrine-like building. All the walls were painted over subsequent to the Reformation and the older pictures hidden from sight, and new texts introduced. This later colouring is a great enemy to the frescoes, as it adheres to them, and in scraping they mostly come off together."

Mr. Cuming observed that without an inspection of the Stonham paintings, or of accurate copies, it would be vain to attempt to fix their date, all that could be affirmed is that they embrace subjects which were familiar church decorations during the second half of the fourteenth and throughout the fifteenth century. For the sake of instancing a few examples of the first on the list, reference may be made to St. George and the Dragon in the church bearing the champion's name at Norwich, and to the combats in the churches of Hargrave, Northamptonshire, Stedham, Sussex, and Dartford, Kent; a good engraving of the latter being given in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, August, 1836, p. 134. Those who desire to know how St. Catherine appears at Bardwell, Suffolk, and in other churches, may find something to their purpose in our *Journal*, xxviii, 122, and learn that what at Stonham seems an unfinished building is really the engine of torture. The walls of Headington Church, Oxon, and those of Shulbrede Priory, Sussex, display the Nativity, and it is also depicted in other places. The fourth picture brought to light at Stonham is probably intended for the Day of Doom, a question which might perhaps be decided by comparing it with the mural decorations in the churches of Broughton, Buckinghamshire; Caythorpe, Lincolnshire; Chelsworth, Suffolk; St. Michael's, Coventry; Northwood, Isle of Wight; and Portslade, Sussex. In connection with the fresco lately scraped into sight on the north wall of the church, it may just be mentioned that the rainbow throne occurs at least as early as the thirteenth century, and is occasionally met with in designs as late as the present day. The remains of paintings once covering the walls of our churches are highly interesting as exhibiting the popular taste and feeling of the periods in which they were executed, the skill and fancy of the various artists employed, and the costume then in vogue; and however repulsive they may be in a religious point of view, they will ever appear as valuable records in the eyes of the archæologists.

The following paper, by H. Syer Cuming, Esq., F.S.A. Scot., V.P., on St. Gertrude of Nivelles, was read:

"The long muster-roll of mediæval saints contains two named Gertrude, both virgins, both abbesses, but flourishing at widely separated periods, and acquiring an unequal amount of celebrity. She who came

latest into the world is of far less renown than her more ancient namesake. She is seldom represented, seldom mentioned, and may be dismissed with a few brief words. She presided over a religious establishment at Rodersdorf, died in 1292, was honoured by her admirers on the 15th day of November, and the sweet coltsfoot (*Tussilago fragrans*) was dedicated to her.

"The St. Gertrude we have to deal with was the daughter of Pepin de Landen, Duke of Brabant. Her mother was the foundress of a monastery at Nivelles for a chapter of noble canonesses, the superior of which was styled Princess of Nivelles. Gertrude, when only fourteen years of age, retired to this house, and after awhile became its abbess, dying in 659, at the age of thirty-three.

"There is a place in Brabant called in ancient times *Mons Littoris*, 'the mountain of the shore,' which in the year 647 Pepin gave to his daughter Gertrude, who here erected a church dedicated to St. Amand, Bishop of Tongres. This locality became so famous through the death and miracles of Gertrude that it received the title of 'Mont de Ste. Gertrude, or Gertrudesburge,' and to this day is known as 'Gertruydenburg' or 'Ste. Gertruydenburg.'

"The festival of St. Gertrude, Patroness and Princess of Nivelles, was held on March 17, and the sweet violet (*Viola odorata*) was sacred to her. She was accredited with supreme power over eggs, mice, and rats; and her aid was invoked to protect the first, and drive off the other two. Barnabe Googe in his translation, or rather adaptation, of Thomas Naogeorgus' *Regnum Papisticum* (1570, fol. 99), tells us, under the head of 'Helpers', that

'Saint Gartrude riddes the house of mice, and killeth all the rattes.
The like doth Bishop Huldrich with his earth, two passing cattles.'

Hence it is that effigies of this fair damsel are generally accompanied by the pests here named.

"Though figures of St. Gertrude are met with on the Continent, representations of her are of the utmost rarity in England, and I have, therefore, thought it well to call attention to one in the east window of Herringfleet Church, Suffolk, believed to have been painted by a French or Flemish artist about the beginning of the sixteenth century, and of which Mr. Watling has favoured me with a reduced copy. The saint here stands in the habit of an abbess, with a plain nimbus about her head, and raises and advances her left hand as if she were addressing somebody. In the right hand she holds the *pastorale*, immediately below the volute of which is tied an *orarium* or scarf; and up the pole climb two adventurous mice or rats, for it is hard to say which the limner intended them to be; and on a fillet beneath the lady's feet is inscribed S. GERTRVDYS. The presence of the *orarium* is particularly

worthy of observation, as we do not very often see it attached to the pastoral staff. One of the earliest instances of its being tied in this manner yet noticed, is in the effigy of a bishop of the thirteenth century, in the Temple Church, London. The *pastorale* held by Bishop Walter Branscomb on his monument in Exeter Cathedral has the *orarium* hanging about it. There was formerly in Wood Bastwick Church, Norfolk, a curious painting representing Abbot William de Bewold, in which the scarf appears to be plaited for some distance down the staff, leaving the ends free, and depending like a long tassel; and in the church of Sandringham, in the same county, is a painted glass of St. Giles with the scarf knotted below the volute of the *pastorale*. On the monument of Michael de Tregury, Archbishop of Dublin (who died 1471), is an effigy of the prelate with a crozier in his left hand, just under the head of which is fixed the *orarium*, which hangs round the staff in such a manner that the whole thing has the semblance of a long-handled umbrella, as may be seen by reference to the *Gentleman's Magazine*, March, 1831, p. 198, where a woodcut of the effigy is given. I know of no other example where the *orarium* seems so free and flag-like as it is upon the *pastorale* of St. Gertrude.

“Foreign artists have delineated St. Gertrude in various poses and employments. She sometimes appears as a princess, which she was both by birth and office. Occasionally an angel brings her a celestial crown, and fiery tongues dance above her head. Then, again, we see her holding a loaf; and kneeling by the sea-shore, lily in hand. Now and then the Devil stands by the maiden's side; but her almost never-failing companions are the rats and mice, which in a *Primer* printed in 1516 are made to run up and down the distaff she is spinning with.

“These few hints may aid, in some degree, in the identification of figures of St. Gertrude of Nivelles, if any may exist in England beyond the one we have been considering at Herringfleet.”

After some remarks by Mr. F. Morgan and Mr. C. Brent, Mr. Cuming proceeded to read his paper “On Mum and Mum-Glasses.”

“English people seem specially prone to clip and curtail words so that they present in their abbreviated form a meaning widely different from their primal sense. Thus, for instance, we find ‘cabriolet’ shortened into ‘cab,’ the Welsh for a hut; ‘omnibus’ into ‘buss,’ reminding of an affectionate salute; ‘photograph’ into ‘photo,’ ignoring the picture, and leaving nothing but a blaze of light; our solid old friend, Punchinello dissolved into fluid Punch; and that once renowned, loquacious inspiring beverage, ‘mumme,’ converted into silent ‘mum.’ But in spite of this latter conversion, the good liquor has evoked the utterance of poets, and has still the power of drawing forth a few remarks respecting it and the vessel from which it was wont to be drunk, and which from its exceeding height suggested to the wits of a former age

to compare the Monument on Fish Street Hill to it, and designate the memorial of the great fire of 1666 'the mum glass.'¹

"The year 1489 is celebrated in the domestic and commercial annals of Brunswick as that in which Herr Mumme invented the famous beverage which in Germany and the Netherlands still bears his honoured name; and which, as already indicated, our own countrymen have mangled and dwarfed into 'mum.'² This species of ale was formerly held in high repute, not only from its grateful flavour, but also on account of its wholesome quality, being brewed chiefly from malt made from wheat instead of barley. Like wine, it improved by keeping, and none was considered fit for use until it had been at least two years in cask. Mortimer, in his *Treatise on Husbandry*, says that 'in Shenibank, upon the river Elbe, is a storehouse for the wheat of which 'mum' is made at Brunswick'; and from this said city was carried to Hamburgh, and thence exported far and wide, in the seventeenth and early part of the eighteenth centuries, the potent old fluid which is now our theme, and which finds mention in the verses of some of our great poets. Dryden, when speaking of 'the heavy Hollanders', tells us

' They cheat, but still from cheating sires they come ;
They drink, but they were christen'd first in 'mum.' "

John Philips, in the first book of his well known *Poem on Cyder*, speaks of 'myriads of wasps' hanging about the apple-trees, and to 'entangle their feet in liquid shackles' directs that

' every bough
Bear frequent vials pregnant with the dregs
Of moyle, or 'mum,' or treacle's viscous juice.'

And a further allusion to the nutritious beverage is made in the second book of the same poem :

' See how the Belgæ, sedulous and stout,
With bowls of fatt'ning 'mum' or blissful cups
Of kernell relish'd fluids, the fair star
Of early Phosphorus salute.'

Pope declares in *The Dunciad* (b. ii, 385) that

' The clam'rous crowd is hush'd with mugs of 'mum,'
Till all tun'd equal send a general hum.'

"We learn from a penny token that in 1671 'Ye Black Fryer' was the sign of a 'mum-house' in Blackfriars kept by one Thomas Sutton; and among the jests in *The Complaisant Companion* (1674, 8vo, p. 83) we read this somewhat stupid bit of wit: 'One seeing written on a coffee-

¹ See Grose's *Classical Dictionary of the Vulgar Tongue*, London, 1796.

² Descendants, direct or collateral, of the great Herr Mumme still exist at Cologne and Rheims; but their name is shorn of its final *e*, and they are no longer brewers of ale, but makers of wine.

house sign, 'Here's mum to be sold,' said it was a good rhyme. 'How can that be?' said the other. 'Why thus,' replied the former:

'Here's 'mum' to be
S, o, l, d.'

"Squire Bickerstaff relates in *The Tatler* (No. 86) how he called for a bottle of 'mum', and then ordered a second and a third, when he and his 'twaddlers' visited Dick's Coffeeshouse in Fleet Street, yet says not a word how the beverage was dispensed to the company; but Philips, as we have just seen, makes the Belgæ quaff their 'mum' from bowls; and Pope assigns mugs to the mob; but for two centuries and more tall glasses were unquestionably the vessels out of which it was usually drunk. But the old mum-glasses have now become objects of considerable rarity both here and on the Continent, and having searched in vain for a perfect example, I feel somewhat justified in producing for inspection a large portion of one from my own collection, in which the bowl and remains of the stem are fortunately uninjured; and which, therefore, enables us to form a pretty good notion of the fashion of the vessels in use in the early part of the eighteenth century. In shape this bowl may be likened to a huge thimble, about $4\frac{3}{4}$ inches high, and close on $2\frac{5}{8}$ ins. diameter at the mouth, and capable of containing full six ounces of fluid, troy measure; and set on a tolerably stout stem cut in bold facets which have a very brilliant effect.

"In Germany the stems of the mum-glasses have gradually dwindled in altitude till at last the thimble-shaped bowl and nearly flat, discoid foot are only separated by a plain knob more or less globose in form; but the glasses, and the beverage for which they were designed, are both far less frequently seen and heard of in Germany than they were wont to be. Popular as the 'munme' was for centuries, the Bavarian beer has now almost driven it from the market, and at the present day there are only two houses left in Brunswick which continue its manufacture.

"The name of 'mum' will, however, never be entirely forgotten in England so long as our old poets are read, and the dictionaries of Skinner and Cocker, Bailey, Johnson, and Webster, are referred to. But the characteristics of the vessel out of which the once famed beverage was quaffed have already well nigh passed from most men's minds, and these brief observations are, therefore, submitted in the hope that they may tend in some small degree to perpetuate its form, and perchance rescue from obscurity and destruction a few stray examples of the stately old mum-glass."

Mr. Hillary Davies made some remarks respecting the glass which was exhibited; and the proceedings of the evening terminated in a vote of thanks to the Chairman.

9TH DECEMBER, 1874.

II. SYER CUMING, ESQ., V.P., F.S.A, SCOT., IN THE CHAIR.

Mrs. Baily contributed three objects, exhumed in June 1868, on the site of the Eye Infirmary, Blomfield Street, Finsbury, viz., a miniature sword blade of bone, a portion of a glass bead, and a finger ring of wire. Upon this exhibition Mr. H. Syer Cuming offered the following observations: "The objects now kindly submitted by Mrs. Baily may fairly claim attention on account of their novel character, although the smallness of their size might induce some to pass them by as mere trifles. First, we have the model of a sword blade, carefully wrought of bone, and measuring four inches and seven-eighths in length, and five-eighths broad next the round tang, which is nearly seven-eighths of an inch long. This blade is flat at back and convex in front, with a deep mid channel, and presenting all the features of the swords of the fifteenth century. I have no doubt the hand of a statuette once rested on the hilt of this miniature weapon, many of the old paintings and effigies of St. Paul, St. Mathias, and St. Katharine representing them with such a sword. Next we have the half of a globose bead, which when entire must have been about seven-eighths of an inch diameter and seven-tenths thick. It is of early Millefiori glass, the mass looking much like chalcedony, and in which is embedded ball-flowers of a black, blue, and pink colour, evidently consisting of small imperforate tunicated beads. In all probability this large and once beautiful bead formed the Gaude or "Pater noster" of a rosary of the sixteenth century. The last item in this curious little trio of relics is a delicately made finger ring of flattened brass wire, the hoop being composed of three strands, bound round so as to look like a solid circle of metal transversely striated, and united in front by bending the ends of the wires over each other, so as they appear somewhat like the clasped hands of the Fede rings of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, to the latter of which periods the present specimen may be assigned. If this wire ring be a humble imitation of the Fede rings of gold and silver we have now before us, these objects partaking of a religious nature, they may have appertained to some sacred establishment in the vicinity where they were exhumed."

Mr. Hillary Davies exhibited two pieces of riveted chain mail hauberts of different qualities, but found together last April beneath the foundation of a house at the south-east corner of Stamford Street, Blackfriars Road, a spot which in olden times constituted a portion of the Thames bank. One of these fragments of armour consist of links about three quarters of an inch diameter, formed of flattened

iron wire, secured by what are termed split rivets, *i.e.*, rivets having the end of the stem divided into two points and spread. The second specimen is of much heavier fabric, the oval links of round wire measuring about eight-twelfths by seven-twelfths, forming a close network, capable of resisting a heavy blow from a sword, and impervious to the arrow points. Mr. H. Syer Cuming, into whose collection they have now passed, assigns these knightly relics to the fourteenth century, regarding the first described as little if at all inferior in date to the example engraved in this *Journal*, i, 142, and which is further alluded to in his paper on Ring and Chain Armour, printed in vol. viii, p. 354. Mr. Davies also produced a plated boat-shaped sugar vase, of *circa* 1760, with cable edge and lower part chased with a shell pattern, standing on a low stem and oval foot. At either end of the boat is engraved an oval cartouche on a rich mantle, one charged with the letter H, the other with a crest—a lion passant issuing from a rocky cave. The H. is said to be the initial of Hutton, an old Yorkshire family, but the crest does not agree with that of any branch of the Huttons, and its singular character induces Mr. Davies to bring the vase forward in the hope of obtaining information respecting it.

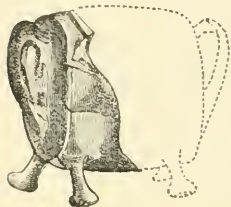
Mr. G. M. Hills, Hon. Treasurer, exhibited two brass fragments of a helmet, or cover of a vase, or pot of some kind, dug up in the churchyard of Clymping, Sussex, in the month of November. Mr. Cuming was of opinion that it was of the fifteenth century, and probably, being of cast metal, a funeral helmet. Mr. Hills also exhibited a very carefully made plan, to scale of about two hundred and fifty feet to an inch, from a survey of Maiden Castle, Dorsetshire, specially prepared under his directions for the Association. (Plate 20.) For a "Report on ancient Remains found at Maiden Castle," see vol. xxviii, p. 39.

Mr. W. de Gray Birch, Hon. Sec., read a paper by the Rev. W. Sparrow Simpson, D.D., F.S.A., V.P., "On the Measure of the Wound in the Side of the Redeemer, worn anciently as a charm; and on the five wounds as represented in art." The text of this important contribution to the history of Christian symbolic art is printed *ante*, pp. 357-74.

Mr. E. Roberts, F.S.A., Hon. Sec., exhibited a variety of objects, on which he read the following notes:

"On Money-Boxes.—From excavations during the current year, mainly from Bishopsgate, I have been fortunate in acquiring several specimens of money-boxes, which I have pleasure in exhibiting. They appear to be all of the seventeenth century, and very similar. As is not uncommon with exhumed pottery, they are all broken; but considering their once contents, it would be too much to expect to find them whole, for if the original owner had not extracted the coin, the recent possessor, the *navvy*, would scarcely, I think, part with it, without having first ascertained its powers of digestion.

I need, therefore, offer no apology for the partial condition in which I present them. One, having a long handle with a whistle at the point, is very suggestive of the former saying, which is not unlikely to have either arisen from this custom of manufacture, or the manufacture is a practical reflex of the joke, 'you may whistle for your money.' The larger piece, here figured, is very curious and I believe unique. I have to thank our ever-ready friend, Mr. Syer Cuming, for discovering its use, for which I claim none of the credit. It is a money-box



for collecting alms, the precursor, perhaps, of the "plate," but certainly of the "bag." It is four inches and three quarters diameter at the end, and probably was seven inches in the middle; tun-shaped, with a slit for the coins. How they were extracted I cannot suggest. This piece of pottery had four feet on which it stood when out of use; when in use the handle at one end of the barrel sufficed for holding it out for contributions. Whether there was a similar handle at the other end, as figured, or not, is, of course, now impossible to be ascertained. The age appears to be that of the seventeenth century.

"Knives found in London in 1874.—Since our last meeting a few knives have been exhumed, in Bishopsgate, which I exhibit. They do not call for special remark. One is Saxon, and eleven others have tangs. One has bone sheathings to the handle, riveted on the sides. One bone handle is spirally fluted, and another, of great age, has circular dot ornaments, similar to the Anglo-Saxon metallic ornamentation. To these I have added fifteen additional knives and two two-prong forks, and part of an early sword blade.

"Keys and padlocks.—Amongst the various articles which have reappeared, after having been buried some centuries, are a few padlocks and keys, which are from various parts of the City of London, since our last session. The oldest of these is part of a loose key—Roman, of bronze. An iron Roman key, and six large keys of the seventeenth century, two small padlocks, one broken, and therefore showing its internal manufacture, one other of a larger size, and a still larger one. The smaller are heater-shaped at the ends, three inches and a half the whole length, and one inch and a half wide, one inch one-eighth greatest thickness. The largest three inches and a half wide, with a hump holding the pin of the loop. Total height five inches. To these are added thirteen various keys of iron, some much corroded and oxidised; all of the last three centuries."

Mr. Roberts also exhibited a poringer, and several specimens of domestic necessary utensils in illustration of passages in the inventory, printed at pp. 251-63 *ante*. Mr. Roberts also read remarks on *latrine*.



Mr. E. P. L. Broek made some observations on the exhibitions, and referred to early engravings as containing examples of a variety of these objects.

Mr. H. S. Cuming read the following paper in reference to fictile money-boxes, exhibited by Mr. Roberts and himself: "It is a well established fact that the nations of old did at times deposit their 'treasure in earthen vessels,' and this record by St. Paul (2 Cor., iv, 7) may fairly start the question, were there in ancient times terra cotta receptacles made expressly for holding money, or were the ordinary *pocula* and *ollæ* the only fictile recipients for coin? The finds made in Norfolk in 1852, and Leicestershire in 1840, noted in our *Journal* , xiv, 290, vii, 1, are familiar instances of the discovery of British and Roman money in the ordinary vases of the respective periods; but we are not without proof that earthen vessels were designed specially as portable treasuries, and these the apostle may have had in his mind when addressing the Corinthians. Such vessels were denominated *Cistæ* by the Greeks and Romans, *Teage* by the Anglo-Saxons, and known in later ages under the several titles of 'Thrift and Christmas,' 'Saving and Money-boxes,' and in Scotland were called 'Pirlie-pigs.'

"Count Caylus, *Recueil d'Antiquités* , Paris, 1761, iv, pl. 53, p. 157, gives a representation of an earthen *cista* , of a flattish oval form, bearing on its top the head of Hercules, with a slit beneath it to admit the money; and a second example decorated with a sedent effigy of Ceres between two standing figures. Other Roman *cistæ* are cylindric in the drum, with conic tops containing an horizontal slit, and among other adornments on their sides are found figures of Fortuna with Cornucopiæ, etc.

"Nehemiah Grew, in the 'Catalogue of the rarities belonging to the Royal Society at Gresham College,' 1681, p. 381, describes 'a Roman money pot,' given by John Aubrey, and 'found in the year 1651, in Week Field, in the parish of Hedington, in Wiltshire; half full of Roman coin, silver and copper, of several emperors, near the time of Constantine. Of the colour of a crucible, and fashioned almost like a pint jug without a neck. Closed at the top, and having a notch on one side, as in a Christmas box. In the same place (where anciently was a Roman colony) and at the same time were dig'd up the foundations of several houses for a mile together.'

" *Ollæ nummariæ clausæ* were among the fictile relics brought to light at the rebuilding of London after the great fire of 1666, and preserved in Dr. Woodward's collection, as we learn from Strype's *Survey* (Ed. 1720, ii, App. ch. v).

"Later excavations do not seem to have yielded any Roman *cistæ* , but thrift boxes of the sixteenth century are met with in considerable numbers. They differ greatly in contour from the classic vessels, and

seem to have been made in imitation of pyriform bottles with stopples in their mouths. They are of yellowish coloured ware, the superior portions covered with a mottled green glaze, the lower part being left of the natural hue. They measure from three to four inches in height, and have a vertical slit down the shoulder to receive the money, which when once in could not be readily abstracted without destroying the vessel, hence it is that so few perfect examples are now to be seen.

“The first century sixteenth specimen I exhibit measures nearly three inches and three quarters high, and has a portion of the shoulder broken away, leaving, however, one edge of the vertical slit, which is about one inch and three-eighths in length. This thrift or Christmas-box was exhumed near the Temple Church in October, 1847. My second example is a trifle larger in size, and was found on the site of the New Post Office, St. Martin’s-le-Grand in 1870. Its narrow slit shows that it was designed to receive only very thin money. (Fig. 1.)



“To these two thrift boxes I add a third, of later date, which differs considerably from them in form, paste, and glaze, and which, in spite of its freshness of aspect, was undoubtedly discovered mingled with relics of the time of Elizabeth and James I, in Little Moorfields, June 1866. It is full three inches in height, globose, with a little knot at top, an horizontal slit in the shoulder, one inch and seven-twelfths long and two-tenths of an inch wide, with a flat base two inches and a quarter diameter. (Fig. 2.) It is of red earthenware, covered, all but the base, with a deep chocolate coloured glaze, similar to that employed on the old English tygs.

“We have already seen that Grew likened the Roman cista from Wiltshire to a ‘Christmas-box,’ and allusion to this latter article is frequently made by writers of the seventeenth century.

“In Mason’s *Handful of Essaies*, 1621, it is said of one, that ‘like a swine, he never doth good till his death; as an apprentice’s box of earth, apt he is to take all, but to restore none till hee be broken.’ And this simile is enlarged in a *Map of the Microcosme, or a Morall Description of Man, newly compiled into Essays*, by H. Browne, 1642, where, descanting on ‘a covetous wretch,’ the author declares, he ‘doth exceed in receiving, but is very deficient in giving; like the Christmas earthen boxes of apprentices, apt to take in money, but he restores

none till hee be broken like a potter's vessell into many shares.' The lines accompanying the cut of the 'English Usurer,' 1634, set forth, regarding the usurer and the swine, that

'Both with the Christmas-boxe may well comply :
It nothing yields till broke ; they, till they dye.'

And George Withers in his poem on 'Christmas,' wherein the events of the season are recorded, tells his readers,

'Our kitchen boy hath broke his box.'

And this begging box, for this in fact it too often was, had not become obsolete, even in the days of Anne and George I, for Gay, in his *Trivia*, ii, 183, says :

'Some boys are rich, by birth, beyond all wants,
Belov'd by uncles, and kind good old aunts.
When time comes round, a Christmas-box they bear,
And one day makes them rich for all the year.'

"Though the old form of earthen money box, with certain modifications, long continued in fashion, the manufacturers of such articles at the close of the seventeenth, and during the eighteenth century, sometimes gave a fanciful contour to them, moulding the clay in shape of cottages and castles, fruit and beehives, dogs, cats, cocked hats, etc. Of late, the cabinet maker has shared the labour with the potter, and well nigh beaten him out of the market with his little receptacles of oak and mahogany, which, however well they may be suited for the purpose of holding coin, are altogether void of taste and elegance."

The Chairman announced that Mr. S. I. Tucker's promised paper was unavoidably postponed to a future meeting.

Mr. Thomas Morgan made a few remarks, in the form of a general summary of the work of the various Associates and Members at the Bristol Congress, and said that in his opinion the British Archæological Association had an idiosyncrasy of its own, which must render a retrospect of its proceedings one of the "pleasures of memory" to those who had worked together from the beginning, as well as to those who had more recently joined in the labours and benefited by the work of their predecessors. The historical, genealogical, and heraldic researches of Mr. J. R. Planché display a boldness in correcting errors and fixing doubtful points of history upon solid data, which was rare before his time. The same may be said of Mr. Gordon Hills, Mr. E. Leven, and Mr. W. de Gray Birch as to that period known as the Anglo-Saxon. It is invidious to point out the names where so many have laboured with equal singleness of purpose, such as Mr. E. Roberts on the churches, castles, and other ancient buildings in this country, and the Rev. Prebendary Scarth, or Mr. J. W. Grover on the Roman antiquities ; but the Anglo-Saxon period was referred

to, because several important remains of this era were presented to us at the Bristol Congress, as well as that held last year at Sheffield, and because our secretary for foreign correspondence, Mr. Thos. Wright, when taking a review of the state and prospects of archaeological science in 1866, said that he considered our Association to have been the first to dig in that heretofore untried ground, and he reminded us that even the cautious Douglas, in his *Nenia Britannica*, imagined that the barrows of the Anglo-Saxon period on the Kentish downs were the cemeteries of the Ancient Britons who fell in the first battles against Julius Cæsar. Following in the steps of the British Archæological Association, many others had successfully laboured in the same field.

He then gave a resumé of the work done at the Bristol Congress. In the city of Bristol many quaint nooks and façades of buildings were seen, which in a short time may cease to exist, through the improvements now projected. Canynge's house, with its timber-roofed hall and remains of old tiled floor *in situ*, was visited. Crypts and old churches were explored by those careful antiquaries, Mr. John Taylor and Mr. J. F. Nichols, of Bristol, which, but for their local knowledge, might have been passed unnoticed. The remains of the Black and White Friaries, described by Mr. Gordon Hills, were not less interesting than the great cathedral itself, restored and half rebuilt, of which he gave us a full account with his usual clearness and accuracy, illustrating the architecture by plans and elevations. At St. Mary Redclyffe we had Mr. George Godwin for *cicerone*, who has himself restored the building. The paper he read on its history, traditions, and architecture left nothing to be desired. Mr. Brock at a short notice pointed out the beauties of the Mayor's Chapel. Mr. J. R. Planché, *Somerset Herald*, gave his continued exertions in interpreting the monumental heraldry, arms, and costume, assisted by Mr. Stephen I. Tucker, *Rouge Croix*, and read us papers in the evening of much interest, the former on the seals of the city of Bristol, and the latter on the bishops of its see. We could not have examined the regalia, seals, charters, and documents of the corporation, as well as the instruments in MS. of the Company of the Merchant Adventurers, under better auspices than guided by the skill and experience of Mr. Walter de Gray Birch, our palæographer. Mr. H. W. Henfrey exhibited unpublished coins of the Bristol mint, and read a valuable paper on the subject. Before leaving Bristol, the names of some interesting churches visited should be recorded; the Temple, with the characteristic long nave of the Templars, St. John's, St. Stephen's, and the remains of St. James's church.

The numerous papers read at the evening meetings may be passed over in silence here, as they will be recorded in due course, but I may refer to one by the late Mr. Leven on "The Early Religious Houses of

Somersetshire," as the last we shall hear from our lamented associate, whose cheerful society, no less than his varied learning, enlivened our excursions throughout the week. Mr. Morgan then referred to the monuments visited in the neighbourhood, dividing them into 1, Earthworks; 2, Castles; 3, Manor houses; 4, Abbeys or Prieories; 5, Churches.

1. The earthworks north of Avon, which extend in a north-east direction along the left bank of Severn, at some distance from the river, communicate with each other by signal; their history is that of the whole west country. A good view of some of them was obtained on our road to Sodbury, and from the summit of tower at Thornbury Castle. South of Avon, Cadbury camp was explored and described by Mr. J. W. Grover, who gave us an account of ancient timber stockades in forts, and described the residences of old Saxon chiefs. We had the benefit of the Rev. Prebendary Searth's knowledge of earthworks in viewing Worle Hill, and knowing as he does every inch of the ground, he guided us up the miraculous steps and through successive lines of forts over the brow of this remarkable hill, crowned with rude masonry, which lies in a confused heap on the summit. Hence, over the other side, down to Weston-super-Mare. The metallic treasures of the Mendip hills were also displayed, as worked by the ancients, in an interesting paper by the Rev. Prebendary Searth.

2. Thornbury is a castle *sui generis*, being a very late specimen of the fortified baronial residence. It was commented upon by Mr. Edward Roberts, who told us how its noble owner, the Duke of Buckingham, occupied a portion of the building which his premature death, in the beginning of Henry VIII's reign, prevented him from completing. The tragic end of this nobleman is feelingly described by Shakespeare in his play of Henry VIII.

3. In manor houses, which succeeded the castles as residences of the lords of the soil, we viewed some fine examples under the guidance of Mr. Edward Roberts and Mr. Davis. Their names only can be given: Nailsea Court, Wraxall, and Chalfield Manor houses, and a good specimen at Sodbury.

4. Abbeys—Mr. T. Blashill described very carefully the Cistercian Monastery of Woodspring, where was a fine specimen of a monastic barn, with good timber roof; and another outbuilding was viewed, as to which some discussion arose on the question whether it was the abbot's house or the refectory to the infirmary. Escorted by Mr. G. R. Wright and Mr. John Reynolds, a party was formed to visit the remains of Keynsham Abbey, scattered over seven acres of ground. Little remains but the clustered piers and portions of walls, but the sculptured stones lie scattered about in every direction, displaying good Saxon, Norman, and Early English work.

5. In churches we were shown five examples of the famed Somersetshire towers of the Perpendicular period by Mr. E. Roberts, but had to be content with viewing only the outside of many for want of time; we had, however, a minute inspection and description by Mr. Roberts of the following, Clapton-in-Gordano, Tickenham, Long Ashton, Iron-Acton, and Axbridge. The last churches I shall name are two gems, in an antiquarian sense, at Bradford-on-Avon, a small town which still, as in Leland's time, "standeth by cloth making." The parish church was described by the vicar, the Rev. W. Hay Jones, assisted by Mr. Gordon Hills. In our *Journal* for 1866 a paper, by the late Mr. Pettigrew, describes some very ancient work in this church, the original building of which he said dated from the middle of the twelfth century. Not far from this church is a small one, which has been rescued from oblivion by disentangling its walls from the private dwellings, which had until lately quite concealed it from view. The church now stands out by itself, a specimen of very early date. Here the prayers of the faithful were offered up before the parish church was built, and what others may say on the subject must not be anticipated here. An extra day at Tintern and Chepstow, which was not the least agreeable of the whole, concluded our proceedings. We were under the guidance of Mr. G. R. Wright and Mr. Edward Roberts; the latter gave us the benefit of his knowledge of castles and churches in describing the Castle of Strigul and Tintern Abbey; and the party separated, much praising the skill and tact shown by Mr. G. R. Wright in conducting the excursions throughout the week, with the very efficient assistance afforded by Mr. John Reynolds, our honorary local treasurer and secretary.

Proceedings of the Congress.

(Continued from p. 236.)

FRIDAY, AUGUST 22, 1873.

THE Association continued their proceedings this day. An ample and attractive programme was provided, and there was a large muster to take part in it. Until the afternoon everything passed off as pleasantly and happily as could be wished, and then an accident unfortunately occurred to one of the carriages, which caused some alarm, and prevented many from enjoying the after part of the journey. The party, numbering about one hundred and fifty, left the Victoria Station at ten o'clock, by special train, for Conisborough. When they arrived there the weather, which had been threatening, had cleared up, and the sun was shining very pleasantly. Here they were joined by Lord Denman and a number of friends from Rotherham. They at once proceeded to inspect Conisborough Castle under the guidance and instruction of Mr. E. Roberts, F.S.A., whose account of the structure is given at pp. 18-24 of this volume. Most of the party went inside the Castle, and many climbed to the top of the keep, whence they had a magnificent view of the surrounding country.

It was remarked by Mr. Gordon M. Hills that Dr. Petrie, on the *Irish Round Towers*, had claimed Conisborough Castle as "preserving in some degree the same peculiarities", viz., the "round and lofty character, having their doorways small and elevated from the ground, and their floors composed of wood." No greater mistake, Mr. Hills said, could be made than to institute such a comparison, although the characteristics stated by Dr. Petrie do apply to the circular keep of Conisborough and to the Irish pillar-tower; but their relation to other conditions and proportions of the buildings is totally different. Dr. Petrie might as well have introduced the great Round Tower of Windsor Castle, and the incongruous nature of the comparison would have been apparent. The fact is, the Irish pillar-tower is not much larger than one of the buttresses of Conisborough keep or of the ballium-wall. Probably the circumstance that one of these buttresses is semi-round in plan, and by the ruin of the ballium-wall is left somewhat isolated and of superior loftiness; and that, moreover, from one point of view

the buttress does much resemble the Irish round tower, led Dr. Petrie, on the imperfect information of some one who had noticed the buttress, to enlist into his argument the great keep.

Mr. Roberts' paper was listened to not only by the party proper, but by many of the residents who had been attracted to the spot by the novelty of the gathering. A vote of thanks, proposed by Mr. Philipps and seconded by the Rev. Dr. Black, was accorded to Mr. Roberts for the treat he had afforded.

The party next proceeded to the church, about half a mile distant from the Castle. It is of modest dimensions, and in its most important particulars is of Norman date. A richly sculptured stone coffin dug up a few years ago, and now preserved in a dark corner of the church, is well worthy of attention. It is of the twelfth century.

On leaving the church the party found carriages, which had come from Doncaster, waiting to convey them to other places of interest. With some little difficulty seats were found for nearly all, and the long procession passed through the village, a large portion of the inhabitants turning out to witness their departure. After a very pleasant drive the party reached the little church of Edlington, the inspection of which afforded very much pleasure. The Rev. Mr. Taylor courteously and ably directed the inspection, and has placed in our hands the following particulars:

The original church of Edlington was a small nave and still smaller chancel. The principal entrance was on the south side, where the doorway still remains entire, with a double zigzag moulding, within a second of the bird's head and beak, so common in our earliest churches. These mouldings are continued to the ground; over all is a circular arch, decorated with ornamented roundels. There is an ancient window in the south wall, with circular top, the side pillars having unusual ornaments. At the springing of the roof is a series of heads, carved in the rudest style. A circular arch, with the zigzag ornament, springing from two short and massy columns, which rest, not on the ground, but on a mis-shapen block of stone, separates the nave from the chancel. (Drawn and engraved by J. W. Huxall.) To the above, which was the whole of the old church, have been added a north aisle and a tower at the west end. In the separation of these from the older parts, the pointed arch has been used. The east window of the chancel is also modern, and so are the side windows, with their square tops. There has been painted glass in the old windows. The font has the date 1590. This church is dedicated to St. Peter. It cannot boast of any memorials of the lords of the manor, before the Stanhopes came into possession. The Scropes were buried at Bolton in Wensleydale; but Edlington is not destitute of monumental memorials of some curiosity and interest.

1. A flag, without any inscription, has a cross patonce, surmounting a shaft and repeated on each side of it. There are also, in tracery, the faces of two persons, etc., and eyes, in a fine bold character, two faces, etc.

2. A stone of unusually large size, with this inscription, "Orate pro anim's Joh's Cartewryght, et Elizth. consortis suæ, qui qd'm Joh' ob. (28) die me's' Sept. An. Dom., m^cccc^o.55" (1455). There was another John Cartwright of Edlington, who made his will, 12 Apr., 1486, to be buried near Richard, his brother, opposite the chancel window.¹

3. A stone in mid aisle, circumscribed "Orate pro anima Willmi—qui obiit dec^o die mensis augi' An. Dom'. m^ccccc.lxiii (1474), ejus animæ propicietur Deus. Amen."

4. Another has in centre a book with four clasps, and chalice and wafer; on verge, "Orate pro anima Joh' Matthewman, quondam rectoris—qui obiit—mensis Sept'is" (1505). The hiatus must be supplied with 1505, his will bearing date 13 Sept. in that year, and its probate 27th Nov.

5. Another memorial, before the reformation, with cross and scroll, "Hic jacet corpus Willmi. Thomline, qui obiit xi die Marcii. An. Dom. MDXXIX" (1529).

6. Henry Streyc,² or Strawe, a clergyman, 1598, has a memorial.

7. Another, a brass on top of first step leading to altar railing on south side, "Hic jacet corpus Johannis Shorthose, hujus nuper ecclesiæ rectoris meritissimi, unde ad cœlestem translatus est, Julij xxvi, An. Dom. 1670, ætat. suæ 40. Etiam mortuus adhuc loquitur. Disce Deo, lector, vivere, disce mori."

8. "Here lieth Michael and Philip Stanhope, sonnes of Michael Stanhope, 2nd sonne of Sir Edward Stanhope, Knight, somtyme one of His Majesties Council established in the north. The elder being four years old, deceased the 14th ; the other being two years...1620.

"Sorrow not as others which have no hope."—1 Thess. "Spe resur'tionis."

9. "Here lieth interred the corps of the Righ Hon'ble Lady Mary,

¹ In the Register of Brodsworth Church is the copy of a will of Thos. Cartwright, *alias* Vicars, gent., of great length. Mr. Thos. Cartwright, *alias* Vicars, of Scawrbie, gave, in the year 1597, to one poor person of Hooton and one of Bilham or Moorhouse, each 13s. 4d. (now 20s.), to be paid at Brodsworth Church immediately after divine service,—half on the Sunday next the 1st of April, and half on the Sunday after the 1st of July, for ever, out of the lands in Scawrbie called "The Poor Doles." Arms of Cartwright of Norwood, Leicestershire, a fess between three grenades, issuing flames. Robert Cartwright was priest of the chantry of St. Ellen, at Tickhill, about the year 1350. John Cartwright was vicar of Brodsworth in April 1422.

² 1598. A Rev. Robert Streyc, priest, founded the chantry of St. John the Evangelist, Doncaster. The yearly value, £6 5s. This chantry was, most probably, the old vestry before its demolition about the year 1800. The founder was, doubtless, a relation of Thos. Strey, who was Mayor of Doncaster in the year 1509, and whose monument, adjoining the place where the old vestry stood, is described in Miller's *Doncaster*, pp. 83, 105.

eldest daughter of Henry, Earl of Dover, wife of the Hon. Sir Thomas Wharton, Knight of the Bath, only brother of Philip, Lord Wharton, of Wharton, buried June 21, A.D. 1672, an. æt. 57, who from her childhood was a pattern of true piety; constant and devout in serving God, both in His and her own house; a rare example of Christian charity; a sincere lover of such as feared God; a most obedient and loving wife; a tender and careful mother; a bountifull reliever of the poor; a kind and courteous neighbour; a true and faithful friend; in whose holy, humble, meek, and heavenly conversation was to be found whatsoever things are truly virtuous or praiseworthy. (Phil. iv, 8.) A Mary 'who chose that good part which shall not be taken away from her.' (Luke x, 42.) 'Go and do thou likewise.' (Luke x, 31.)"

Mr. R. N. Philipps made some remarks, since embodied into a paper. See p. 414.

At Tickhill Church the party reunited to listen to Mr. Roberts. He said it was really a very fine, handsome building; but from the size of the tower and the chancel the nave looked especially short. He could not help thinking that at some time the nave had been larger, and perhaps the chancel beyond that which at present existed. The tower was of the early part of the fourteenth century; the south side later, the remainder of the church of the fifteenth century. There were evidences of two sidechapels in the south aisle, the piscinæ alone remaining.

Through the courtesy of the Earl of Scarborough, the party was then led to the castle, Mr. Roberts acting as guide. They passed over the moat, and through the massive gateway, the walls of which are 13 feet 6 inches thick, and round the outer wall. The weather, which had been very fine, suddenly became overcast, and there was a heavy shower. Ample shelter was afforded under the trees near to the entrance, and there Mr. Roberts described the place. He said the Manor of Tickhill extended into five counties, and there were sixty-one dependencies to it. In the time of Elizabeth it embraced thirty-three manors. After the Conquest, Richard de Busli acquired it, through the Countess Judith, and built the castle in 1103. The richest part was the gateway, which was a very beautiful example; the architectural remains, are, however, limited to the outer walls of the castle, the keep having entirely disappeared. The grounds of the castle are nearly seven acres in extent, and the buildings were important, and must have occupied a long time in their erection. They had been greatly destroyed, only a few things of minor importance being retained. The place was dismantled by order after the wars of the Commonwealth. The rain having ceased, Mr. Roberts conducted the party to the mound, from the top of which they had a most extensive and charming view.

The party left Tickhill Castle at three o'clock, and the journey was resumed for Doncaster. On the road an unfortunate accident occurred.

The leading carriage, a landan, drawn by two horses, contained seven members of the party. Just past the village of Wadsworth there is a hill with a sharp curve. When nearing the top of the hill a strap of the harness of the near side horse suddenly broke. The driver behaved with admirable coolness, but the horses became unmanageable and the passengers alarmed. The carriage proceeded a short distance when it was overturned, and its occupants were pitched with very considerable violence into the road. The horse fell, and the carriage upon him, and in his struggles there was danger of his kicking those who were lying near to him. The other members of the party hastened up and rendered all possible assistance. Fortunately Dr. Drew, of Chapeltown, was one of the party, having joined at Couisborough, and he rendered valuable assistance. A gate that was near was broken up and splints made, and the driver's broken leg was set. A lady sustained some severe cuts on the forehead, which detained her for a fortnight at her house at Sheffield, but these and other lesser casualties fortunately proved only of temporary inconvenience.

On the arrival at Doncaster the members of the Congress and their friends were invited to luncheon at the Guildhall by the Mayor of Doncaster, W. C. Clarke, Esq., and most hospitably and handsomely entertained. Some complimentary toasts were afterwards given and responded to. A subscription was made in the room on behalf of the injured driver, to the amount of over £13. At 6.30 the party left Doncaster by special train for Sheffield.

The evening meeting took place, as usual, in the old dining room at the Cutlers' Hall. Mr. R. N. Philipps, LL.D., F.S.A., in the chair.

Mr. J. Guest, of Rotherham, read an elaborate paper on Rotherham Church and College, very ably compiled from Hunter, Rickman, Denison, and other authorities. Mr. Guest had, however, obtained in addition some original and unpublished matter; amongst others he found a bundle of papers labelled "obsolete," and dated "29th June, in the 28th yere of yo reigne of our Sovraign lorde King Henry VIII", an account between Richard Elly and Robert Nailler, old greaves, and Richard Kane and Thomas Patley, new greaves. Numerous extracts from old documents, illustrative of religious observances, and the saying of masses, were given. The details of the freeholds, ornaments, plate, the names of the tenants of the properties, and the rentals, were, the reader thought, of great interest, and would perhaps some day see the light. The paper concluded as follows: "In giving, as I think is most meet, ample honour to the pious beneficence and Christian institutions and religious services of the olden times, I have the high satisfaction in relation to this self-same subject—the parish church of Rotherham—of being able to do equal honour to the present time, which is now doing honour to itself in nobly resolving that this grand monument of

past munificence shall be so repaired and so restored, inside and outside, as to make its 'bold and lofty proportions,' its wide and lofty arches, its elegantly designed and finely chiseled capitals, once more develop in restored beauty the splendid and harmonious effect of 'the best style of the best age of perpendicular work'—the close of the fifteenth century—before it merged into the more elaborate but less beautiful Tudor. It is now in Sir Gilbert Scott's hands. The work will no doubt be proceeded with, with the least possible delay. Churchmen have come forward unusually handsomely; other denominations of Christian churches have generously shown that their practised liberality is not confined to their own purposes, and some few at a distance feel properly that a structure like Rotherham Church, as an honour to Yorkshire, deserves not only county but general support." Mr. Guest's account of the College of Jesus at Rotherham has already appeared in the local prints.

A paper was then read on "Modern Lessons from Ancient Masters," which had been prepared by Mr. J. W. Grover, who was prevented from attending the Congress by business which called him abroad. The paper commenced by laying down two certain propositions—that they could not improve without knowing what had been already done; and that if they did know what had been done, they could almost invariably improve upon it. His object was to show how very much was assumed in the claims put forward for our modern ideas and inventions, whilst their masters were really the ancients; and to recommend a more careful study of antiquity, with a view to modern improvement. He then proceeded to give instances in which the knowledge of the Romans excelled that possessed by people of the present day. Their superior methods of public water supply, and their vast public sanitary works. Their training of the body in outdoor sports and recreation under public provision and regulation. Their science in baths and heating, their use of concrete in building, reintroduced but fifty years ago. Their skill in design and their science in the durability of their tessellated pavements. Their curative science and the knowledge two thousand years ago of the commonly reputed modern science of electricity. He hoped a day would come when every colliery and factory, and workshop, and every town and village too would be compelled to provide gratuitous bathing accommodation and places of recreation, as it was here fifteen hundred years ago. Then perhaps they would improve on those pale sallowness, and weak, sickly, dirty children, which issue in such uncared-for swarms from our factories. He drew attention to the great reverence the ancients had for the human form; and contended that from the cradle to the grave, at least two hours a day should be religiously devoted to the training of the muscles. Local boards of health existed here fifteen hundred years

ago; and in the third century, registers of population had been kept with exactness for ten centuries.

Mr. Tucker (*Rouge Croix*), in the absence of Mr. Llewellynn Jewitt, F.S.A., read a paper on the Dragon of Wantley, which had been prepared by that gentleman. It is given at full at page 375, *ante*.

SATURDAY, AUGUST 23RD, 1873.

The route this morning began by a diversion from the path of archaeology not originally contemplated, and which compelled the omission, at the end of the day, of some subjects more properly within the cognisance of the Association. A visit to the splendid modern palace of Wentworth, with its proud associations, was, however, a gratifying diversion.

Arriving, by permission of Lord Fitzwilliam, at Wentworth House, in his lordship's absence, the party were received by the Hon. Captain Douglas, who offered them refreshments, and conducted them through the mansion and grounds. The fine lower hall and the splendid central hall, with their exquisite sculptures, were of course warmly admired, and the magnificent collection of ancestral and historical portraits and of works by the old masters furnished a treat which there was only too little time to enjoy. The well known portrait of Shakespeare, and the autograph of Lord Strafford, naturally excited special attention. Captain Douglas did not omit to point out the stone archway by Inigo Jones, and the small portion which remains of the former mansion. A drive through a picturesque country next brought the company to Wharnccliffe Chase, where Lord Wharnccliffe offered them a bountiful luncheon, Lady Wharnccliffe being also present. His lordship headed a party to inspect the stone celebrated for the inscription upon it by Sir Thomas Wortley, whilst many of the others wandered to the crags, and viewed the magnificent scene of hill, dale, and wood, that lay stretched before them. The Dragon's Cave, of course, was not forgotten. That indeed seemed to have more visitors than the stone mentioned above. The paper by Mr. Llewellynn Jewitt gives a full description of this stone (*ante*, p. 382).

Mr. W. S. Stanhope, M.P., exhibited a bow which he said had been at Cannon Hall, Barnsley, for a hundred and sixty or a hundred and seventy years, and which was supposed to be the original bow of Little John, who was buried at Hathersage in Derbyshire.¹ The bow, some arrows, and a quantity of chain armour, were hanging at Hathersage Hall in the reign of Charles I. At the time of the revolution, the estate at Hathersage came into the possession of a family named Spencer, one of whom succeeded to the estate at Cannon Hall. About that time the bow

¹ For an illustration of the House of Little John at Hathersage, and other interesting details respecting him, see *Journal*, iii, pp. 78-81.

and the armour were removed to the latter place. The armour was in existence there till about seventy years ago, when it was stolen by some workmen who were making repairs to the building. The bow bears the name of Colonel Naylor, with the date 1715, and he was supposed to be the last man who ever strung it. It required a power of 160lbs. to draw the bow to its full length; only 90lbs. was the power which men of the present day used at archery meetings. The wood was now in so tender a condition that it was possible it would break if it were fully strung; but in 1715 the horn on both points was perfect, and Colonel Naylor shot a deer with it.

The party having reassembled on the green sward, and Lord Wharncliffe being present, the Mayor of Sheffield proceeded to acknowledge the very kind manner in which his lordship had entertained them. As Mayor of Sheffield he was pleased the association had held its congress in that town; he was glad the members had been everywhere so hospitably entertained; and he was personally obliged to his lordship for having thrown open his magnificent estate to them, and for having so munificently provided for their wants. His lordship was the right gentleman to entertain the members of an archæological society, because he (the mayor) looked upon such a society as having for its object the considering of all that was ancient and good, and the linking of the past with the present. That was the characteristic of all those who entertained the same opinions as his lordship. He proposed that the thanks of the association be given to his lordship for the hospitable way in which he had entertained them, and for his efforts to promote the pleasure and comfort of the members.

Mr. Roberts (Hon. Secretary), as an archæologist, felt called upon to express to his lordship publicly the expression of their gratitude for his thoughtful care of a very interesting object of antiquity, the inscription stone having been efficiently protected in the manner they had seen by a building erected over it by Lord Wharncliffe.

Lord Wharncliffe said that it had given him the utmost satisfaction to see so many members of the Association present, and to have been able to provide for their bodily wants after the laborious journey they had undertaken to reach Wharncliffe. By going first to Wentworth, they had seen one of the most magnificent palaces in this country—a palace with magnificent pictures, sculpture, and architecture. He did not pretend to be able to show the Association anything of that kind; but what he did pretend to be able to show them was one of the grandest scenes of nature in England. And what he himself was very proud of was that it had always been the home of his ancestors. By a reference to Domesday Survey, they would find the name of the Wortleys as being possessors of Wharncliffe. Not more than two hundred or three hundred years after that, they would find

that Wharnclyffe Chase was recorded as one of the chases of the country. There were not many chases now ; but Wharnclyffe had continued to be what it was then ; and he was, therefore, proud to say it was one of the oldest deer parks in the kingdom.

Taking advantage of the delay caused in getting the horses and carriages ready for the return journey, Mr. G. R. Wright, F.S.A., read a paper "On the story of the causes which led to the imprisonment of Thomas, fourth Duke of Norfolk, in the Tower of London."

Ecclesfield was reached soon after four o'clock ; the party were met at the church by the vicar, the Rev. Dr. Gatty. The grave of Hunter, the great local historian, was first visited, and then the party entered the fine old church.

A paper was read by Dr. Gatty, who remarked that the only objects of archæological interest at Ecclesfield were the parish church of St. Mary and the remains of the chapel, or what was once a small priory or cell, originally depending upon the great Abbey of Fontenelle, Normandy, but afterwards withdrawn during the reign of Richard II from that foreign house, and transferred to the Carthusian convent of St. Ann, at Coventry. This was in 1381. Whether in Saxon times there was any church here cannot be ascertained ; it was not mentioned in the Domesday Survey, which calls the place Ecclesfelt—and this name looks like "Church field." At any rate there were no remains of Saxon masonry, nor any tradition that when the district was divided into six Saxon manors there was a church for the scattered population. In 1376 the Prior of Ecclesfield gave evidence before Parliament that a church had existed there for more than three hundred years. This would carry the foundation back before Domesday ; but the expression was too vague to be relied upon as a date. The first clear and trustworthy declaration on the subject was perhaps in the register of Archbishop Milton, who died about 1340, wherein it was stated that Richard de Lovetot, lord of Hallamshire, gave the church of Ecclesfield to the abbot and monastery of St. Wandrille, in Normandy. This was in the reign of Henry I, between 1100 and 1135. It might fairly be presumed that there was a handsome Norman church here, built by the rich and pious family of Lovetot, the founders of Worksop Abbey, and of the parish church at Sheffield. In 1161 there was certainly a small priory here. The number of clergy seems to have been very small, not exceeding three or four. In 1310 a regular vicar was appointed, and henceforth he had two chaplains, one to assist him here, and the other to serve Bradfield Chapel. The church, which was externally built in Vicar Clark's time (he died in 1478), contains internal evidences of an earlier structure. About the piers which support the tower he was informed there was early English, even, perhaps, Norman work ; and this was

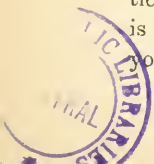
traceable also in the bowtel carding to be seen at the west end. The four supporters of the tower were very fine, older than the exterior, and belonging, he believed, to the period of decorated architecture. How the funds were raised for rebuilding the present church there was no record, except that an inscription in a window, part of which survives, was as follows:—"Pray for Thomas Ricard, prior, and his convent of the Carthusian house of St. Anne, near Coventry, who caused this chancel to be made." The body of the church was probably paid for by the parishioners, many of whom were rich, and team work would be given by the farmers. Before the Reformation there were four altars—to the Blessed Mary, to St. Catherine, St. Nicholas, and St. John the Baptist. When the church was re-pewed in 1826, the aisles of the nave were raised six feet, which impaired the original symmetry, and the galleries then erected are manifestly straining the pillars and the south wall. The roof of the nave is cased over, being much out of repair. In the chancel were two priests' grave-stones, on which the carving was still traceable. In the churchyard was the flat gravestone of Vicar Lord, dated 1600, which, being perfectly legible, might be accounted as remarkable after exposure for two hundred and seventy-three years. The remains of the old Priory may be seen and sighed over, for the building was going to swift and irreparable decay. Dr. Gatty also read a paper on the church at Bradfield; and Mr. Gordon M. Hills, in alluding to the remarkable earthworks in that district, expressed the opinion that the summit was originally used by the Romans as a point from which to make surveys of the surrounding country.

The party then left the church and made a short inspection of all the remains of the Priory. The journey home was then recommenced, and Sheffield was reached shortly before seven o'clock.

The evening meeting was held in the Cutlers' Hall. The Mayor presided. Sir John Brown, Mr. J. A. Roebuck, and Mr. William Bragge, F.S.A., were present. As a paper was to be read by Mr. W. de Gray Birch, F.R.S.L., the palæographer, Mr. Bragge with praiseworthy liberality sent a number of ancient books and manuscripts from his valuable collection, and an inspection of them proved a most interesting feature of the evening's proceedings. After a few introductory remarks from the Mayor,

Mr. W. de Gray Birch then read a paper on "The Manuscripts in the possession of William Bragge, Esq., of Sheffield."

"You are most of you by this time aware of the import of archæology, and our labours among you this week have shown you the practical direction of many branches of that fruitful tree of knowledge. It is my pleasing duty to night to introduce to you a branch which as yet you have not had much opportunity of inspecting; that to which we



give the term of Palæography, or the art of reading ancient MSS. ; of deciding the dates of their production, assigning the countries which have produced them ; and pointing out in many cases the very authors of their being. And when I say that, than these, no objects of mediæval antiquity possess greater charms, whether we look upon manuscripts as historical and scientific writings, or as specimens of an art brought to a transcendent degree of beauty long centuries before the styles of modern illustration, it will be readily conceded to me that palæography is capable of a very large amount of study and reflection. Unfortunately for this art, it has suffered, like many other antiquarian pursuits, from the barbarous ignorance, the rapacity, and the iconoclasm of many of our ancestors who might have done much, had they been so minded, towards the preservation of MSS. now lost without hope of recovery. And unfortunately also the expense of reproducing these things has only just begun to be diminished by the means of photography.

“ It had been originally proposed, that I should make some observations upon the local records of this town, but upon inquiry it was found that but few documents which could be properly placed under that head would be available, and that the consideration of most of these would be well nigh exhausted in the various papers to be read before you during the week. My presence among you was not, however, destined to be a sinecure, for, apart from the interesting collection of MSS., which Mr. Brooke so kindly exhibited to us at Armitage, and the numerous registers of the parish churches we have visited, there exists in this great town a most valuable collection of manuscripts of the very finest kind, and we are indebted to the liberality of their owner and collector, Mr. Bragge, for the exhibition to-night ; such, I am told, as it has never before been the lot of our Association to inspect. I confess I was fairly taken by surprise when I first saw the result of that gentleman’s labours and immense outlay in collecting MSS. ; and his travels, which extend over the greater part of the world, have enabled him to bring together a most marvellous gathering of rich and interesting objects from quarters not generally looked upon as profitable hunting grounds for palæographers. When I tell you that we have left behind ten times as many books as you see in these cases, you will be able to form some idea of the magnificence and importance of his library. Sheffield may well be proud of such a collection of works of art, particularly as they are in the hands of so indefatigable a collector.

“ Before specifying individually the objects which have been selected for your delectation and instruction to night, it appears to me desirable that I should as rapidly as possible sketch out some of the most salient points in the history of palæographic art, although I am by no means

unconscious that such remarks as I shall make will necessarily be very imperfect and fugitive. European palæography must be divided by the student into two sections, the Greek and the Latin. The Greek style is very limited, because the Greek alphabet has never extended itself into other European languages; while the Roman alphabet is the basis of all our western languages and Latin palæography is that which more closely concerns us. The Greek handwriting is, nevertheless, subject to the same changes which will be found in the Latin MSS., but not at corresponding epochs. The minuscule, or small handwriting, gradually displaces the large hand about the tenth century, getting more and more straggling and broken down as it approaches to the modern time. The arbitrary forms adopted by many scribes and authors for representing contractions and abbreviations render the correct deciphering of some Greek manuscripts a work of the greatest difficulty; occasionally whole pages are built up, so to speak, into an elaborate monogram or conscription, by the employment of ligatures and elimination of recurring parts of adjacent letters. This excessive love of contraction in the Greek handwriting was not dispelled for long after the invention of printing. The earliest Greek printed books exhibit a great variety of contracted forms, and must have required the employment of a vast number of types.

“The styles of writing found in mediæval Latin MSS. have gone through a very great variety of changes, and one of the principal reasons of this is that writing has always to be considered from two points of view; the book hand, cultivated and perfected by the *calligraphi*, or ornamental writers; and that of the *tachygraphi*, or rapid writers, who sacrificed beauty of effect to rapidity of execution, and affected the cursive style, which we use with no great amount of alteration to-day. Hence the study of manuscript books in the formal or literary hand forms a separate branch to that portion of palæographic art which belongs to charters, documents, and letters which were intended for less general use; out of the first of these classes grew the black-letter and the printing type; out of the latter has proceeded the autographic letter hand of the individual.

“The first of these two broad divisions of writing is by far the oldest. Commencing with books written previously to the sixth century entirely in capital letters, which after that period were confined almost exclusively to titles and rubrics, the set hand fell more towards the style denominated *uncial*, which was first employed in the fourth century, but gradually displaced the capital letter. This uncial hand was retained until the middle of the eighth century, when it gave way in turn to a mixture of small and large characters found in MSS. from the sixth to the eighth century. At about this time the small or minuscule letter was found to be more suitable to the increasing requirements of writers, and came into universal appreciation.

“Looking back for a moment towards the derivation of the pure Roman cursive hand during the very earliest epochs, the oldest specimens we shall find are the so called *graffiti* or scribblings upon the walls of Pompeii, Rome, and other places. These exhibit some peculiarities of their own, but are remarkable for their evident derivation from the set shapes of the formal alphabet. One of the most remarkable letters is the E, which is represented by two upright parallel lines, the M is composed of four lines nearly parallel, and joined together, and the first slightly prolonged at its lower extremity. With these inscriptions are found most curious caricatures and grotesque drawings, which bring before us in a vivid manner the inner life of the ancient inhabitants of the Italian peninsula. *Graffiti* exist not only in Rome, but in the catacombs of Jerusalem, on the desert rocks of Egypt and Syria, and on a variety of objects, such as vases, weapons, and articles of common use found throughout the enormous tract of the world occupied by the Romans in their long career of domination. The waxen tablets of the second and third centuries continue this curious handwriting, which develops into the peculiar chancery hand of the fifth century, the bold and figurative lettering of the eighth, ninth, and thirteenth century, and is even occasionally found in books as old as the fifth century. Out of this hand springs the Lombardic, an elaborated writing in use from the eighth century, and this was spread out into several subdivisions, which have been called West Gothic or Spanish, of which a fine MS. is exhibited to-night; the Merovingian, or Franco-Gothic, and others. These forms exhibit some degree of intricacy, and, consequently, difficulty of reading, especially the charters, which require careful examination. Very little of the Lombardic is to be met with later than the twelfth century.

“We ought not to omit some mention of the most ancient kind of short hand, which is reported to be the invention of a freedman of Cicero, by name Tiro. This man was employed to take notes of his master’s speeches, and invented an arbitrary system of monograms or figures, each of which signified a particular word; naturally such a complicated method was susceptible of improvement by substituting signs for letters rather than for words, and the modern system of shorthand was initiated early in the history of writing. Several fine examples of early shorthand exist among the collection in the British Museum, but we do not in all cases possess the key to their decipherment. These Tironian notes, as they were called, are very valuable, as indicating and determining some forms of abbreviations which obtain in later MSS.

“The Irish handwriting seems to occupy an isolated position when viewed in contrast with other Romanic styles; whatever its alphabet derived from the Latin was arrested in the sixth century, and from

that time downwards its progress was influenced entirely by internal circumstances, as it passes on through the successive epochs of the uncial, semi-uncial, and angular minuscule, which latter is not entirely extinct until the sixteenth century. Closely resembling this in many points is the so called Anglo-Saxon or Early English hand, which was, however, more subject to continuous Romanising influences, although its uncial character, like all others, degenerated, or rather grafted upon itself the minuscule style. The cursive style will be found upon the royal diplomacy of the eighth, ninth, and tenth centuries, cotemporary with the formal hands existing in religious and historical works. After the conquest this style fell into decay, and though some writers affected the Saxon hand as late as the time of Henry II, and some of its letters, such as the *þ*, *p*, and *ʒ*, were not uncommon in English documents of the fifteenth century, yet the French influence which led our other national arts and sciences into captivity did not fail to corrupt the national form of handwriting.

“The Carlovingian or Caroline minuscule, an improvement upon the Merovingian or French-Lombardic, was, however, to dethrone all other forms, and dates from the foundation of Alcuin’s writing school of boy scribes at St. Martin’s Abbey, in Tours, at the close of the eighth century; it made rapid way, by its enhanced utility, throughout the west of Europe. The best period of this style is the twelfth century, when MSS. reach the highest pitch of perfection and elaboration. Out of this grows the Gothic or black letter, as well as the beautiful Roman hand so much used by Italian scribes of the fifteenth century. A formidable obstacle in the way of reading old writings is the frequent curtailings, abbreviations, and compression of constantly recurring and well known words. The earliest MSS. have very few contractions, but as we get on they multiply to an enormous extent, some being of but short life, as it were, and yielding to other forms, while others were conventional, and, for example, *ds.* for *deus*, found throughout the range of time and country under our consideration.

“I now proceed to another, and to you probably more interesting branch of palæography, that connected with early pictorial art, and ornamentation of mediæval manuscripts; and the collection of Mr. Bragge, which has been formed principally from this point of view, is extremely rich in specimens of every kind. The great perfection to which the painting of manuscripts was brought, cannot fail to impress itself upon any one who will examine, however hastily, the numerous specimens which have been preserved. The epochs of perfection were not simultaneous and contemporary in all countries, but varied very much in proportion to the political state of the country being favourable to development of art. The style varies very much in some cases, as for example the difference between English and Italian or Spanish, while the French, the English, and the Low Countries’ styles are by no means

so marked in their differences. The Byzantine or earliest European style is exhibited in the best Greek manuscripts, runs down to a late period, and retains more of the old classical feeling than may be seen in more western MSS. The few remains of this school, such as the Vienna Genesis and the Iliad in the Ambrosian Library, Milan, are early examples of these, and re-echo the last efforts of classicism to make itself heard amid the disruptive clashing of contending races. Some leaves of vellum of this school are covered entirely with gold, others stained of a deep transparent purple, adorned with pillars, medallions, arcades, and other architectural adjuncts. Then there is the Vatican Virgil, with drawings executed from classical model spirals, and panelled blocks with arabesques of the most intricate arrangement. Running rapidly along the salient points of illuminated art, we come to the Saxon style of freehand drawing, relieved with faint lines of colour in red, green, and blue, or in sepia alone, flowing drapery and spirited execution. The twelfth century, famous for its bold drawings, with fine handwriting and marvellously harmonious colouring, deep outlines, the flat portions heightened with white colour overlaying them; gigantic letters drawn with boldness of design blended with a consciousness of ability to produce suitable adaptation of proposed subjects. The thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries form the best known period of illuminations. The taste for these objects increased during these days, they were no longer executed in the monasteries for the exclusive service of the church, but were sought after eagerly by private individuals, whose appreciation of their merit is widely testified by the quantity of specimens yet remaining, in contrast with the rarity of those of other times.

“The thirteenth and fourteenth centuries are notable for the enormous amount of ornamentation found in the Bibles, service books, chronicles, books of hours, missals, etc.; of these the *Horæ B.V.M.* afford the most perfect examples of the styles most in favour, and the highly wrought and finished appearance of their miniatures is calculated to excite the greatest admiration. Mr. Bragge’s collection is very rich in well-chosen representatives of these. One of the great features of late illuminations are the details which perpetuate, in a manner nowhere else so easily shown, the exact proportions of the architecture, the cut and fashion of dresses, the shapes of armour, the manners and customs of private persons, their hair, robes, shoes, houses, gardens, sports, and pursuits. Thus we shall find most Biblical personages habited in the costume current at the period when the book was executed. These anachronisms neither disturbed the fancies of the printers who executed, nor clashed with the ideas of those for whom the books were prepared, nor do we, when we examine them to-day, feel anything more than the faintest sense of their incongruity. The borders gradually developed from the initials in the thirteenth, never beyond their size,

but in succeeding centuries gradually increased, until in the fourteenth they cover the margins, and in the fifteenth become a complete framework encircling the four sides of the text.

"In conclusion, the exquisite Italian plaques displace all conventionalities, and the splendid works of masters, such as Julio Clovio, in the Soane Museum, and other Italians, must not be criticised by the hard and fast rules which apply so forcibly to the method of illustration in use with the illuminator of more ancient times."

After pointing out the principal objects of interest exhibited, viz., a Greek roll, eleventh century; a Spanish MS., eighth cent.; an English inventory of goods, fifteenth cent.; a roll of arms of the members of Parliament, *temp.* Henry VIII; a copy of the Gospels, ninth cent.; and some rare bindings in metal and enamel, Mr. Birch continued:

"I shall conclude these notes by reading a beautiful poem by John Skelton, an English poet and ecclesiastic, who was born towards the end of the fifteenth century (poet laureate about 1489, obiit 1529), which occurs written in a contemporary hand, on a copy of *Boetius de Disciplina Scholarium*, printed 1496, perhaps a relic of the poet's school days. It is the identical volume mentioned in the Boston edition of Dyce's *Poetical Works of John Skelton*, vol. i, p. 165, as being in the collection of the late Mr. Heber. The poem aptly illustrates that interesting set of verses read by Canon Hulbert at Almondbury during the Congress week, and printed at pp. 231, 232. It is entitled 'Woyfully Arayd', and occurs upon some leaves at the beginning of the volume, along with a variety of miscellaneous scraps, apparently written by the hand of John Symson, who has inscribed his name on the first page. The writing is of the middle of the sixteenth century, and is, therefore, contemporary with Skelton, and as I have met with no accurate transcript of this Skeltonian poem, I think you will be pleased to have a verbatim copy, as follows:

‘ Woyfully aRayd
My bloyd Man
ffor the Ran
Hytt may not be nayd
My body blow and wañ
Woofully, &c.
Bee holde me y pray thee wt all thyn hoole Reesoñ
And bee nott hard hartyde and ffor thys enchesoñ¹
Sythe y ffor yi sowles sayk was selayne ȳ good sesoñ
Bee gylyd and betrayd by Judas ffals tresoñ
Wnkyndly entretyd
Wt scharp cord sore fretyde
the Juys me thretyde
The mowyd ye gⁱnnyd ye skornyd me
Condemnyde too dethe as yu mayst se
Woyfully aRayd

¹ *Encheson*, cause, occasion (*Halliwel*).

' Thus : naked am y naylyd O Man for thy sayk
 I love the : then love me : why slepys yu . a . wayke
 Remember my tendyr hartt Rotte flör . thee brayke
 With paynys my vaynys constraynde too crayk

Thus tuggyd too and firoo

Thus wrappyd all yn whoo

Ah was ueur¹ Man soo

Entretyd thus yn Mooste c^uell² wyse

Was lyk a lombe offryd y³ sacryfycce

Woyfully aRayd, &c.

' Off scharpe thorne y have worne . a . crowne o⁴ my hed
 Soo paynyd soo strandyd soo Rewfully . soo Reede
 Thus bowde thus rowyd thus flör thy love dede
 Vnfraynyd natt drynyde my blode flör to schede

My feyte & hondys sore

Thes sturdy naylys bore

What mygýt y suffyr More

Then y haue O man for the

Cum when yu lyst wyll⁵ cū too me⁵

' Off Record thy good lord . y . haue beyn & schal bee
 Y⁶ am thyn yu artt Myne . my brother y call . thee
 The love y enterly sec . whatt ys befall me
 Sore bettyng : sore thretyng : too mak ye mā all fre

Why art yu wnkynde

Why hast nott me y mynde

Cum zytt and yu schalt fynde

Myne endlys m^rcy and grace

See how a spere my hert dyd race

Woyfully aRayd

' Deyr brother noo other thyng . y . off ye desyre
 Butt gyve me thyne hert fre to rewarde m^y hyre
 Y wrowzt the y bowgýt the frome eternal fyre
 Y pray the . a . Ray the tooward my hyzt epyre

I love⁷ ye ORyent

Wher off y am Regēt

Loord god omnypteñt

Wyth me too Reyn y endlys welthe

Remember Man thy sawlys helthe

Woofully ARayd

My blode Man

ffor the Rane

hytt may nott be nayd

My body blow and wane

Woyfully A Rayde.'

"Explicit Q'd Skelton."

¹ Never.

² Cruel.

³ In.

⁴ On.

⁵ Here the Fairfax MS. (part of Addit. MS. 5465 in the British Museum) ends; and Dyce printed the rest of the poem from this Heber MS., in his edition, i, 142-3; London, 1843.

⁶ I.

⁷ ? for *above*.

"This well known poem, in its version as above, differs in many places from the copies printed by Dyce and Sir John Hawkins. It is immediately followed by a very beautiful and pathetic lyric, running in a form of metre eminently Skeltonian, and containing an allusion to the separation of a husband and wife, when the latter was 'ny of progeny'. This piece, when examined by the light of the biographical facts recorded of Skelton, leaves no doubt upon the mind that it was written by the poet himself, shortly after his enforced separation from his wife, and during his refuge at Westminster. The following is a verbatim transcript of this poem, which must be admitted, I think, by all to a place in the series of Skelton's works:—

' Petevelly ¹	}	to Morne & playne
Constraynd a ² y		
Wt weepyng y		
Thatt we so ny	}	Schild part on twayne
Off progeny		
So sodenly		
When ꝛee ar goyn	}	Endewre must y
Conforte ys noyne		
But al. A. Looyne		
Wt grevly Groyne	}	That schuld nedys dy
Makyng my moyne		
As hytt where oone		
Wt chance sodyne	}	That for no thyng
Soo doythe me st ³ ayne ³		
Yn eury wayne		
I cannott Layne	}	'ffrome soore wepyng.'
Nor ꝛeet refrayne		
Myne yes ⁴ tweyne		

"In explanation of this latter poem, we must remember that Skelton was a clergyman at a time when the marriage of the clergy was looked upon with, to say the least, great disfavour. He had, too, contracted an irregular union with a lady whom he conscientiously believed to be his wife, but was afraid to own her as such, and the enemies whom he had provoked by his satirical productions, caused him to be suspended by the Bishop of Norwich, and he fled to such protection as Islip, abbot of Westminster, was able to give him."

This concluded the business as set down in the programme, and Mr. Gordon M. Hills proceeded, in the name of the Association, to thank those who had aided the Congress. He said he would not attempt to particularise the names of all who had rendered assistance; some in a conspicuous way, others in a manner more retired, but still not the less valuable. But in the first place he must mention the Mayor, who from the first time he (Mr. Hills) came to Sheffield, and especially during the present week, had never failed to give the Asso-

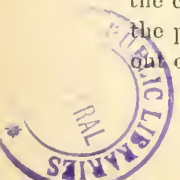
¹ Pitifully.² Am.³ Strain.⁴ Eyes.

ciation the benefit of his experience and advice, and had throughout acted in a way that had proved most valuable to the Association. With the Mayor he would connect the name of the Master Cutler, who had most cordially assisted the Association on all possible occasions. He could not call to mind all the names of the Local Committee whose services had been of a valuable kind, but some attached to their body he must not omit. For instance, the very admirable way in which Mr. Crighton had arranged and carried out the excursions deserved their most cordial acknowledgments. It was scarcely conceivable except by those who had tried it, how much labour was involved, and how much care and local knowledge were required to superintend the excursions. Nor must he forget to thank Mr. Webster, Mr. Bragge, and Dr. Griffiths, whose labours had been in quieter paths, but whose time and patience had been severely taxed. He was not now speaking of the hospitality of those who had refreshed them on the way, but of that of those who had entertained members of the Association at their houses; and in this respect the gentlemen of Sheffield had shown a most generous hospitality. However feebly, on his part he desired to express to them the gratitude which the members of the Association, who had come from a distance, felt for the kindness and liberality with which they had been received. It had been his pleasure and privilege to be stationed at the house of one of the ablest antiquaries he had ever met. He meant his friend, the Rev. Mr. Stacey, a gentleman of whom the town might well be proud. Of Mr. Stacey's kindness he had had abundant experience, and to him and to all who had assisted the Congress in any way, he tendered the Association's warmest thanks.

The Mayor said it would be a fitting conclusion to the meeting if they had a few words from their old and respected friend, Mr. Roebuck. He did not know whether Mr. Roebuck was an archæologist or not; but he had no doubt, out of his store of general knowledge, he would be able to say something interesting and instructive.

Mr. Roebuck, who was cordially received, said: Mr. Mayor, ladies, and gentlemen, I hope you will be kind enough to excuse me for saying a few words about myself and the circumstances under which I appear before you. I have been requested to close this meeting with some remarks which, it is hoped, will be of some use to those who listen to me. Now to me the request came most unexpectedly; and, indeed, I undertook the task with a very full conception of my own unfitness. I am not an archæologist. I am not now even officially connected with Sheffield, and therefore I am an outsider coming to express thanks for a matter of which I know very little; for in truth I have paid very little attention to what has been doing the last week. My mind has been otherwise directed; and although I have had opportunities of seeing what has been done, I have not availed myself of

them. But these circumstances give me something of advantage upon the present occasion. I am an outsider. Outsider as I am, I am like that third person, the on-looker, who is supposed to see more of the game than those who are playing it; and therefore the observations which I may make will not be, I think, taken in ill part either by one side or the other. I have to speak first of that learned body, the British Archæological Association, who have chosen for this year's excursion Sheffield and its environs. The first question that a man naturally asks himself is, what is the good of such a body coming to such a place? What are they about to do? What benefit will they confer upon the inhabitants of the town which they visit? And what good can result from their labours? Now it has been observed very lately by a celebrated politician, "Woe unto that people who have not an interest in the past!" I think these words are true, and fraught with a very deep meaning; and the archæologist, if he understands his business (it seems rather a bold thing in me to talk like this; but still I can well conceive what I believe an archæologist ought to do): his business is to call up the past, and bring that past side by side with the present; and by comparing one with the other, draw a lesson for the present generation. He looks at a building, asks who was its builder, what are the circumstances under which it was raised, what were the circumstances under which it was destroyed, who inhabited the house, who altogether had an interest in its building up and its destruction, and under what circumstances and in what condition was that building up and that destruction undertaken? Such an inquiry as this may lead very deeply into the circumstances that influence the happiness of mankind, and it may very much interest that present generation to know what their forefathers did under the circumstances in which the house was built and destroyed. I have seen enough of the Association's transactions to know that one of the inquiries which you made was into the buildings in which the unfortunate Mary Stuart was a prisoner in Sheffield. The very room which she inhabited, and the window which she was supposed to have escaped from, were before you. In looking upon them you, no doubt, took a keen interest in that unfortunate lady's career. You fancied, as it were, as if she were brought up to you a prisoner in that room, and you experienced a feeling of interest that you could not have derived from the cold page of the historian. And it was the archæologist who brought you there. It was he that gave you, as it were, a living instance of the mutability of the fortunes and the miseries that do now and then happen to crowned heads. This I simply bring forward as a specimen of the circumstances under which the archæologists may read a lesson to the present generation. But I go further. I think the mere hunting out of old buildings is a very small part of the duties which they have



to perform. I want them to inquire into the manners, the pastimes, and the habits of our ancestors; into their manner of life, into the circumstances under which they dwelt, and the various relations of life which they followed. All these things are the business of the archæologist; and when he compares them with the existing state of things, he reads the present generation a very important lesson. And this, it is, I presume, that this learned body intended to do when they came down to Sheffield. They came for the purpose of communicating the ideas which they had gathered from long research; and they wanted, from the particular buildings and places around you here, and from the various things that Sheffield afforded them, to read a lesson to the inhabitants of this town. I do not say this in a tone of superiority on the part of the members of the Association. I am sure they would not wish that I should do so. They came down here fraught with learning, and they hoped that that learning might be of use, and at the same time that there should be pleasure while there was instruction; and from what I learn, in spite of the somewhat disagreeable weather on one or two days, your excursions have been both instructive and entertaining. I have now, then, got to consider the town of Sheffield itself. The inhabitants were suddenly invaded by this learned army. I see by the newspapers that these learned gentlemen created quite a terror amongst us poor provincials; and when I say so I rather catch myself up. I have been so long accustomed to consider myself as one of Sheffield that every now and then I am apt to forget the altered circumstances under which we now stand. But I was going to say these learned gentlemen came down here; and the benefit, I conceive, ought to be reciprocal. While they came down fraught with the knowledge of the past, there is in this town a knowledge of the present which will do them a great deal of good to know. The people of Sheffield are a very peculiar combination and community in England, and to study them with the spirit of a philosopher would really be a benefit not only to the philosopher himself, but to those whom he might address. They are a labouring population; they form a portion of the great body of English artisans; and in this day of change, and era of increased education, no man here can say what the present may produce. And if there be amongst these archæologists some who are not mere Dryasdusts, but men who consider the interests of mankind, and while looking at the past will call up the past and compare it with the present, they will take away from Sheffield quite as much benefit as they have conferred upon its inhabitants. They may here read a lesson which very few communities can afford them. If they knew the circumstances under which you are, they would see a body of artisans who really hold in their hands at this present moment the fortunes of England. Upon their conduct will depend for the future very much

of the interests and the welfare of the country. I say, then, it behoves every man in his station, and more especially the learned man, to point out to these artisans and those who guide them the path which leads to happiness and the path which will lead to disgrace and shame. And I say, sir, if the archæologists who have come down to Sheffield took away with them from here the lessons which the fortunes of this town might teach any thinking man, they will receive a great benefit, a benefit quite equal to that which they have bestowed upon those whom they came to visit. It is not necessary for me to say that the people of Sheffield are celebrated for their hospitality, for I am sure when the archæologists leave your precincts they will go away fully possessed with a notion of that. Though we may be a rough community, we are generous and kind hearted, and a community that receives with open arms any man who comes with kind feelings towards ourselves. I am sure the visit of the Archæological Association here will be to the benefit of the people of Sheffield, and more especially to the benefit of the archæologists themselves. There is nothing to be weighed in the balance, so as to give any superiority either to one side or the other. The benefits are equal and mutually given and received; and, in concluding, all I can say is, that I am sure when the members of this association leave Sheffield, they will feel regret at having passed away from kind and generous friends.

Antiquarian Intelligence.

THE Rev. Alfred Hayman Cummings, vicar of Cury and Gunwalloe, has in the press an interesting volume entitled *The Churches and Antiquities of Cury and Gunwalloe, in the Lizard District, including Local Traditions*. With numerous engravings and illustrations produced from photographs by the new heliotype process. The author says in his prospectus: "Much has been written of Cornwall, ancient and modern; but there are many traditions fast dying out, customs disappearing, and matters of more than local interest forgotten for want of a permanent record. In this work an attempt is made to preserve these memories, as regards the neighbourhood of Cury and Gunwalloe, the design having first suggested itself to the author when he contemplated the preservation and necessary repair of the ancient church of Cury; and the discoveries made during the progress of the work, now near its completion, seem to justify the present undertaking. The objects

of interest are so varied—churches, saints, crosses, Celtic remains, and antiquities, obsolete customs, wrecks and wreckers, superstitions, etc., etc., that the general reader and the antiquarian will find amusement as well as much valuable information. No expense has been spared in preparing the work and illustrations, the latter in themselves works of art.”

We are pleased to observe that Mr. H. W. Henfrey’s *Numismata Cromwelliana, or the Medallie History of Oliver Cromwell*, is being continued with success. He intends to give a full description of all Cromwell’s coins, medals, and seals, accompanied by exact and beautiful illustrations by the autotype process. Much new light will be thrown upon the history of the coinage by the publication of many original documents hitherto unknown to antiquaries. No trouble or expense has been spared to make this monograph thoroughly exhaustive of its subject. One third of the work has been issued to the subscribers, and the remainder is preparing for early publication.

Mr. Thomas North, Honorary Secretary of the Leicestershire Architectural and Archæological Society, and Member of the Royal Archæological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, is preparing to publish *The Church Bells of Leicestershire: their Inscriptions, Traditions, and peculiar Uses; with Chapters on Bells and the Leicester Bell-Founders*. The author writes of this as follows: “It is proposed to publish this work by subscription. It will be uniform in size with the author’s *Chronicle of the Church of S. Martin in Leicester*, and will contain (in addition to chapters on church-bells, on the ancient bell-founders of Leicester, and on the founders of the Leicestershire bells) the inscriptions on the church-bells in the county, about eleven hundred in number, from rubbings taken specially for this work. To this will be added notes on local traditions and peculiar uses, and extracts, where procurable, from parish records and from the returns of the commissioners *temp.* Edw. VI. The numerous illustrations will comprise woodcuts of initial crosses and letters, founders’ marks, stops, etc., etc., now to be found upon the Leicestershire bells. Subscribers’ names will be received by Mr. Clarke, Gallowtree Gate, Leicester.

Mr. Charles Harrison is bringing out, in continuation of his *British Museum Photographs, A Series of Autotype Carbon Specimens illustrating the Arts of Illumination and Drawing from the earliest Period to the Fifteenth Century*. The prospectus contains the following information: “In the series of *British Museum Photographs* lately brought to a successful issue by Charles Harrison, Esq., F.S.A., and photographed by Mr. Stephen Thompson, under the sanction of the Trustees of the British Museum, specimens of illuminations, miniatures, and early drawings, were unavoidably omitted. To render the collection of re-

productions more complete, it is proposed to issue, uniform in size with the photographs already published, a series of photographs executed by the autotype carbon process (which combines absolute permanence with pictorial effect and faithfulness), taken from the unrivalled manuscript treasures deposited in the national library. The proposed series especially recommends itself to students of palæography, and forms a valuable technical adjunct to the productions of the Palæographical Society, whose work is directed more to specimens of early handwriting than to the conceptions of the draughtsman and illuminator. The whole set, of which the first Part is now ready for immediate issue, will embrace the principal European styles, and is calculated to be complete in six Parts. The first Part will contain twenty plates of full size specimens of work executed in England between the tenth and fifteenth centuries, and illustrates in a graphic and forcible manner the finest developments of our early and mediæval English art. The value of the series will be enhanced by an accompanying description in letterpress by Walter de Gray Birch, Esq., F.R.S.L., Hon. Sec., by whom subscriptions will be received on behalf of Mr. Harrison.

Mr. Robert White, of Worksope, announces the following works which especially recommend themselves to those associates whose interest in the antiquities of the town and neighbourhood of Sheffield has been awakened by the Congress. They are all carefully prepared and worthy of a place in the library of the topographer and antiquarian: *Worksope*, "*The Dukery*," and *Sherwood Forest*; with Steel Plates and other Illustrations.—*The Visitors' Handbook to Worksope and its Neighbourhood*, with Illustrations and Map.—*Photographic Handbook to the Antiquities of Worksope and its Neighbourhood*.—*Steetley Church, Derbyshire*.—*The History of Roche Abbey from its Foundation to its Dissolution*. By J. H. Aveling, M.D. With numerous Illustrations.—*Wharnccliffe, Wortley, and the Valley of the Don*, photographically illustrated by Theophilus Smith. Illustrated with sixteen Photographs.—*Sheffield and its Neighbourhood*, photographically illustrated by Theophilus Smith. Illustrated with sixteen Photographs and eleven Wood Engravings.

Mr. J. B. Mullinger, of Cambridge, in the early part of the year has completed his history of *The University of Cambridge from the Earliest Times to the Royal Injunctions of 1535*. A good idea of the value of the book may be gleaned by the following extract from a contemporary notice in the leading literary organ of the English press:—"Any book which throws light on the origin and early history of our Universities will always be gladly welcomed by those who are interested in education, especially a book which is so full of varied information as Mr. Mullinger's History of Cambridge. He has brought together a mass of instructive details respecting the rise and progress, not only of his

own University, but of all the principal Universities of the middle ages. In an introductory chapter he gives a comprehensive sketch of the whole learned world during the first thousand years after the Christian era, and he then passes on to the leading schoolmen, to the quarrels between the various philosophical schools of the religious orders, and to the gradual rise of a learned body outside of those orders. It was this last circumstance which led to the foundation of a number of corporate bodies, of which the essential mark was that though they were clerical, they were distinctly non-monastic. They were clerical, because the idea of learned laymen was entirely foreign to the ideas of the time; they were non-monastic, because they were, for the most part, founded by men who had no love for the religious orders such as they then were. Such foundations seem to have developed themselves in the English Universities almost as soon as they had acquired a permanent and fixed existence. The first of them was Merton College, Oxford, which was founded in 1270, by Walter de Merton, Lord High Chancellor of England and Bishop of Rochester. Its statutes were the model in almost all respects of those of all subsequent colleges, whether at Oxford or Cambridge. The spirit in which they were conceived and the means adopted by the founder to secure his object are, therefore, of special interest.

“The material element from which Oxford sprang was the school in connection with the Priory of St. Frideswide, while Cambridge seems to have developed itself out of the conventual church at Ely. Both Universities owed much of their early greatness to the large number of men of learning who were forced to fly from the University of Paris on account of the unsettled state of France. The great teachers were followed by their pupils, and so literary activity grew apace. At one time there was a constant intercourse between Oxford and Paris, and many of our distinguished men had studied at both Universities. But this was before the college era, for the colleges were an essentially English and national institution. The college system never succeeded in establishing itself in continental countries, and is, perhaps, the reason why Oxford and Cambridge have retained so strong a hold on our national life, and have lived on with a vigorous life amid all vicissitudes of creed and dynasty, while Paris and Bologna have long since lost their vitality.

“Another point of real practical value which we may learn from the history of our Universities is, that they, like all other healthy institutions, are the result of a gradual and almost imperceptible growth, and did not suddenly spring into existence in their full development. In some monastic or secular school a great teacher, by the force of his genius, gathers round him a little band of students, who eagerly drink in his words, and when they go into the world outside, spread his

fame in an ever-widening circle. Students begin to flock in to listen to him ; other teachers, often his own pupils, gather round him to join in his work and to develope his doctrine, and so a school is formed. Irnerius at Bologna and Peter Lombard at Paris are instances in point; and if at our own Universities there is no single name handed down to fame as prominent above the rest, their growth was none the less spontaneous. We have forgotten this lesson in the present day, and too often fancy that a number of able, practical men, by a combined effort, can bring into existence a permanent institution. The want is undoubted, and it seems only natural to supply it. But, somehow or other, nature sooner or later declares her right to insist on a gradual and not a sudden process, and the attempt to contravene her laws is sure to fail. Minerva does not in real life spring in the fulness of her wisdom from the head of Jove.

“From tracing the origin of our Universities, Mr. Mullinger passes on to mediæval student life. Oxford and Cambridge were very different from what they are now. The students were, for the most part, miserably poor. It is told of St. Richard, afterward Bishop of Chichester, that when he was at Oxford he and the companion who shared his room had only one cap and gown between them, so that each had to remain at home in turn while the other attended lectures. In some cases it is said that the students pawned their very clothes ; and a story is told of two students who, in their zeal for knowledge, had only one suit between the two, and in winter time they had to lie in bed and show themselves abroad alternately. At all events, hard penury seems to have been the rule rather than the exception. The poverty of the students appears to have continued up to the time of the Reformation.

“Towards the end of the volume we have an interesting sketch of the trio who stand prominent in the history of the Universities at the time of the Reformation, Wolsey, Fisher, and Erasmus. The worldly, ambitious, unprincipled Cardinal is a striking contrast alike to the ascetic bishop, and to the refined, selfish, discontented man of letters. The haughty, extravagant, self-indulgent Wolsey presents a strange picture, as he stands side by side with the pious, humble, self-denying Cambridge Reformer.

“The volume ends with the visit of the Commissioners sent by Cromwell to inquire into the state of the Universities, and with the Royal Injunctions which ousted the Papal jurisdiction, and with it the time-honoured predominance of the scholastic teaching. Whatever may be thought of the system of the schoolmen, there is something of the Vandal spirit in the proceedings of the Commissioners, one of whom in a letter often quoted, describes with savage glee how they treated one of the greatest of mediæval philosophers, and how the quadrangle of New College was filled with the scattered leaves of his writings.”

The Palæographical Society continues to hold a foremost position in one of the most interesting branches of archæological art. The Society was started in June 1873 with two hundred and fifty members, which number rapidly reached three hundred and twenty-five, the maximum admitted. Two large folio Parts, edited by E. A. Bond, Esq., Keeper, and E. M. Thompson, Esq., Assistant Keeper, of the MSS. at the British Museum, are issued each year, for the annual subscription of one guinea, containing about twenty-four facsimiles of pages of ancient manuscripts, illuminations, and drawings, executed by the autotype photographic process, accompanied with printed readings and descriptions of the plates. The entire issue, up to the present time, is three Parts, containing, among others, facsimiles of papyri; Greek and Latin of the second and sixth centuries; Lindisfarne Gospels, or the celebrated *Durham Book*, A.D. 700; Canterbury Gospels, eighth century; several charters of the Saxon period, eighth to tenth centuries; Codex Bezae, sixth century; Stonehurst Gospels, seventh century; Gospels of St. Chad, at Lichfield, A.D. 700; Orations of Gregory Nazianzen, A.D. 972; Greek Evangelistarium, A.D. 995; Poems of Prudentius, from the Paris Library, and History of T. Livius from the same, both of the sixth century. The whole forms a most useful work of instruction to the student of ancient and mediæval palæography and graphic art. It is proposed to establish an extra series for publication of specimens from Oriental MSS., which will be commenced so soon as a sufficient number of subscribers shall have entered their names; and it will be edited by Dr. W. Wright, Professor of Arabic in the University of Cambridge, whose name is a sufficient guarantee for the value of the work. This series will be issued to original subscribers at half a guinea, to new members at fifteen shillings, per annum.

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Rayson	1	8	Slade	5	14	Thwaites	5	7
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Rexg	1	7	Smethe 1 3; 1 4			Tibbitt	5	9
Reyson	1	3	Smith 3 1; 3 2; 3 4; 4 3; 4 6; 4 8			Tompson 3 1; 4 5; 4 6		
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Rob	1	2; 1	Son[er]les	1	3	Townes	5	9
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Rodgeresse	3	7	Spending	1	14	Trost	5	5
Roe	5	5	Spendingma[n]	1	4	Trypet	1	7
Rollin	5	9	Spendingman	1	3	Tukes	3	8
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Ryell	1	4	Stead	5	7	Tynete	1	6
Ryol	1	4	Stearing	3	6	Vicarna[n]	1	3
Sadler	1	3	Steaven	3	3	Urmin	5	4
Sadler	5	11	Steele	2	4	Wade 4 1; 5 14		
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Saundirson	1	5	Stewardson	3	9	Walker	1	1
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Schell	1	7	Stringer	1	3	Warrin	3	8
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5 3 ; 5 7 ; 5 9 ; 5 16			Wodkoc	1	1	Wytloffe	1	6
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ERRATA.

- Page 26, line 2 from bottom, *for all house read ale house.*
 „ 37, l. 27, *for rombos read rhombos.*
 „ 41, l. 22, *for exoctoedron read hexoctohedron.*
 „ 42, l. 6, *for antecedenes read antecedents.*
 „ 105, ll. 23, 24, *for Mr. Michael Ellison and Mr. Hadfield read*
 Mr. Michael Ellison Hadfield.
 „ 112, l. 12 from bottom, *for Thornton read Thoroton.*
 „ 115, l. 5, *dele agent to the Duke of Newcastle.*
 „ 142, note, *for nos read mos.*
 „ 160, l. 1, *for Thurston read Thurstan.*
 „ 161, l. 12, *for Normady read Normandy.*
 „ 202, l. 1, *for Ophism read Ophidism.*
 „ 206, l. 32, *for 620 read 660; for 560 read 520.*
 „ 207, l. 25, *for soubriquet read sobriquet.*
 „ 326, l. 53, *for limb read Lamb.*
 „ 331, l. 6, *for attentien read attention.*
 „ 337, l. 18, *for each read in each.*
 „ 485, second column, l. 40, *for Shrewsbury read Sheffield.*



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